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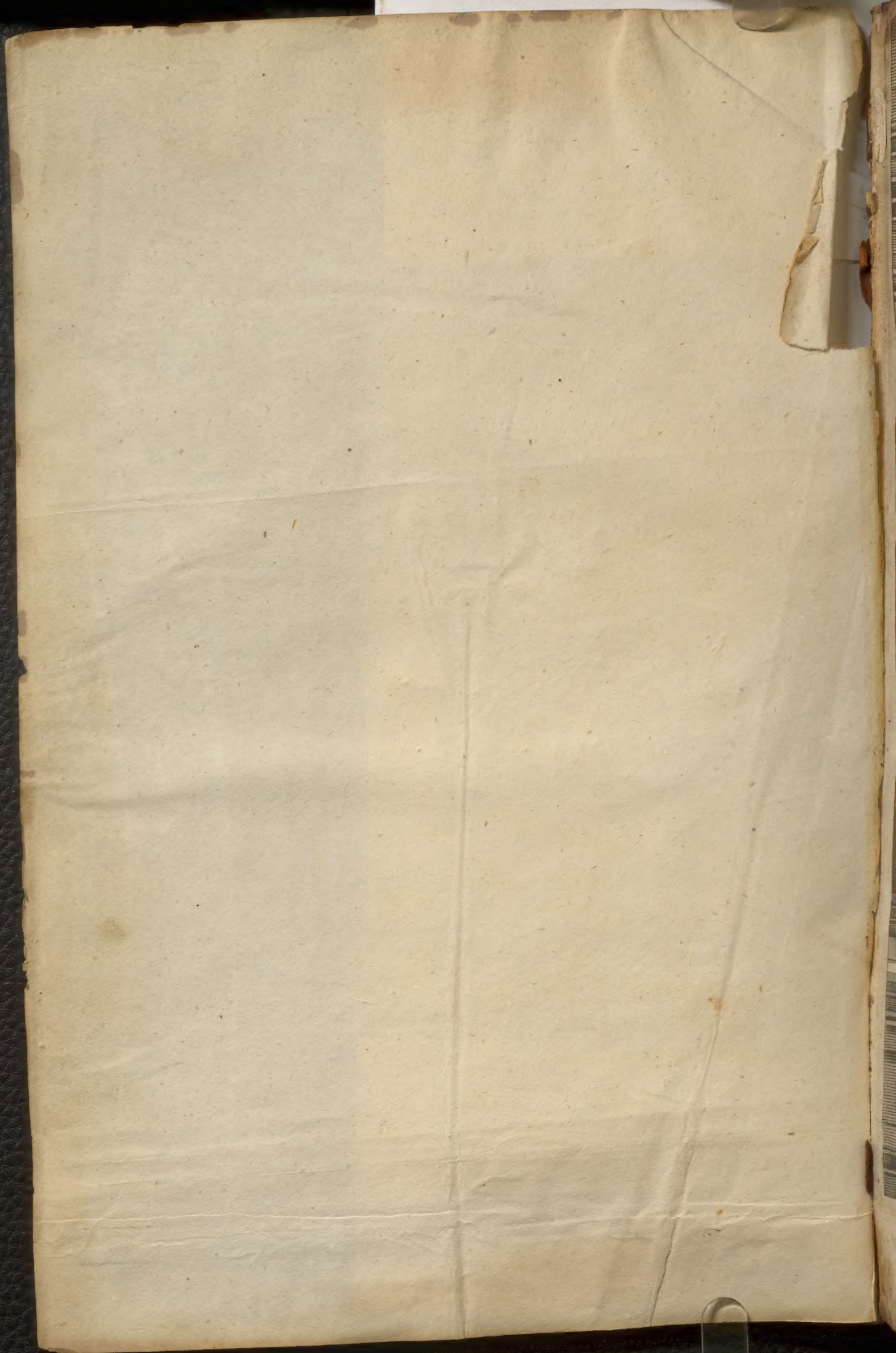
MONTREAL.

Received 1874











THE  
ESSAYS  
OR  
MORAL POLITIQUE  
AND MILITARIE  
Discourses

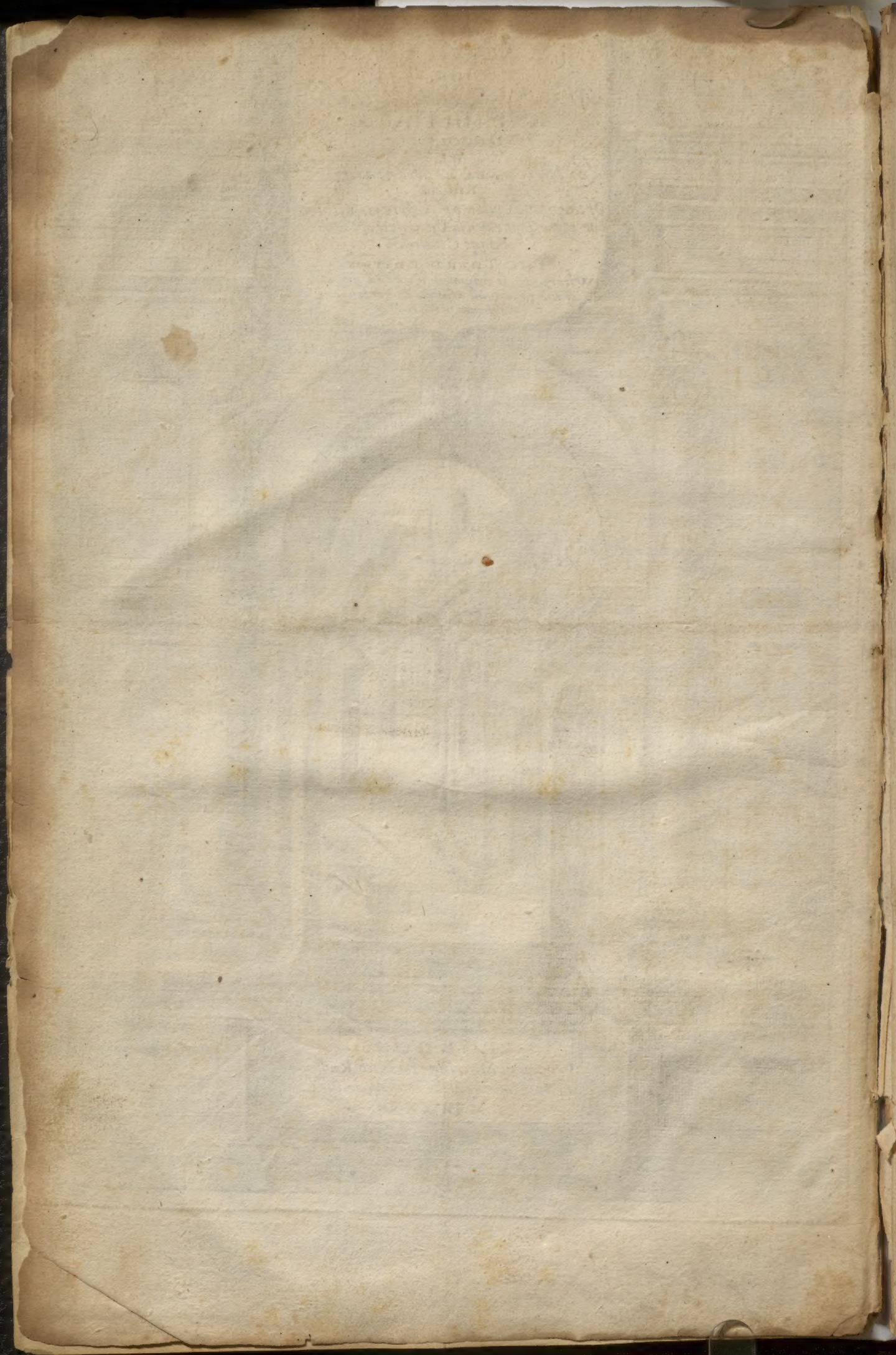
Of  
Lo: MICHAEL de Montaigne,  
Knight  
Of the noble Order of S. MICHAEL, and  
one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the French  
Kings Chamber.

THE THIRD EDITION  
Whereunto is now newly added an Index  
of the principall Matters & personages  
Mentioned in this Booke

LONDON.  
Printed by M. flesher for Rich: Royston  
in Iuie lane next the exchequer Office  
M DCXXXII.

Martin Dr. sculpit.









TO THE MOST  
ROYAL AND RENOWNED  
MAJESTIE of the High-borne Princeſſe  
ANNA of DENMARKE, by the Grace  
of God QUEENE of England, Scotland,  
France, and Ireland, &c.

*Imperiall and Incomparable Maieſtie,*



Seeing with me, all of me is in your  
Royall poſſeſſion, and whatſoe-  
ver peeces of mine have hereto-  
fore, under other Starres paſſed  
the publike view, come now of  
right to be under the predomi-  
nation of a Power, that both con-  
tain's all their perfections, and hath influences of a  
more ſublime nature, I could not but alſo take in this  
part (wherof time had worn-out the edition) which  
the world hath long ſince had of mine, and lay it at  
your Sacred feet, as a memoriall of my devoted du-  
ty, and to ſhew that where I am, I muſt be all I am,  
and cannot ſtand diſperſed in my obſervance, being  
wholly (and therein happy)

Your ſacred MAJESTIES moſt

*humble and loyall ſervant,*

A 2

JOHN FLORE.





# ALL' AVGVSTA MAESTA DI ANNA,

Seren<sup>ma</sup> REGINA d' Inghilterra,  
di Scotia, di Francia, & d'  
Irlanda, &c.



*He si può dir di voi, somma REGINA,  
Che non sia detto dell' e più lodate  
Di Magnanimità, Virtù, Beltate,  
Incomparabile, Sopra-divina?*

*Anzi, che stile tanto si raffina,  
Che non sia vinto dalla Maestate,  
L' Altezza, la Chiarezza, la Bontate,  
Alla qual' ogni cuor di-cuor s' inchina?*

*La qual di tutti bonori 'l specchio mostra,  
La qual' il pregio Soura tutte tiene;  
ANNA, l' a nello della Gioia nostra.*

*La nostra sicurtà, la nostra spene;  
VIEN DALL' ECCELLO LA GRANDEZZA  
vostra;*

*Dalla GRANDEZZA vostra 'l nostro bene.*

Il Candido





## TO THE READER.

**E**Nough, if not too much, hath beene said of this Translation. If the faults found even by my selfe in the first impression, be now by the Printer corrected, as he was directed, the worke is much amended: If not, know that through mine attendance on her Majesty, I could not intend it; and blame not Neptune for thy second shipwracke. Let me conclude with this worthy mans daughter of alliance: *Que t'en semble donc lecteur?*

Still resolute IOHN FLORIO.

*To my deare brother and friend M. IOHN FLORIO,  
one of the Gentlemen of her Majesties most  
Royall Privie Chamber.*

**B**Ooks, like superfluous humors bred with ease,  
So stuffe the world, as it becomes opprest  
With taking more than it can well digest;  
And now are turnd to be a great disease.  
For by this overcharging we confound  
The appetite of skill they had before:  
There be'ng no end of words, nor any bound  
Set to conceit the Ocean without shore.  
As if man laboured with himselfe to be  
As infinite in writing, as intents;  
And draw his manifold uncertaintie  
In any shape that passion represents:  
That these innumerable images  
And figures of opinion and discourse  
Draw'n out in leaves, may be the witnesses  
Of our defects much rather than our force.  
And this proud frame of our presumption.



This Babel of our skill, this Towre of wit,  
Seemes only checkt with the confusion  
Of our mistakings that dissolveth it.  
And well may make us of our knowledge doubt,  
Seeing what uncertainties wee build upon,  
To be as weake within booke as without;  
Or els that truth hath other shapes than one.

But yet although wee labour with this store  
And with the presse of writings seeme oppressd,  
And have too many bookes, yet want wee more,  
Feeling great dearth and scarcenesse of the best;  
which cast in choicer shapes have beene produc'd,  
To give the best proportions to the minde  
Of our confusion, and have introduc'd  
The likeliest images frailtie can finde.  
And wherein most the skill-desiring soule  
Takes her delight, the best of all delight,  
And where her motions evenest come to rowle  
About this doubtfull center of the right.

which to discover this great Potentate,  
This Prince Montaigne (if he be not more)  
Hath more adventur'd of his owne estate  
Than ever man did of himselfe before:  
And hath made such bold sallies out upon  
Custom, the mightie tyrant of the earth,  
In whose Seraglio of subjection  
Wee all seeme bred-up, from our tender birth;  
As I admire his powres, and out of love,  
Here at his gate doe stand, and glad I stand  
So neere to him whom I doe so much love,  
T'applaud his happy setling in our land:  
And safe transpassage by his studious care  
Who both of him and us doth merit much,  
Having as sumptuously, as he is rare  
Plac'd him in the best lodging of our speech,  
And made him now as free, as if borne here,  
And as well ours as theirs, who may be proud  
That he is theirs, though he be every where  
To have the franchise of his worth allow'd.

It being the proportion of a happy Pen,  
Not to be in vassal'd to one Monarchy,  
But dwell with all the better world of men  
whose spirits all are of one communitie,  
whom neither Ocean, Desarts, Rockes nor Sands  
Can keepe from th' intertraffique of the minde,  
But that it vents her treasure in all lands,  
And doth a most secure commercement finde.

wrap Excellencie up never so much,  
In Hieroglyphiques, Ciphers, Characters,

And



*And let her speake never so strange a speech,  
Her Genius yet findes apt discipherers:  
And never was she borne to dye obscure,  
But guided by the Starres of her owne grace,  
Makes her owne fortune, and is ever sure  
In mans best hold, to hold the strongest place.*

*And let the Critick say the worst he can,  
He cannot say but that Montaigne yet  
Yeelds most rich peeces and extracts of man;  
Though in a troubled frame confus'dly set:  
which yet h'is blest that he hath ever seene,  
And therefore as a guest in gratefulnesse,  
For the great good the house yeelds him within  
Might spare to tax th'unapt convoyances.  
But this breath hurts not, for both worke and frame,  
whilst England English speakes, is of that store  
And that choice stuffe, as that without the same  
The richest librarie can be but poore.  
And they unblest who letters doe professe  
And have him not: whose owne fate beats their want  
with more sound blowes, than Alcibiades  
Did his Pedante that did Homer want.*

By SAM. DANIEL one of the Gentlemen

extraordinarie of her Majesties most

royall privie Chamber.

---

*Concerning the honour of bookes.*



Ince Honour from the Honorer proceeds,  
How well doe they deserve that memorie  
And leave in bookes for all posterities  
The names of worthies, and their vertuous deeds  
When all their glorie else, like water weeds  
Without their element, presently dyes,  
And all their greatnesse quite forgotten lyes:  
And when, and how they florish no man heeds  
How poore remembrances, are statues, Toomes,  
And other monuments that men erect  
To Princes, which remaine in closed roomes  
Where but a few behold them; in respect  
Of bookes, that to the universall eye  
Shew how they liv'd, the other where they lye.





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The





## THE AVTHOR TO THE READER.



Reader, loe here a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance forewarne thee, that in contriving the same, I have proposed vnto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end: I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolks and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to doe ere long) they may therein find some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beene to forestall and purchase the worlds opinion (and favour, I would surely have adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, art or study; for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations, which yet are said to live under the sweet liberty of Natures first and uncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked. Thus gentle Reader my selfe am the groundworke of my booke: It is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a Subject.

Therefore farewell. From *Montaigne*,  
the first of March.





THE  
ESSAYES OF  
MICHAEL LORD OF  
MONTAIGNE.

*The first Booke.*

CHAP. I.

*By divers meanes men come unto a like end.*



The most usuall way to appease those minds we have offended (when revenge lies in their hands, and that we stand at their mercy) is, by submission to move them to commiseration and pitty: Nevertheless, courage, constancie, and resolution (meanes altogether opposite) have sometimes wrought the same effect. *Edward* the black Prince of *Wales* (who so long governed our Country of *Guienne*, a man whose conditions and fortune were accompanied with many notable parts of worth and magnanimitie) having beene grievously offended by the *Limosins*, though he by maineforce tooke and entred their Citie, could by no meanes be appeased, nor

by the wailefull out-cries of all sorts of people (as of men, women, and children) bemoved to any pitty, they prostrating themselves to the common slaughter, crying for mercy, and humbly submitting themselves at his feet, untill such time as in triumphant manner passing thorow their Citie, he perceived three French Gentlemen, who alone, with an incredible and undaunted boldnesse, gainstood the enraged violence, and made head against the furie of his victorious armie. The consideration and respect of so notable a vertue, did first abate the dint of his wrath, and from those three began to relent, and shew mercy to all the other inhabitants of the said towne. *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epirus*, following one of his souldiers, with purpose to kill him, who by all means of humilitie, and submisse entreatie, had first assayed to pacifie him, in such an unavoidable extremitie, resolved at last, resolutely to encounter him with his sword in his hand. This resolution did immediately stay his Captains fury, who seeing him undertake so honourable an attempt, not only forgave, but received him into grace and favour. This example may liaply, of such as have not knowne the prodigious force and matchlesse valour of the said Prince, admit another interpretation. The Emperour *Conradus*, third of that name, having besieged *Guelphe*, Duke of *Bavaria*, what vile or base satisfaction soever was offered him, would yeeld to no other milder conditions, but only to suffer such Gentlewomen as were with the Duke in the Citie (their honours safe) to issue out of the Towne afoot, with such things as they could carry about them. They with an unrelenting courage advised and resolved themselves (neglecting all other riches or jew-



els) to carry their husbands, their children, and the Duke himselfe, on their backs : The Emperour perceiving the quaintnesse of their device, tooke so great pleasure at it, that hee wept for joy, and forthwith converted that former inexorable rage, and mortall hatred he bare the Duke, into so milde a relenting and gentle kindnesse, that thence forward he entreated both him and his with all favour and courtesie. Either of these wayes might easily persuade mee : for I am much inclined to mercie, and affected to mildnesse. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoop unto compassion, than bend to estimation. Yet is pitty held a vicious passion among the Stoicks. They would have us aid the afflicted, but not to feare, and co-suffer with them. These examples seeme fittest for mee, forsomuch as these minds are scene to be assaulted and environed by these two meanes, in undauntedly suffering the one, and stooping under the other. It may peradventure be said, that to yeeld ones heart unto commiseration, is an effect of facility, tendernesse, and meeknesse : whence it proceedeth, that the weakest natures, as of women, children, and the vulgar sort are more subject unto it. But (having contemned teares and wailings) to yeeld unto the onely reverence of the sacred Image of vertue, is the effect of a couragious and imployable minde, holding a masculine and constant vigour, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding, amazement and admiration may in lesse generous minds worke the like effect. Witnesse the Thebanes, who having accuted and indited their Captaines, as of a capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge beyond the time prescribed them, absolved and quit *Pelopidas* of all punishment, because he submissively yeelded under the burden of such objections, and to save himselfe, employed no other meanes, but suing-requests, and demisse intreaties; where on the contrary, *Epaminondas* boldly relating the exploits atchieved by him, and with a fierce and arrogant manner upbraiding the people with them, had not the heart so much as to take their lots into his hands, but went his way, and was freely absolved; the assembly much commending the stoutnesse of his courage. *Dionysius* the elder, after long-lingering and extreme difficulties, having taken the Citie of *Reggio*, and in it the Captaine *Phyton*, (a worthy honest man) who had so obstinately defended the same, would needs shew a tragicall example of revenge. First, he told him, how the day before, he had caused his sonne and all his kinsfolkes to be drowned. To whom *Phyton*, stoutly out-staring him, answered nothing, but that they were more happy than himselfe by the space of one day. Afterward he caused him to be stripped, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged thorow the Citie most ignominiously, and cruelly whipping him, charging him besides with outrageous and contumelious speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no whit dismayed, he ever shewed a constant and resolute heart; and with a cheerefull and bold countenance went on still, loudly recounting the honourable and glorious cause of his death, which was, that he would never consent to yeeld his Country into the hands of a cruell tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. *Dionysius* plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in lieu of animating them with braving his conquered enemy, they in contempt of him, and scorne of his triumph, seemed by the astonishment of so rare a vertue, to be moved with compassion, and inclined to mutinie, yea, and to free *Phyton* from out the hands of his Sergeants or Guard, caused his torture to cease, and secretly sent him to be drowned in the sea. Surely, man is a wonderfull, vaine, divers, and wavering subject : it is very hard to ground any directly-constant and uniforme judgement upon him. Behold *Pompey*, who freely pardoned all the Citie of the *Mamertines*, (against which he was grievously enraged) for the love of the magnanimitie, and consideration of the exceeding vertue of *Zeno*, one of their fellow-citizens, who tooke the publike fault wholly upon himselfe, and desired no other favour, but alone to beare the punishment thereof; whereas *Syllaes* host having used the like vertue in the Citie of *Perugia*, obtained nothing, neither for himselfe, nor for others. And directly against my first example, the hardiest amongst men, and so gracious to the vanquished, *Alexander* the great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Citie of *Gaza*, encountred by chance with *Betis*, that commanded therein, of whose valour (during the siege) he had felt wonderfull and strange exploits, being then alone, forsaken of all his followers, his armes all-broken, all-besmoared with bloud and wounds, fighting amongst a number of Macedonians, who pell-mell laid still upon him; provoked by so deare a victorie, (for among other mishaps he had newly received two hurts in his body) said thus unto him; *Betis, thou shalt not die as thou wouldest : for make*

account



account thou must indure all the torments may possibly bee devised or inflicted upon a cause wretch, as thou art. But he, for all his enemies threats, without speaking one word, returned only an assured, sterner, and disdainfull countenance upon him; which silent obstinacie Alexander noting, said thus unto himselfe: *What? would hee not bend his knee? could he not utter one suppliant wayce? I will assuredly vanquish his silence, and if I cannot wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to sob or groane.* And converting his anger into rage, commanded his heeles to bee through-pierced, and so all alive with a cord through them, to be torne, mangled, and dismembred at a carts-taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so naturall and peculiar unto him, that because he would no-whit admire him, he respected him the lesse? or deemed he it so proper unto himselfe, that in his height, he could not without the spight of envious passion, endure to see it in an other? or was the naturall violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it received any restraint, it may be supposed, that in the ransacking and desolation of the Citie of Thebes, it should have felt the same; in seeing so many Worthies lost, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no meanes of publike defence; for above six thousand were slaine and massacred; of which not one was seene, either to run away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here and there seeking to affront, and endeavouring to check their victorious enemies, urging and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was seene to yeeld, and that to his last gaspe did not attempt to revenge himselfe, and with all weapons of dispaire, with the death of some enemy, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pitie, nor might one day suffice to glut or allwage his revengefull wrath. This butcherous slaughter continued unto the last drop of any remaining blood; where none were spared but the unarmed and naked, the aged and impotent, the women and children; that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand slaves.

## CHAP. II.

## Of Sadnesse or Sorrowe.

NO man is more free from this passion than I, for I neither love nor regard it: albeit the world hath undertaken, as it were upon covenant, to grace it with a particular favour. Therewith they adorne age, vertue, and conscience: Oh foolish and base ornament! The Italians have more properly with it's name entitiled malignitie: for, it is a qualitie ever hurtfull, ever sottish; and as ever base and coward, the Stoikes inhibit their Elders and Sages to be therewith tainted, or have any feeling of it. But the Storie saith; that *Psammeticus* king of *Egypt*, having been defeated and taken by *Cambises* king of *Persia*, seeing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vile aray, being sent to draw water from a well, his friends weeping and wailing about him (he with his eyes fixed on the ground, could not be moved to utter one word) and shortly after beholding his sonne led to execution, held still the same undaunted countenance: but perceiving a familiar friend of his haled amongst the captives, he began to beat his head, and burst forth into extreame sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately seene to doe, who being at *Trent*, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death; but such a brother as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his younger brothers decease, who was his second hope; and having with an unmatched countenance and exemplar constancie endured these two affronts; it fortun'd not long after, that one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffered himselfe to be so far transported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, he so abandoned himselfe to all manner of sorrow and griefe, that some argued, only this last mischance had toucht him to the quicke: but verily the reason was, that being otherwise full, and over-plunged in sorrow, the least surcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say) be judged of our storie, were it not it followeth, that *Cambises* inquiring of *Psammeticus*, why he was nothing distempered at the misfortune of his sonne and daughter, he did so impatiently beare the disaster of his friend: *It is,* answered he, *because this last displeasure may be manifested by weeping, whereas the two former exceed by much, all meanes and compasse to*



bee expressed by teares. The invention of that ancient Painter might happily fit this purpose, who in the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, being to represent the griefe of the by-standers, according to the qualitie and interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so young and innocent a Lady, having ransacked the utmost skill and effects of his art, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with a vaile over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faine miserable *Niobe*, who first having lost seven sonnes, and immediately as many daughters, as one over-burthened with their losses, to have beene transformed into a stone;

Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 6. 303.

*Diriguisse malis:*

And grew as hard as stone,  
But miserie and moane.

Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which so doth pierce us, when accidents surpassing our strength orewhelme us. Verily the violence of a griefe, being extreme, must needs astonie the mind, and hinder the liberty of her actions. As it hapneth at the sudden alarm of some bad tidings, when wee shall feele our selves surpris'd, benumbed, and as it were deprived of all motion, so that the soule bursting after ward forth into teares and complaints, seemeth at more ease and libertie, to loose, to cleare and dilate it selfe.

Virg. Aen. l. 11.  
151.

*Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est,*

'And scarce at last for speech,  
By griefe was made a breach.

In the warres which king *Ferdinando* made against the widow of *Iohn* king of *Hungary*, about *Buda*; a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, forsomuch as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding prowesse of his body, and though unknowne, being slaine, was highly commended and much bemoaned of all: but yet of none so greatly as of a Germane Lord, called *Raisciac*, as he that was amased at so rare vertue: his body being recovered and had off, this Lord, led by a common curiositie, drew neere unto it, to see who it might be, and having caused him to be disarmed, perceived him to be his owne sonne; which knowne, did greatly augment the compassion of all the camp: he only without framing word, or closing his eyes, but earnestly viewing the dead body of his sonne, stood still upright, till the vehemencie of his sad sorrow, having suppressed and choaked his vitall spirits, fell'd him starke dead to the ground.

Pet. p. 1. Son. 140.

*Ché può dir com'egli arde è in picciol fuoco,*

He that can lay how he doth frie,  
In pettie-gentle flames doth lie,

say those Lovers that would lively represent an intolerable passion.

Catull. Epig.  
48. 5.

*misero quod omnes*

*Eripis sensus mihi; Nam simul te*

*Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mi*

*Quod loquar amens*

*Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus*

*Flamma dimanat, sonitu scepote*

*Tinniunt aures, gemina teguntur,*

*Lumina nocte.*

miserably from me,

This bereaves all sense: for I can no sooner  
Eie thee my sweet heart, but I wot not one word  
to speake amazed.

Tongue-tide as intrance, while a sprightly thin flame  
Flowes in all my joynts, with a selfe-resounding  
Both my cares tingle, with a night redoubled  
Both mine eies are veild.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent heat of the fit, that wee are able to display our plaints and perswasions, the soule being then aggravated with heavie thoughts, and the body suppressed and languishing for love. And thence is sometimes engendered that casuall faintnes, which so unreasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and that chilnetse, which by the



*Cura leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*  
 Light cares can freely speake,  
 Great cares heart rather breake.

*Sen. Hip. act. 2.*  
*Scena 2.*

The surprize of an unexpected pleasure astonieth us alike.

*Ve me conspexit venientem, & Troja circum*  
*Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstribus.*  
*Dirigit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,*  
*Labitur, & longo vix tandem tempore fatur.*  
 When she beheld me come, and round about  
 Senselesse saw Trojan armes, she stood afraid  
 Stone-still at so strange sights: life heat flew out:  
 She faints: at last, with long pause thus she said.

*Virg. Aenead.*  
*lib. 3. 306.*

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for joy to see her sonne returne alive from the battell of *Canna*, *Sophocles* and *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who deceased through over-gladnes: and *Talva*, who died in *Corfica*, reading the newes of the honours the Roman Senate had conferred upon him: It is reported that in our age, Pope *Leo* the tenth having received advertisement of the taking of the Citie of *Millane*, which he had so exceedingly desired, entred into such excelsse of joy, that he fell into an ague, whereof he shortly died. And for a more authentick testimonie of humane imbecillitie, it is noted by our Ancients, that *Diodorus* the Logician, being surprized with an extreme passion or apprehension of shame, fell downe starke dead, because neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he had beene able to resolve an argument propounded unto him. I am little subject to these violent passions. I have naturally a hard apprehension, which by discourse I daily harden more and more.

### CHAP. III.

*Our affections are transported beyond our selves.*

Those which still accuse men for ever gaping after future things, and go about to teach us, to take hold of present fortunes, and settle our selves upon them, as having no hold of that which is to come; yea much lesse than we have of that which is already past, touch and are ever harping upon the commonest humane error, if they dare call that an error, to which Nature her selfe, for the service of the continuation of her worke, doth addresse us, imprinting (as it doth many others) this false imagination in us, as more jealous of our actions, than of our knowledge. We are never in our selves, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope, draw us ever towards that which is to come, and remove our sense and consideration from that which is, to amuse us on that which shall be, yea when we shall be no more. *Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius. A minde in suspense what is to come, is in a pitifull case.*

This notable precept is often alleaged in *Plato*. Follow thy businesse and know thy selfe; Each of these two members, doth generally imply all our duty; and likewise enfolds his companion. He that should doe his businesse, might perceive that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe, takes no more anothers matters for his owne, but above all other things, loveth and correcteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and unprofitable propositions. As if you grant follie what it desireth, it will no-whit be satisfied; so is wilddome content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. *Epicurus* doth dispense with his age touching the foresight & care of what shal insue. Amongst the lawes that regard the deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seemes to me veriesolid. They are companions, if not masters of the lawes: That which justice could not worke on their heads, it is reason it effect upon their reputation, and goods of their successors: things wee many times preferre before our lives. It is a custome brings many singular commodities unto nations that observe it, and to be desired of all good Princes: who have cause to complainethat the memorie of the wicked is used as theirs. Wee owe a

*Sen. epi. 98.*



like obedience and subjection to all Kings; for it respects their office: but estimation and affection, we owe it only to their virtue. If they be unworthy, wee are to endure them patiently, to conceale their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their authoritie hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be ascribed unto politique order. But our commerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the unfolding of our felt wrongs unto justice and our libertie. And specially to refuse good subjects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a master, whose imperfections were so well knowne unto them: exempting posteritie from so profitable an example. And such as for the respect of some private benefit or interest, doe wickedly embrace the memorie of an unworthy Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. *Titus Livius* speaketh truly, where he saith, that the speech of men brought up under a royaltie is ever full of vaine ostentations, and false witness; every man indifferently extolling the King, to the furthest straine of valour and soveraigne greatnesse. The magnanimitie of those two Souldiers may be reprov'd, one of which being demanded of *Nero*, why he hated him, answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilst thou wast worthy of love, but since thou becamest a parricide, a fire-brand, a Juglar, a Player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou deservest. The other being asked, wherefore he sought to kill him, answered, Because I finde no other course to hinder thy uncessant outrages and impious deeds. But can any man, that hath his senses about him, justly reprove the publike and generall testimonies that since his death have beene given, and so shall be for ever, both against him and all such like reprobates, of histyrannicall and wicked demeanours? I am sorrie that in so sacred a policie as the Lacedemonian was, so fained and fond a ceremonie at the death of their Kings was ever devised and brought in use. All their confederates and neighbours, all the slave-Herotes, men and women pell-mell, for a testimonie of their griefe and sorrow, did mangle and gasp their foreheads, and in their out-cries and lamentations exclaimed, that their deceased King, howsoever he had lived, was and had beene the best Prince that ever they had, ascribing in order the commendations due unto desert, and to the last and latter ranke, what belongs unto the first merit. *Aristotle* that hath an oare in every water, and medleth with all things, makes a question about *Solons* speech, who saith, that no man can truly be counted happy before his death, Whether he that lived and died according to his wish, may be named happy, whether his renowne be good or ill, and whether his posteritie be miserable or no. Whilst wee stirre and remove, wee transport our selves by preoccupation wheresoever wee list: but no sooner are wee out of being, but wee have no communication at all with that which is. And it were better to tell *Solon*, that never man is happy then, since he never is so, but when he is no more.

*Lucret. rer. nat.*  
lib. 3. 912.

—*Quisquam*

*Vix radicitus à vita se tollis, & ejicit:  
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super inscius ipse,  
Nec removeret satis à projecto corpore sese, &  
Vindicat.*—

Scarce any rids himselfe of life so cleere,  
But leaves unwitting some part of him heere:  
Nor frees or quits himselfe sufficiently  
From that his body which forlorne doth lie.

*Bertrand* of *Gelsquin* died at the siege of the castle of *Rancon*, neere unto *Puy* in *Auvergne*: the besieged yeelding afterward, were forced to carry the keies of the Castle, upon the deceased of the Captaine. *Bartholomew* of *Alviano*. Generall of the Venetian forces dying in their service and wars about *Brescia*, and his bodie being to be transported to *Venice*, through the territory of *Verona*, which then was enemie unto them, the greatest part of the army thought it expedient to demand a safe conduct for their passage of those of *Verona*, to which *Theodoro Trivulzio* stoutly opposed himselfe, and chose rather to passe it by maine force, and to hazard the day, saying it was not convenient, that he who in his life time had never apprehended feare of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to feare them. Verily in like matters, by the lawes of *Greece*, hee that required a dead body of his enemies, with intent to bury the same, renounced the victory, and might no more erect any trophy of it: and he who was so required, purchased the title of honour and gaine. So did *Nicias*

lose



toe the advantage hee had clearely gained of the Corinthians; and contrariwise, *Agessians* assured that, hee doubtfully had gotten of the Boetians. These actions might bee deemed strange, if in all ages it were not a common-received opinion, not only to extend the care of our selves, beyond this life, but also to helve, that heavenly favours doe often accompany us unto our grave, and continue in our posterity. Whereof there are so many examples (leaving our moderne a part) that I need not wade farre into it.

*Edward* the first King of *England*, in the long wars he had with *Robert* King of *Scotland*; having by triall found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he undertooke in his owne person; when hee died, bound his some by solemne oath, that being dead he should cause his body to be boyled, untill the flesh fell from the bones, which he should cause to be interred, and carefully keeping the bones, ever carry them about him, whensoever hee should happen to have wars with the Scots: As if destiny had fatally annexed the victory unto his limmes. *John Zisca*, who for the defence of *Wickliffe's* opinions so much troubled the state of *Bohemia*, commanded that after his death his body should be flead, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and sounded in all the wars against his enemies: deeming the sound of it would be a meane to continue the advantages, which in his former warres hee had obtained of them. Certaine Indians did likewise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regard of the good successe hee had, whilst hee lived, against them: And other nations of that new-found world, doe likewise carry the bodies of such worthy and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battels, to serve them in stead of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples reserve nothing else in their tombes, but the reputation acquired by their former achievements: but these will also adjoyne unto it the power of working. The act of Captaine *Bayart* is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men perswaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, he would not now so neere his end, begin to turne his face from his enemy: and having stoutly foughten so long as he could stand, feeling himselfe to faint and stagger from his horse, commanded his steward to lay him against a tree, but in such sort, that he might die with his face toward the enemy; as indeed hee did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkable for this consideration, as any of the precedent. The Emperour *Maximilian*, great grand-father to *Philip* now King of *Spaine*, was a Prince highly endowed with many noble qualities, and amongst others with a well-nigh matchlesse beauty and comelinesse of body; but with other customes of his, hee had this one much contrarie to other Princes, who to dispatch their weightiest affaires make often their close stoole, their regall Throne or Councel-chamber, which was, that hee would not permit any groome of his chamber (were hee never so neere about him) to see him in his inner chamber, who if he had occasiō but to make water, would as nicely and as religiously with-draw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer so much as a Physitian, much lesse any other whatsoever, to see those privie parts that all in modestie seeke to keepe secret and unscene. My selfe, that am so broad-mouthed and lavish in speeches, am notwithstanding naturally touched with that bashfulnessse. And unless it bee by the motion of necessity or of voluptuousnesse, I never willingly imparted those actions and parts (which custome willett to bee concealed) to the view of any creature. I endure more compulsion, than I deeme befitting a man, especially of my profession. But hee grew to such superstition, that by expresse words in his last will and Testament, hee commanded, that being dead, hee should have linnen-slops put about them. Hee should by codicill have annexed unto it, that hee who should put them on, might have his eyes hood-winckt. The instruction which *Cyrus* giveth his children, that neither they nor any other should either see or touch his body, after the breath were once out of it; I ascribe it unto some motive of devotion in him. For both his historian and himselfe, amongst many other notable qualities they are endued with, have throughout all the course of their life seemed to have a singular respect and awfull reverence unto religion. That story displeased mee very much, which a noble-man told me of a kinsman of mine (a man very famous and well known both in peace and warre) which is, that dying very aged in his court, being much tormented with extreme pangs of the stone, hee with an earnest and unwearied care, employed all his last houres, to dispose the honour and ceremony of his funerals, and summoned all the nobilitie

that



that came to visit him, to give him assured promise to be as assistants, and to convey him to his last resting place. To the very same Prince, who was with him at his last gasp, he made very earnest suit, he would command all his household to wait upon him at his interment, enforcing many reasons, and alleaging divers examples, to prove that it was a thing very convenient, and fitting a man of his qualitie : which assured promise when he had obtained, and had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietly and contentedly to yeeld up the ghost. I have seldome scene a vanitie continue so long. This other curiositie meere opposite unto it (which to prove I need not labour for home-examples) seemeth in my opinion cosen-german to this, that is, when one is ever ready to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endeavour how to reduce the convoy of his obsequies unto some particular and unwonted parcimonie, to one servant and to one lanterne. I heare the humour and appointment of *Marcus Emilius Lepidus* commended, who expressly forbade his heires to use those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed. Is it temperance and frugalitie, to avoid charge and voluptuousnesse, the use and knowledge of which is inperceptible unto us? Loe here an easie reformation, and of small cost. Were it requisite to appoint any, I would be of opinion, that as well in that, as in all other actions of mans life, every man should referre the rule of it to the qualitie of his fortune. And the Philosopher *Lycon* did wisely appoint his friends to place his body where they should thinke it fittest and for the best : and for his obsequies, they should neither be superfluous and over-costly, nor base and sparing. For my part, I would wholly relie on custome, which should dispose this ceremonie, and would yeeld my selfe to the discretion of the first or next into whose hands I might chance to fall. *Totus hic locus est commendendus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris : All this matter should be despised of us, but not neglected of ours.* And religiously said a holy man ; *Curatio funeris, conditio sepultura, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum.* The procuracion of funerals, the manner of buriall, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comforts to the living, than helps to the dead. Therefore *Socrates* answered *Criton*, who at the houre of his death asked him how he would be buried : *Even as you please*, said he. Were I to meddle further with this subject, I would deeme it more gallant to imitate those who yet living and breathing, undertake to enjoy the order and honour of their sepulchres, and that please themselves to behold their dead countenance in Marble. Happy they that can rejoyce and gratifie their senses with insensibilitie, and live by their death ! A little thing would make me conceive an inexpressible hatred against all popular domination ; although it seeme most naturall and just unto me ; when I call to minde that inhumane injustice of the Athenians, who without further triall or remission, yea without suffering them so much as to reply or answer for themselves, condemned those noble and worthy Captaines, that returned victoriously from the sea-battell, which they (neere the Iles *Arginusse*) had gained of the Lacedemonians ; the most contested, bloodie & greatest fight the Grecians ever obtained by sea with their owne forces : forsomuch as after the victory, they had rather followed those occasions, which the law of warre presented unto them, for their availe, than to their prejudice staid to gather and bury their dead men. And the successe of *Diomedon* makes their ruthlesse execution more hatefull, who being a man of notable and exemplar vertue, both military and politike, and of them so cruelly condemned ; after he had heard the bloody sentence, advancing himselfe forward to speake, having fit opportunitie and plausible audience ; he, I say, in stead of excusing himselfe, or endeavouring to justifie his cause, or to exasperate the evident iniquity of so cruell a doome, expressed but a care of the Judges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfying the vowes which hee and his companions had vowed in acknowledgement and thanksgiving for so famous a victory, and honourable fortune, they might not draw the wrath and revenge of the Gods upon them, declaring what their vowes were. And without more words, or urging further reasons, courageously addrested himselfe to his execution. But fortune some yeares after punished him alike, and made him taste of the verie same sauce. For *Chabrias*, Captaine Generall of their sea-fleet, having afterward obtained a famous victory of *Polis*, Admirall of *Sparta*, in the Ile of *Naxos*, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and onely contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incurre the mischief of this example, and to save a few dead carcasses of his friends, that floated up and downe the sea,

gave

Aug. Civ. Dei. c.  
l. i. c. 12. verb. c.  
apost. ser. 32. c.



gave leasure to an infinite number of his living enemies, whom he might easily have surprized to faile away in safety, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

*Queris, quo jaceas, post obitum, loco?*

*Quo non nata jacent,*

Where shall you lie when you are dead?

Where they lye that were never bred:

This other restores the sense of rest unto a body without a soule.

*Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis.*

*Vbi, remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat, à malis.*

To turne in as a hav'n, have he no grave,

Where life left, from all griefe he rest may have.

Even as Nature makes us to see, that many dead things have yet certaine secret relations unto life. Wine doth alter and change in sellers, according to the changes and alterations of the seasons of its vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beasts and venison doth change qualitie and taste in the powdering-tubs, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

Sen. Troas. chor.

2. 39.

Cic. Tusc. qn. lib.

1. ENRI.

#### CHAP. IV.

*How the soule dischargeth her passions upon false objects,  
when the true faile it.*

A Gentleman of ours exceedingly subject to the gowr, being instantly solicited by his Physitions, to leave all manner of salt-meats, was wont to answer pleasantly, that when the fits or pangs of the disease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarell with; and that crying and curling, now against *Bolonia-sausage*, and sometimes by railing against salt neats-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found some ease. But in good earnest even as the arme being lifted up to strike, if the stroke hit not, but fall void, wee feele some paine in it, and many times strike it out of joynt; and that to yeeld our sight pleasant, it must not be lost and disperied in the vast ayre, but ought rather to have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reasonable distance.

*Veni ut amittit vires, nix robore dense*

*Occurrant silvæ, spatio diffusus inani.*

As windes in emptie ayre diffus'd, strength lose,

Unlesse thick-old-growne woods of their strength oppose.

Lucan. lib. 3. 362.

So seemes it that the soule moved and tossed, if she have not some hold to take, loseth it selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with some object, on which it may light and worke. *Pintarch* saith fitly of those who affectionate themselves to Monkies and little Dogges, that the loving part which is in us, for want of a lawfull hold, rather than it will be idle, doth forge a false and frivolous hold unto it selfe. And wee see that the soule in her passions doth rather deceive it selfe, by framing a false and fantasticall subject unto it selfe, yea against her owne conceit, than not to worke upon something. So doth their owne rage transport beasts, to set upon the stone or weapon that hath hurt them; yea and sometimes with irefull teeth to revenge themselves against themselves, for the hurt or smart they feele.

*Pannonis haud aliter post ictum se vior arsa*

*Cui jaculum parva Lybis amentavit habena,*

*Serorat in vulnus, telumque irata receptum*

*Impedit, & secum fugientem circum hastam.*

Even so the wound-enraged Austrian beare,

On whom a Moore hath thir'd his slinged speare,

Wheeles on her wound, and raging bites the dart,

Circling that flies with her, and cannot part.

Lucan. lib. 6.

220.

What



Liv. dec. 3. lib. 5.

What causes doe wee not invent, for the crosses that happen unto us? bee it right, or wrong: what take we not hold of, to have something to strive withall? It is not the golden locks thou tearest, nor the whitenesse of the breast, which thou through vexation so cruelly dost smite, that have by meanes of an unluckie bullet, lost thy deere-beloved brother: on something else shouldest thou wreake thy selfe. *Livius* speaking of the Romane army in *Spaine*, after the losse of two great Captaines that were brethren. *Flere omnes repenie, & offensare capita: They all wept and often beat their heades.* It is an ordinarie custome: And the Philosopher *Byon* was very pleasant with the king, that for griefe tore his haire, when he said, *Doth this man thinke, that baldnesse will assuage his griefe?* who hath not scene some to chew and swallow cardes, and wel-nigh choake themselves with bales of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some money? *Xerxes* whipped the Sea, and writ a cartell of defiance to the hill *Athos*: And *Cyrus* for many daies together amused his whole armie to be revenged of the river *Gyndus*, for the feare he tooke passing over the same: And *Caligula* caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the same. When I was young, my cuntrymen were wont to say, *That one of our neighbour-Kings, having received a blow at Gods hand, sware to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for ten yeares space no man should pray unto him, nor speak of him, nor (so long as he were in authority,) beleeve in him.* By which report, they doe not so much publish the sortishnesse, as the ambitious glorie, peculiar unto that nation of whom it was spoken. They are vices that ever goe together: But in truth such actions encline rather unto selfe-conceit, than to fondnes. *Augustus Caesar* having beene beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God *Neptune*, and in the celebration of the *Circensian* games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be removed from out the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods; wherein he is also lesse excusable, than the former, and lesse than hee was afterward, when having lost a battell, under *Quintilius Varus* in *Germanie*, all in a rage and desperate, he went up and downe beating his head against the walls, mainly crying out: *Oh! Varus, restore me my Souldiers againe:* For, those exceed, all follie, (forsomuch as impietie is joyned unto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if she had eares subject to our batterie: In imitation of the *Thracians*, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a *Titanian* revenge to shoot against heaven, thinking by shooting of arrowes to draw God to some reason. Now, as saith that ancient Poet in *Plutarch*.

Plutar.

*Point ne se faut corroucer aux affaires,*

*Il ne leur chaut de toutes noz choleres.*

We ought not angry be at what God dooth,

For he cares not who beares an angry tooth,

But we shall never raile enough against the disorder and unrulinesse of our minde.

## CHAP. V.

*Whether the Captaine of a place besieged ought to sallie forth to parlie.*

**L***ivius Marcins* Legate of the Romans, in the warre against *Persens* King of *Macedon*, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accord, wherewith the King inveagled, yeelded unto a truce for certaine daies: by which meanes he furnished his enemy with opportunitie and leasure to arme himselfe: wherof proceeded the Kings last ruine and over-throw. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindfull of their fore-fathers customes, condemned this practice as an enemy to their ancient proceedings, which was, said they, to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprises, or stratagems bynight, nor by set-flights, and unlookt-for approaches, never undertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed houre and place of the battell. With this conscience did they send backe to *Pirrhus* his traitorous Physician, and



to the *Phalisci* their disloyall schoole-master. These were true Romane proceedings, and not Grecian policies, nor Punike wiles, with whom to vanquish by force is lesse glorious than to conquer by treacherie. To deceive may serve for the instant, but hee only is judged to be overcome, that knowes he was not vanquished by craft or deceit, nor by fortune or chance, but by meere valour, betweene troupe and troupe, in an overt and just warre. It appeareth manifestly by the speech of these good men, they had not yet received this sentence.

— *Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*

Deceit, or vertue, either, in foes, it skill's not whether.

The Achajans, saith *Polibius*, detested all manner of deceit in their warres, deeming that no victorie, where their enemies courages were not quelled. *Eam vir sanctus, & sapiens sciat esse victoriam veram, que salva fide, & integra dignitate parabitur.* A wise and religious man will know that is victorie indeed, which shall be attained with credit unimpeached, and dignitie untainted, saith another.

*Vos ne velit, an me regnare hera, quid-ve ferat fors,*

*Virtute experiamur.*

If fortune will have you to raigne, or me,

And what chance bring's, let vertues triall be.

*Virg. Eneid.*  
*lib. 2. 390.*

*Cic. Offic. lib. 1. ex*  
*Enn. de Pyrrh.*

In the Kingdome of *Ternates*, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the custome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the same be denounced; thereunto adding an ample declaration of the meanes they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what Armes either offensive or defensive: which done, they also establish as a law, that without reproach or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to use what advantage soever, may in any sort further or helpe them to vanquish. The ancient *Florentines* were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by sudden surprises, that a moneth before they could bring their Arme into the field, they would give them warning, by the continuall sound of their common bell, which they called *Martinella*. As for us, who are lesse superstitious, and deeme him to have the honour of the waire, that hath the profit of it, and according to *Lisander*, say, that *Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the Foxes*; the the most ordinarie occasions of surprises are drawne from this practice, and as wee say, there is no time, wherein a Captaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, than that of parlies, and treaties of accord: And therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our modern men of warre, that the Governour or Commaunder of a besieged place, ought never to fallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the same was cast in the teeth, (as a reproach) unto the Lord of *Montmord* and *Assigni*, who defended *Monson*, against the Earle of *Nanscan*. Yet in this case it were excusable in him, that should so fallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earle *Guido Rangoni* in the Citie of *Reggio* (if credit may be given to *Pellay*: for *Guicciardin* affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of *Esoute*, coming to parlie made his approaches unto it: for he did so little forsake his fort, that whilst they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of *Esoute* and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found himselfe to be the weakest, so that *Alexander Trivulzio* was there slaine, and hee deeming it the safest way, was forced to follow the Earle, and on his word to yeeld himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the Citie. *Eumenes* in the Citie of *Nera*, being urged by *Antigonius*, that besieged him, to fallie forth to parlie, alleaging that there was reason he should come to him, sith he was the better man, and the stronger: after he had made this noble answer, *I will never thinke any man better than my selfe, so long as I can hold or rule my sword*; nor did he ever yeeld untill *Antigonius* had delivered him *Ptolomey*, his owne nephew for a pledge, whom he required. Yet shall wee see some to have prospered well in falling forth of their holdes to parlie, upon the word and honor of the assaillant; witness *Henric* of *Vaulx*, a knight of *Champaigne*, who being beleagued by the English-men in the Castle of *Commerce*, and *Bartholmeu* of *Bones*, who at that siege commaunded as Chiefe having caused the greatest part of the Castle to be undermined, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, utterly to subvert the same, under the ruines of it, summoned the said *Henric* to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied

but



but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was undoubtedly like to fall, acknowledged himselfe infinitely beholding to his enemy, unto whose discretion, after he had yeelded together with his troupe, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle failing, it was utterly overthrowne and carried away. I am easily perswaded to yeeld to other mens words and faith, but hardly would I doe it, when I should give other men cause to imagine, that I had rather done it through despaire and want of courage, than of a free and voluntary choise, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

## CHAP. VI.

*That the houre of parlies is dangerous.*

NOTWITHSTANDING I saw lately, that those of *Musidan*, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betraid, because during the speech of accord, and the treatie yet continuing, they had beene surprized and defeated; which thing might haply in other ages have had some appatence of truth; but, as I say, our manner of proceeding in such cases, is altogether differing from these rules, and no man ought to expect performance of promise from an enemy, except the last scale of bond be fully annexed therunto, wherein notwithstanding is then much care and vigilancie required, and much adoe shall be found. And it was ever a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or oath given unto a Citie, that yeelds unto gentle and favourable composition, and in that furie to give the needie, bloud-thirstie, and prey-greedy Souldier free entrance into it, unto the free choise and licence of a victorious armie. *Lucius Emilius Regillus* a Romane Prator, having lost his time in attempting by force to take the Citie of the *Phocens* by reason of the singular prowesse, which the inhabitants shewed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends unto the people of *Rome*, and to enter their Citie as a place confederate, removing all feare of hostile-action from them. But to the end hee might appeare more glorious and dreadfull, having caused his armie to enter with him, doe what he might, he could not bridle the rage of his Souldiers; and with his owne eyes saw most part of the Citie ransacked and spoiled: the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting those of his authoritie and militarie discipline. (Cleomenes was wont to say, that *What hurt soever a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond justice, and not subject unto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men*: who for seven dayes having made truce with those of *Argos*, the third night, whilest they were all asleepe mistrusting no harme, hee charged and overthrew them, alleaging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had beene made of nights.) But the Gods left not his perfidious policie unrevenge: For during their enter-parlie and businesse about taking hostages, the Citie of *Capitulum* was by surpris taken from him: which happened in the times of the justest Captaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not said, that time and place serving, wee must not make use and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we doe of their cowardise. And verily warre hath naturally many reasonable privileges to the prejudice of reason. And here failes the rule; *Neminem id agere, ut ex alterius prædictur inscitia*: That no man should endeavour to prey upon another mans ignorance. But I wonder of the scope that *Xenophon* allows them, both by his discourse, and by divers exploits of his perfect Emperour: an Author of wonderfull consequence in such things, as a great Captaine and a Philosopher, and one of *Socrates* chiefe Disciples, nor doe I altogether yeeld unto the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of *Aubigny* besieging *Capua*, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord *Fabritius Colonna*, Captaine of the towne, having from under a bastion or skonce begonne to parlie, and his men growing negligent and careless in their offices and guard, our men did suddenly take the advantage offered them, entered the towne, over-ran it, and put all to the sword. But to come to later examples, yea in our memorie, the Lord *Julio Romero* at

Cic. Offic.  
lib. 3.

Troy,



Twoy, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parlie with the Constable of *France*, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doors. But that wee may not passe unrevenge, the Marques of *Pescara* beleaguering *Genova*, where Duke *Oliviero Fregoso* commanded under our protection, and an accord between them having so long been treated, and earnestly solicited, that it was held as ratified, and upon the point of conclusion, the Spaniards being entred the Towne, and seeing themselves the stronger, tooke their opportunitie, and used it as a full and compleate victorie: and since at *Lyons* in *Barroe*, where the Earle of *Brienne* commanded, the Emperour having besieged him in person, and *Bartholemey* Lieutenant to the said Earle being come forth of his hold to parlie, was no sooner out, whilst they were disputing, but the Towne was surpris'd, and he excluded, They say,

*En il vincez sempre mai laudabil cosa;*

*Vincasi per fortuna o per ingegno.*

To be victorious, evermore was glorious,

Be we by fortune or by wit victorious.

*Arist. cant. 15.*

*Act. 1.*

But the Philosopher *Chrysippus* would not have beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, That those who run for the masterie may well employ all their strength to make speed, but it is not lawfull for them to lay hands on their adversaries, to stay him, or to crosse leggs, to make him trip or fall. And more generously answered *Alexander* the great, at what time *Polypercon* perswaded him to use the benefit of the advantage which the darknesse of the night afforded him, to charge *Darius*; No, no, said hee, it fits not mee to hunt after night-stolne victories: *Malome fortuna pœnitent, quàm victoria pudeat. I had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my victorie.*

*Curt. lib. 4.*

*Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem*

*Sternere, nec iacta cacum dare cuspide vulnū:*

*Obvius aduersoque occurrit, seque viro vir*

*Contulit, haud furto meliôr, sed fortibus armis.*

He deign'd not to strike downe *Orodes* flying,

Or with his throwne-launce blindely-wound him running:

But man to man afront himselfe applying,

Met him, as more esteem'd for strength than cunning.

*Virg. Aen. lib.*

*10.732 Merent.*

## CHAP. VII.

*That our intention judgeth our actions.*

THE common saying is, that *Death acquits us of all our bonds*. I know some that have taken it in another sence. *Henry* the seventh, King of *England* made a composition with *Philip* son to *Maximilian* the Emperour or (to give him a more honorable title) father to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, that the said *Philip* should deliver into his hands, the Duke of *Suffolke*, his mortall enemy, who was fled out of *England*, and saved himselfe in the Low countries, alwayes provided the King should attempt nothing against the Dukes life; which promise notwithstanding, being neere his end, he expressly by will and testament commanded his succeeding-sonne, that immediately after his decease, he should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of *Alva* presented us withall at *Brussels*, on the Earles of *Horne* and *Egmond*, were many remarkable things, and worthy to be noted: and amongst others, that the said Count *Egmond* upon whose faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of *Horne* was come in and yeilded himselfe to the Duke of *Alva*, required very instantly to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the word and bond, which he ought &c was engaged for, to the said Earle of *Horne*. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged the former of his word given, and that the second



second, without dying, was quit of it. We cannot be tied beyond our strength and meanes. The reason is, because the effects and executions are not any way in our power, and except our will, nothing is truly in our power: on it onely are all the rules of mans dutie grounded and established by necessitie. And therefore Count *Egmond*, deeming his minde and will indebted to his promise, howbeit the power to effect it, lay not in his hands, was no doubt cleerely absolved of his debt and dutie, although he had survived the Count *Horne*. But the King of *England* failing of his word by his intention, cannot be excused, though hee delaide the execution of his disloyaltie untill after his death. No more than *Herodorus* his Mason who during his naturall life, having faithfully kept the secret of his Master the King of *Egypt*s treasure, when he died discovered the same unto his children. I have in my dayes seene many convicted by their owne conscience, for detaining other mens goods, yet by their last will and testament to dispose themselves, after their decease to make satisfaction. This is nothing to the purpose. Neither to take time for a matter so urgent, nor with so small interest or shew of feeling, to goe about to establish an injurie. They are indebted somewhat more. And by how much more they pay incommodiously and chargeably, so much the more just and meritorious is their satisfaction. Penitence ought to charge, yet doe they worse, who reserve the revealing of some heinous conceit or affection towards their neighbour, to their last will and affection, having whilest they lived ever kept it secret. And seeme to have little regard of their owne honour, by provoking the partie offended against their owne memory, and lesse of their conscience, since they could never for the respect of death cancell their ill-grudging affection, and in extending life beyond theirs. Oh wicked and ungodly judges, which referre the judgement of a cause to such time as they have no more knowledge of causes! I will as neere as I can prevent, that my death reveale or utter any thing, my life hath not first publicly spoken.

## CHAP. VIII.

## Of Idlenesse.

AS we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they be fat and fertile, to bring forth store and sundrie roots of wilde and unprofitable weeds, and that to keepe them in ure we must subject and imploy them with certaine seeds for our use and service. And as wee see some women, though single and alone, often to bring forth lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce a perfect and naturall generation, they must be manured with another kinde of seed: So is it of mindes, which except they be busied about some subject, that may bridle and keepe them under, they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations.

*Virg. Aen. lib. 8.*  
 51.

*Sicut aqua tremulum labris ubi lumen ahenis  
 Sole repercussum, aut radiantis imagine Luna,  
 Omnia pervolitat late loca, jamque sub auris  
 Erigitur, summique ferit laquearia tecti.  
 As trembling light reflected from the Sunne,  
 Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasie lavers,  
 Flies over all, in aire unpraised soone,  
 Strikes house-top beames, betwixt both strangely wavers.*

*Hor. art. poet. 7.*

And there is no folly, or extravagant raving, they produce not in that agitation.

— *veluti agri somnia, vana*

*Finguntur species.*

Like sicke mens dreames, that feigne  
 Imaginations vaine.

*Mart. lib. 7. epi.*  
 72. 6.

The mind that hath no fixed bound, will easily loose it selfe: For, as we say, *To be everie where, is to be no where.*

*Quisquis ubique habitat, Maxime, nusquam habitat.*

Good



Good sir, he that dwells every where,

No where can say, that he dwells there.

It is not long since I retired my selfe unto mine owne house, with full purpose, as much as lay in me, not to trouble my selfe with any businesse, but solitarily and quietly to weare out the remainder of my well-nigh-spent life; where me thought I could doe my spirit no greater favour; than to give him the full scope of idlenesse; and entertaine him as he best pleased, and withall, to settle him-selfe as he best liked: which I hoped he might now, being by time become more settled and ripe, accomplish very easily: but I finde,

*Variam semper damus acie mentem;*

*Evermore idlenesse grows dumber to the mind.*

*Doth wavering mindes addressle as humors do,*

Luca. lib. 4. 704.

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times more care and libertie unto himselfe, than hee did for others, and begets in me so many extravagant *Chimeraes*, and fantastick monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one huddling upon an other, that at leisure to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strangenesse of them, I have begun to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I live, one day to make him ashamed, and bluth at himselfe.

## CHAP. IX.

### Of Lyers.

There is no man living, whom it may lesse becom to speake of memorie, than my selfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fully perswaded that no mans can be so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other parts are in me common and vile, but touching memorie, I thinke to carrie the prise from all other, that have it weakest, may and to gaine the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truly considering the necessitie of it, *Plato* hath reason to name it *A great and mighty Goddesse*) In my countie, if a man will imply that one hath no sense, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I complaine of mine, they reprove me, and will not beleeve me, as if I accused my selfe to be mad and senselesse. They make no difference betweene memorie and wit; which is an impairing of my market: But they doe me wrong, for contrariwise it is commonly seene by experience, that excellent memories doe rather accompany weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to be a perfect friend) that the same words which accuse my infirmitie, represent ingratitude. From my affection they take hold of my memorie, and of a naturall defect, they infer a want of judgement or conscience. Some will say, he hath forgotten this entreaty or request, or that promise, he is not mindfull of his old friends, he never remembered to say, or doe, or conceale this or that, for my sake. Verily I may easily forget, but to neglect the charge my friend hath committed to my trust, I never do it. Let them beare with my infirmitie, and not conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemy to my humor. Yet am I somewhat comforted. First, because it is an evill, from which I have chieflie drawne the reason to correct a worse mischiefe, that would easily have growen upon me, that is to say, ambition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddle with wordly negotiations. For as divers like examples of natures progresse, say, she hath happily strengthened other faculties in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easily lay downe and wire-draw my minde and judgement, upon other mens traces, without exercising their proper forces, if by the benefit of memorie, forren inventions and strange opinions were present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: For the Magazin of Memorie is peradventure more stored with matter, than is the store-house of Invention. Had it held out with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with prating: the subjects rousing the meane facultie I have to manage and imploy them, strengthening & wresting my discourses. It is pitie; I have assayed by the trial of some of my private friends: according as their memory hath ministred them a whole & perfect matter, who recoile their



narration so farre-backe, and stuff it with so many vaine circumstances, that if the story bee good, they smoothe the goodnesse of it : if bad, you must needs either curse the good fortune of their memorie, or blame the misfortune of their judgement. And it is no ealie matter, being in the midst of the carriere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a sudden period, and to cut it off. And there is nothing wherby the cleane strength of a horse is more knowne, than to make a readie and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I see some, that strive, but cannot stay their race. Whilest they labour to finde the point to stop their course, they stagger and falter, as men that faint through weaknesse. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onely the memorie of things past left them, and have lost the remembrance of their repetitions. I have heard some vey pleasant reports become most irkesome and tedious in the mouth of a certaine Lord, forso much as all the by-standers had many times bene cloyed with them. Secondly, (as said an ancient Writer) that, *I do not so much remember injuries received.* I had need have a prompter as *Darius* had, who not to forget the wrong he had received of the Athenians, whensoever he sat downe at his table, caused a page to sing unto him, *Sir, remember the Athenians*, and that the places or bookes which I read-over, do ever smile upon me, with some new noveltie. It is not without reason, men say, that *he who hath not a good and readie memorie, should never meddle with telling of lies, and feare to become a liar.* I am not ignorant how the Graminarians make a difference betwene speaking untrue and lying ; and say that to speake untruly, is to speake that which is false, but was reputed true ; and that the definition of the Latin word, *mentiri*, whence the French word, *mentir*, is derived, which in English is to lie, implieth and meaneth to goe against ones conscience : and by consequence it concerneth onely those, who speake contrary to that which they know, of whom I speake. Now these, either invent, seale, stampe and all, or else they disguise and change a true ground. When they disguise or change, if they be often put to the repetition of one thing, it is hard for them to keepe still in one path, and very strange if they lose not themselves : because the thing, as it is, having first taken up her stand in the memory, and thereby the way of knowledge and witting, imprinted it selfe, it were hard it should not represent it selfe to the imagination, displacing and supplanting falshood, which therein can have no such footing, or settled fastnesse : and that the circumstances of the first learning, still diving into the minde, should not cause it to disperse the remembrance of all false or bastardizing parts gotten together. Where they altogether invent, forso much as there is no certaine impression, to front their falshood, they seeme to have so much the lesser feare to mistake or forget themselves, which also notwithstanding being an airie bodie, and without hold-fast, may easily escape the memorie, except it be well assured : whereof I have often (to my no small pleasure) seene the experience, at the cost of those, who professe never to frame their speech, but as best shall fit the affaires they negotiate, and as best shall please the great men they speake unto. For the circumstances to which they will subject their credit and conscience, being subject to many changes, their speech must likewise diversifie and change with them, whence it followeth that of one selfe-same subject they speak diversly, as now yellow, now gray, to one man thus, and thus to another. And if peradventure these kind of men hoard-up their so contrarie instructions, what becomes of this goodly art ? Who besides, often most foolishly forget themselves, and run at random. For, what memorie shall suffice them, to remember so many different formes they have framed to one same subject ? I have in my dayes seene divers that have envied the reputation of this worthy kind of wisdom, who perceive not, that if there be a reputation, there can be no effect. Verily, lying is an ill and detestable vice. Nothing makes us men, and no other meanes keeps us bound one to another, but our word ; knew we but the horror and waight of it, we would with fire and sword pursue and hate the same, and more justly than any other crime. I see all men generally busied (and that verie improperly) to punish certaine innocent errors in children, which have neither impression nor consequence, and chastice and vex them for rash and fond actions. Onely lying, and stubbornnesse sometime more, are the faults whose birth and progresse I would have severely punished and cut off ; for they grow and increase with them : and if the tongue have once gotten this ill habit, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible it is to make her leave it ? whereby it ensueth, that we see many very honest men in other matters, to bee subject and enthralled to that fault. I have a good lad to my tailour, whom I never heard speak a truth ;



no not when it might stand him in stead of profit. If a lie had no more faces but one, as truth hath, we should be in farre better termes than we are: For, whatsoever a lier should say, we would take it in a contrarie sense. But the opposite of truth hath many-many shapes, and an indefinite field. The Pythagoreans make good to be certaine and finite, and evill to bee infinite and uncertaine. A thousand by-wayes misse the marke, one onely hits the same. Surely I can never assure my selfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreme and evident danger, by a shamelesse and solemne lie.

An ancient Father saith, *We are better in the companie of a knowne dogge, than in a mans societie, whose speech is unknowne to us. Vt externus alieno non sit hominis vice. A stranger to a stranger is not like a man.* And how much is a false speech lesse sociable than silence? King Francis the first, vaunted himselfe to have by this meanes brought Francis Taverna, Ambassador to Francis Sforza, Duke of Millane, to a non-plus; a man very famous for his rare eloquence, and facilitie in speech, who had beene dispatched to excuse his master, toward his Majestie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some intelligence in Italy, whence he had lately beene expelled, but especially in the Dukedome of Millane, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke, in effect as his Ambassador, but in apparence as a private man; who should make shew to reside there about his particular affaires, forsomuch as the Duke, who depended much more of the Emperour (chiefely then that he was treating a marriage with his niece, daughter of the King of Denmarke, who is at this day Dowager of Loraine) could not without great prejudice unto himselfe discover to have any correspondencie and conference with us. For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of Millane, named Merveille, then serving the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Quierie, was deemed fit. This man being dispatched with secret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together with other letters of commendation to the Duke in favour of his particular affaires, as a maske and pretence of his proceedings, continued so long about the Duke, that the Emperour began to have some suspicion of him; which as we suppose was cause of what ensued, which was, that under colour of a murther committed, the Duke one night caused the said Merveille to be beheaded, having ended his processe in two dayes. Master Francis being come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deduction of this storie (for the King had addrested himselfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke himselfe for justice, for such an outrage committed upon his servant) had one morning audience in the Kings councill-chamber: who for the foundation of his cause having established and to that end projected many goodly and colourable apparences of the fact: namely, that the Duke his Master had never taken Merveille for other than a private gentleman, and his owne subject, and who was come thither about his private busines, where he had never lived under other name, protesting he had never knowne him to be one of the Kings household, nor never heard of him, much lesse taken him for his Majesties Agent. But the King urging him with divers objections and demands, and charging him on every side, prest him so farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by stealth, that the seely man, being much entangled and suddenly surprised, as if he would set an innocent face on the matter, answered, that for the love and respect of his Majestie, the Duke his Master would have beene very loth that such an execution should have beene done by day. Heere every man may guesse whether he were taken short or no, having tripped before so goodly a nose, as was that of our King Francis the first. Pope Inlius the second, having sent an Ambassador to the King of England to animate him against our foresaid King: the Ambassador having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his answer urging and insisting upon the difficultie he found and foresaw in levying such convenient forces, as should be required to withstand so mightie, and set upon so puissant a King, and alleaging certaine pertinent reasons: The Ambassador fondly and vnsitly replied, that himselfe had long before maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which answer so farre from his proposition (which was with all speed, and without more circumstances to undertake and undergoe a dangerous warre) the King of England tooke hold of the first argument which in effect he afterward found true, which was, that the said Ambassador, in his owne particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereof advertising his Master, his goods were all confiscate, himselfe disgraced, and he very hardly escaped with life.

„ Plin. nat.  
„ hist. l. 7. c. 1.

„



## CHAP. X.

## Of readie or slow speech.

**O** *Ne ne furen à tous toutes graces donnees.*  
*All Gods good graces are not gone*  
*To all, or of all any one.*

So doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facility and promptitude, and that which we call utterance, so easie and at command, that at all assaies, and upon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slow, never speake any thing except much laboured and premeditated. As Ladies and dainie Dames are taught rules to take recreations and bodily exercises, according to the advantage of what they have fairest about them. If I were to give the like counsel, in those two different advantages of eloquence whereof Preachers and pleading-lawyers of our age seeme to make profession; the slow speaker in mine opinion should be the better preacher, and the other the better lawyer. For so much as charge of the first allows him as much leisure as he pleaseth to prepare himselfe; moreover his carriere continueth still in one kinde without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions urging him still upon any accident to be ready to enter the lists: and the unexpected replies and answers of his adverse partie, do often divert him from his purpose, where he is enforced to take a new course. Yet is it, that at the last enterview which was at *Marseilles* betwene Pope *Clement* the seventh, and *Francis* the first, our King, it hapned cleane contrarie, where Monsieur *Poyet*, a man of chiefe reputation, and all dayes of his life brought up to plead at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and con'd the same by roat, yea, and as some report, brought it with him ready penned from *Paris*; the very same day it should have beene pronounced; the Pope suspecting he might haply speake something, might offend the other Princes Ambassadors, that were about him, sent the argument, which he at that time & place thought fittest to be treated of, to the King, but by fortune cleane contrarie to that which *Poyet*, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving himselfe unable for it, the Cardinall *Bellay* was faine to supply his place and take that charge upon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder than the Preachers: (yet in mine opinion) shall we find more passable Lawyers than commendable Preachers, at least in *France*. It seemeth to be more proper to the mind, to have her operation ready and sudden, and more incident to the judgement, to have it slow and considerate. But who remaineth mute, if he have no leisure to prepare himselfe, and he likewise to whom leisure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangeness. It is reported that *Severus Cassius* spake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune, than to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speech redounded to his profit: and that his adversaries feared to urge him, lest his sudden anger should redouble his eloquence. I know this condition of nature by experience, which cannot abide a vehement and laborious premeditation: except it hold a free, a voluntarie, and selfe pleasing course, it can never come to a good end. We commonly say of some compositions, that they smell of the oile, and of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harshnesse, & rudenesse, which long plodding labour imprints in them that be much elaborated. But besides the care of well-doing, and the contention of the minde, overstretched to her enterprise, doth breake & impeach the same; even as it hapneth unto water, which being closely pent in, through it's owne violence and abundance, can not finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is joyned unto it, that it desireth not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of *Cassius* (for that motion would be over-rude) it ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly solicited: it desireth to be rouzed and prickt forward by strange occasions, both present and casuall. If it goe all alone, it doth but languish and loyter behinde: agitation is her life & grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine owne possession & disposition, chance hath more interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company, yea the change of my voice, drawes more from my minde than I can finde therein, when by my selfe I second and endeavor to employ the same. My words likewise are better than



than my writings, if choice may be had in so worthless things. This also hapneth unto me, that where I seeke my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my selfe more by chance, than by the search of mine owne judgement. I shall perhaps have cast forth some tutetic in writing, haply dull and harsh for another, but smooth and curious for my selfe. Let us leave all these complements and quaintnesse. That is spoken by everie man, according to his owne strength. I have so lost it, that I wot not what I would have said, and strangers have sometimes found it before me. Had I alwayes a razor about me, where that hapneth, I should cleane raze my selfe out. Fortune may at some other time make the light thereof appeare brighter unto me, than that of mid-day, and will make mee wonder at mine owne faltring or sticking in the myre.

## C H A P. XI.

## Of Prognostications.

AS touching Oracles it is very certaine, that long before the coming of our Saviour Iesus Christ, they had begun to lose their credit: for we see that Cicero laboureth to finde the cause of their declination: and these be his words: *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra aetate, sed jamdiu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius? Why in like sort are not Oracles now uttered, not onely in our times, but a good while since, so as now nothing can be more contemptible? But as for other Prognostikes, that were drawne from the anatomie of beasts in sacrifice, to which Plato doth in some sort ascribe the naturall constitution of the internall members of them, of the scraping of chickens, of the flight of birds, Aves quasdam rerum augurandarum causa natas esse putamus. We are of opinion, certain birds were even bred to prognosticate some things; of shunders, of turnings and backe-recourse of rivers. Multa cernunt aruspices: multa augures provident: multa oraculis declarantur: multa vaticinationibus: multa somnijs: multa portentis. Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets foresee as much: much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophecies; much by portentuous signes, and others, upon which antiquitie grounded most of their enterprises, as well public as private: our religion hath abolished them. And albeit there remaine yet amongst us some meanes of divination in the starres, in spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and elsewhere a notable example of the mad and fond curiositie of our nature, amusing it selfe to pre-occupate future things, as if it had not enough to doe to digest the present.*

Cic. divin. lib. 2.

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Id. nat. Deor.

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Id. lib. 1. 2.

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— cur hanc tibi rector Olympi

Solicitis visum mortalibus addere curam,

Noscant venturas ut dira per omnia clades?

Sic subitum quodcumque paras, sic caca futuri

Mens hominum fari, liceat sperare timenti.

Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the spheares,

To adde this care to mortals care-clog'd minde,

That they their miserie know, ere it appeares?

Let thy drifts sudden come; let men be blinde

T'wards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.

Lucan. lib. 2. 4.

14.

*Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: Miserum est enim nihil proficuum angere. It is not so much as profitable for us, to know what is to come, for it is a miserable thing, a man should fret and be vexed, and do no good. Yet is it of much lesse authoritie, loe here wherefore the example of Francis Marquis of Saluzzo hath seemed remarkable unto me: who being Lieutenant General unto Francis our King, & over all his forces, which he then had beyond the Mountaines in Italie, a man highly favoured in al our court, and otherwise infinitely beholding to the King for that very Marquisate, which his brother had forfeited: and having no occasion to doe it, yea and his minde and affections contradicting the same, suffered himselfe to be frighted and deluded (as it hath since been manifestly proved) by the fond prognostications, which then throughout all Europe were given out to the advantage of the Emperors*

Cic. nat. Deor.

lib. 3.

"



Emperor *Charles* the fift, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in *Italy*, where these foolish prædictions had so much possessed the *Italians*, that in *Rome* were laid great wagers, and much money given out upon the exchange, that we should utterly be overthrowne) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the unavoidable miseries which he foresaw prepared by the fates against the Crowne of *France*, and the many friends he had there, he unkindly revolted, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors side, to his intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the constellations then reigning. But was drawne unto it as a man encompassed and beset by divers passions; for having both strong castles, and all maner of munition and strength in his owne hands, the enemies armie under *Antonio Leva* about three paces from him, and we nothing mistrusting him, it was in his power to do worse than he did. For notwithstanding his treason, we lost neither man nor towne, except *Fossan*, which long after was by us stoutly contested and defended.

Hor. li. 3. od. 29.  
29.

*Prudens futuri temporis exitum*

*Caliginosa nocte premit Deus,*

*Ridetque, si mortalis ultra*

*Fas trepidat. —*

Our wise God hides in pitch-darke night

Offuture time th'event decreed,

And laughes at man, if man (affright)

Feare more than he to feare hath need.

*Ille potens sui*

*Latusq; deget, cui licet in diem*

*Dixisse, vixi, cras vel atrâ*

*Nube polum pater occupato,*

*Vel sole puro.*

He of himselfe lives merily,

Who each day, I have liv'd, can say,

To morow let God charge the skie

With darke clouds, or faire sun-shine-ray.

*Latens in præsens animus, quod ultra est,*

*Oderit curare.*

For present time a mery mind

Hates to respect what is behind.

Id. 2. od. 16. 25.

Cic. div. li. 1. p.

And those which take this word in a contrary sense are in the wrong. *Ista sic recipiuntur, ut & si divinatio sit, dii sint, & si dii sint, sit divinatio. This consequence is so reciprocal, as if there be any divination, there are Gods: and if there be Gods, there is divination. Much more wisely *Pacuvius*.*

Jb. f. Pac.

*Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,*

*Plussq; ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quàm ex suo,*

*Magis audiendum, quàm auscultandum censeo.*

Who understand what language birds expresse,

By their owne, than beasts-livers knowing lesse,

They may be heard, not hearkned to, I guesse.

This so famous art of divination of the *Tuskans* grew thus. A husband-man digging very deepe into the ground, with his plough-share, saw *Tages*, a demy-God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wisdom. All men ran to see him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages after remembred, and collected, containing the principles and meanes of this art. An of-spring futable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, than by such frivolous dreames. And truly in all common-wealths, men have ever ascribed much authoritie unto lot. *Plato* in the policie which he imagineth by discretion, ascribeth the deciding of many important effects unto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betweene the good to be contrived by lot. And giveth so large privileges unto this casuall election, that he appoints the children proceeding from them to be brought up in the cuntry; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding if any of those so exiled



led shall by fortune happen, whilst he is growing, to shew some good hope of him-selſe, that he may be revoked and sent-for backe, and ſuch amongſt the firſt as ſhall in their youth give ſmall hope of future good to be baniſhed. I ſee ſome that ſtudie, plod, and gloſſe their Almanackes, and in all accidents alleage their authoritie. A man were as good to ſay, they muſt needs ſpeake truth and lies. *Quis eſt enim qui totum diem jaculans, non aliquando con-* Cic. div. lib. 2.  
*lineet? For who is he that ſhooting all day, ſometimes hits not the white?* I thinke not the better of them, though what they ſay proove ſometimes true. It were more certaine, if there were either a rule or a truth to lie ever. Seeing no man recordeth their fables, becauſe they are ordinarie and infinit; and their predictions are made to be of credit, becauſe they are rare, incredible and prodigious. So answered *Diagoras* ſurnamed the Atheiſt (being in *Samo-*  
*thrace*) to him, who in ſhewing him divers vowes and offrings hanging in the Temple, brought thither by ſuch as had eſcaped ſhipwracke, ſaid thus unto him: *You that thinke the*  
*Gods to have no care of humane things, what ſay you by ſo many men ſaved by their grace and*  
*helpe? Thus is it done,* answered he: *Thoſe which were drowned farre exceeding their number,*  
*are not here ſet-forth.* *Cicero* ſaith, *That amongſt all other Philoſophers that have avowed*  
*and acknowledged the Gods, onely Xenophanes the Colophonian haſh gone about to root out all*  
*maner of divination.* It is ſo much the leſſe to be wondred at, if at any time we have ſeene ſome  
of our Princes mindes to their great damage, relie upon ſuch like vanities. I would to God,  
I had with mine owne eyes ſeene thoſe two wonders, mentioned in the booke of *Ioachin* the  
Abbat of *Calabria*, who foretold all the Popes that ſhould enſue, together with their names  
and ſhapes: And that of *Leo* the Emperour, who fore-ſpake all the Emperours and Patriarkes  
of *Greece*. This have I ſeene with mine owne eyes, that in publike confuſions, men amazed  
at their owne fortune, give themſelves head-long, as it were to all maner of ſuperſtition, to  
ſearch in heaven the cauſes and ancient threats of their ill-lucke; & in my time are ſo ſtrange-  
ly ſucceſſeſfull therein, as they have perſwaded me, that it is an ammuſing of ſharpe and idle  
wits, that ſuch as are inured to this ſubtleſtie, by folding and unfolding them, may in all other  
writings be capable to finde out what they ſecke-after. But above all, their dark, ambiguous,  
fantatiſticall, and propheticall gibriſh, mends the matter much, to which their authors never  
give a plaine ſenſe, that poſterity may apply what meaning and conſtruction it ſhall pleaſe  
unto it. The *Damon* of *Socrates* was peradventure a certaine impuſſion or will, which with-  
out the advice of his diſcourſe preſented it ſelſe unto him. In a miade ſo well purified, and by  
continuall exerciſe of wiſedome and vertue ſo wel prepared, as his was, it is likely, his incli-  
nations (though raſh and inconfiderate) were ever of great moment, and worthie to be fol-  
lowed. Every man feeleth in himſelſe ſome image of ſuch agitations, of a prompt, vehement  
& caſuall opinion. It is in me to give them ſome authoritie, that aſſoord ſo little to our wiſe-  
dome. And I have had ſome, equally weake in reaſon, and violent in perſwaſion and diſſwa-  
ſion (which was more ordinarie to *Socrates*) by which I have ſo happily and ſo profitably  
ſuffered my ſelſe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe ſome mat-  
ter of divine inſpiration.

## CHAP. XII.

## Of Conſtancie.

**T**He law of reſolution and conſtancie implieth not, we ſhould not, as much as lieth in  
our power ſhelter our ſelves from the miſchieſes and inconveniences that threatenus,  
nor by conſequence feare, they ſhould ſurpriſe us. Contrariwiſe, all honeſt meanes for a  
man to warrant himſelſe from evils are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the  
part of conſtancie is chiefly acted, in firmly bearing the inconveniences, againſt which no  
remedie is to be found. So that, there is no nimbleneſſe of bodie, nor wealding of hand-  
weapons, that we will reject, if it may in any ſort defend us from the blow, meant at us.  
Many moſt warlike nations in their conflicts and fights, uſed retreating and flight as a prin-  
cipall advantage, and ſhewed their backs to their enemy much more dangerouſly than  
their faces. The Turkes at this day retaine ſomething of that humour. And *Socrates* in  
*Plato* doth mocke at *Laches*, becauſe he had defined fortitude, to keepe herſelſe ſteadie in  
her



her rancke against her enemies; *What, saith hee, were it then cowardise to beat them in giving them place?* And allegeth *Homer* against him, who commendeth in *Aias* his skill in flying and giving ground. And because *Laches* being better advised, avoweth that custom to be amongst the *Scythians*, and generally amongst all horsemen, he allegeth further unto him the example of the *Lacedemonian* footmen (a nation above all other used to fight on foot) who in the battell of *Platea*, unable to open and to put to rout the *Persian* Phalanx, advised themselves to scatter and put themselves backe, that so by the opinion of their flight, they might if they should pursue them, rush in upon them, and put that so combined-masse to rout. By which means they gained the victorie. Touching the *Scythians*, it is reported, that when *Darius* went to subdue them, he sent their King many reprochfull speeches, for so much as hee ever saw him retire and give ground before him, and to avoid the maine battell. To whom *Indathirsez* (for so was his name) answered, that, *They did it not for feare of him, nor any other man living, but that it was the fashion of his nation to march thus: as having neither cities, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies should reape any commoditie by them.* But if hee had so great a desire to feed on them, he might draw neerer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchers, and there hee should meet with whom to speake his belly-full. Notwithstanding when a man is once within reach of cannon-shot, and as it were point-blanke before them, as the fortune of warre doth diverse times bring men unto, it ill becometh a resolute minde to start-aside, or bedaubed at the threat of a shot, because by the violence and suddenness thereof we deeme it inevitable: and there are some, who by lifting up of a hand, or stooping their head, have sometimes given their fellows cause of laughter: yet have we seene, that in the voyage, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth made against us in *Provence*, the Marquis of *Guafo*, being gone out to survey the citie of *Arles*, and shewne himselfe out of a winde-mill, under colour of which he was come somewhat neere the Towne, he was discovered by the Lord of *Bonevall*, and the Seneshall of *Aginois*, who were walking upon the Theatre *Aux arenes* (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lord of *Villiere*, Commissarie of the Artillerie. hee mounted a culverin so levell, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside, it was constantly affirmed, hee had bene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeeres before, *Lorence* of *Medicis*, Duke of *Vrbis*, and father to the Queene-mother of *France*, besieging *Mondolphe*, a place in *Italie*, in the province name *Vicariate*, seeing fire given to a piece that stood upright upon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that he plaide the ducke, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a litle of his head, had doubtlesse shot him through the paunch. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discourse, for what judgement can you give of an aime, either high or low in a matter so sudden? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a meane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoid the same. I cannot chuse, if the cracke of a musket doe suddenly streeke mine eares, in a place where I least looke for it, but I must needs start at it: which I have seene happen to men of better sort than my selfe. Nor doe the Stoickes meane, that the Soule of their wisest man in any sort resist the first visions and sudden fantasies, that surpriseth the same: but rather consent that, as it were unto a naturall subjection, he yeelds and shrinks unto the loud clattering and roare of heaven, or of some violent downefall; for example-sake, unto palenesse, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, alwayes provided, his opinion remaines safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no taunting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit consent to his fright and sufferance. Touching the first part, the same hapneth to him, that is not wise, but farre otherwise concerning the second. For the impression of passions doth not remaine superficial in him: but rather penetrates even into the secret of reason, infecting and corrupting the same. He judgeth according to them, and conformeth himselfe to them. Consider precisely the state of the wise Stoicke:

*Virg. Aen. lib. 4.*  
449.

*Mens immota manat; lachrymae volvuntur inanes.*

His minde doth firme remaine,

Tears are distill'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike doth not exempt himselfe from perturbations of the mind, but doth moderate them.

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## C H A P. XIII.

*Of Ceremonies in the enter-views of Kings.*

**T**Here is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this rapistrie. It were a notable discourtesie unto our common rules, both towards an equall, but more toward a great person, not to meete with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come: And *Margaret Queene of Navarre*, was wont to say to this purpose, *That it was a kinde of incivilitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meet with him, that is comming to him, how worthy soever he be: and that it more agreeth with civilitie and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him: except it were for feare the stranger should misse his way: and that it sufficeth to companie and wait upon him, when he is going againe.* As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices; as one that endeavoureth to abolish all maner of ceremonies in my house. Some will bee offended at it, what can I doe withall? I had rather offend a stranger once, then my selfe every day; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoid the servitude of Courts, and entertaine the same in their owne houses? Moreover it is a common rule in all assemblies, that hee who is the meaner man, cometh first to the place appointed, forasmuch as it belongs to the better man to be staid-for, and waited upon by the other. Nevertheless we saw that at the interview, prepared at *Merceilles* betweene Pope *Clement* the seventh, and *Francis* the first, King of *France*, the King having appointed all necessarie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes leasure, to make his entrie into it, and to refresh himselfe, before he would come to meet him there. Likewise at the meeting of the said Pope with the Emperour at *Bologna*, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came himselfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterparlies betweene such Princes, that the better man should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before him in whose countrey the assembly is: and they take it in this sence, that it is, because this complement should testifie, he is the better man, whom the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee sueth unto him. Not onely each countrey, but every Citie, yea and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have very carefully bene brought up in mine infancie, and have lived in verie good company, because I would not bee ignorant of the good maners of our countrey of *France*, and I am perswaded I might keepe a schoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painfull formes in them, which if a man forget by discretion, and not by error, hee shall no whit bee disgraced. I have often seene men proove unmanerly by too much maners, and importunate by over-much curtesie. The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie are, the reconciler of the first accostings of society and familiarity: and by consequence, it openeth the entrance to instruct us by the example of others, and to exploit and produce our example, if it have any instructing or communicable thing in it.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place without reason.*

**V**Alour hath his limits, as other vertues have: which if a man out-go, hee shall find himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort, that unless a man know their right bounds, which in truth are not on a sudden, easily hit upon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie, and



and folly. For this consideration grew the custome wee hold in warres, to punish, and that with death, those who wilfully opiniate themselves to defend a place, which by the rules of warre, cannot be kept. Otherwise upon hope of impunitie, there should bee no cottage, that might not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable *Momorancie* at the siege of *Pavia*, having beene appointed to passe over the river *Tesine*, and to quarter himselfe in the suburbs of Saint *Antonie*, being impeached by a tower, that stood at the end of the bridge, and which obstinately would needs hold out, yea and to be battered, caused all those that were with-in it, to be hanged. The same man afterward, accompanying my Lord the *Dolphin* of *France* in his journey beyond the *Alpes*, having by force taken the Castle of *Villane*, and all those that were within the same, having by the furie of the Souldiers bin put to the sword, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the same reason, caused them both to be hanged and strangled: As did also, Captaine *Martin du Bellay*, the Governour of *Turin*, in the same countrey, the Captaine of Saint *Bony*: all the rest of his men having beene massacred at the taking of the place. But for so much as the judgement of the strength or weakenesse of the place, is taken by the estimate and counterpoise of the forces that assaile it (for som man might justly opinionate himselfe against two culverins, that wold play the mad-man to expect thirtie cannons) where also the greatnesse of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due unto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the ballance on that side. By which termes it hapneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it unreasonable, anything should be worthie to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they overpasse what hill or difficultie soever they finde to withstand or resist them: As is seene by the formes of sommonings and challenges, that the Princes of the East, and their successors yet remaining have in use, so fierce, so haughtie, and so full of a barbarous kinde of commandement. And in those places where the Portugales abated the pride of the Indians, they found some states observing this universall and inviolable law, that what enemy soever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all composition of ransome or mercie. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, lest he fall into the hands of an enemy-judge, that is victorious and armed.

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CHAP. XV.

*Of the punishment of cowardise.*

I Have heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, hold opinion, that a souldier might not for cowardise of heart be condemned to death: who sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of *Vervins* sentence, who for yeelding up of *Bollein*, was doomed to lose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference between faults proceeding from our weaknesse, and those that grow from our malice. For in the latter we are directly bandied against the rules of reason, which nature hath imprinted in us; and in the former it seemeth, we may call the same nature, as a warrant, because it hath left us in such imperfection and defect. So as divers nations have judged, that no man should blame us for any thing we doe against our conscience. And the opinion of those which condemne heretikes and miscreants unto capitall punishments, is partly grounded upon this rule: and the same which establisheth, that a Judge or an advocate may not bee called to account for any matter committed in their charge through oversight or ignorance. But touching cowardise, it is certain, the common fashion is, to punish the same with ignominie & shame. And some hold that this rule was first put in practice by the Law-giver *Charondas*, and that before him the lawes of *Greece* were wont to punish those with death, who for feare did run away from a Battell: where hee onely ordained, that for three dayes together, clad in womens attire, they should be made to sit in the market-place: hoping yet to have some service at their hands, and by meanes of this reproch, they might recover their courage againe



gaine. *Suffragere malis hominis sanguinem quam effundere*: Rather move a mans blood to blush in his face, than remove it by bleeding from his body.

It appeareth also that the Roman lawes did in former times punish such as had run away, by death. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Julian* the Emperor condemned ten of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the *Parthians*, had but turned their backs from it; first to be degraded, and then to suffer death, as he saith, according to the ancient lawes, who nevertheless, condemneth others for a like fault, under the ensigne of bag and baggage, to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharp punishment of the Romans against those Souldiers that escaped from *Cannæ*: and in the same warre against those that accompanied *Cn. Fulvius* in his defeat, reached not unto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them despaine, and not only prove faint and cold friends, but cruell and sharpe enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of *Franget*, Whilom Lieutenant of the Marshall of *Chastillions* company, having by the Marshall of *Chabanes* beene placed Governor of *Fontarabie*, in stead of the Earle of *Lude*, and having yeilded the same unto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not onely himselfe, but all his succeeding posteritie declared villains and clownes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which severe sentence was put in execution at *Lyons*. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within *Gnise*, when the Earle of *Nansan* entred the towne: and others since. Nevertheless if there were so grosse an ignorance, and so apparant cowardize, as that it should exceed all ordinary, it were reason it should be taken for a sufficient proove of inexcusable treacherie, and knaverie, and for such to be punished.

## CHAP. XVI.

## A tricke of certaine Ambassadors.

IN all my travels I did ever observe this custome, that is, alwaies to learne something by the communication of others (which is one of the best schooles that may be) to reduce those I confer withall, to speake of that wherein they are most conversant and skilfull.

*Basti al nochierno ragionar de' venti,*

*Albisfolco de' tori, & le sue piaghe*

*Conti il guerrier, conti il pastor gl' armenti.*

Sailers of windes plow-men of beasts take keepe,

Let Souldiers count their wounds, shepherds their sheepe,

*Idem Propert. l.*  
*2. d. 1. 43.*

For commonly we see the contrary, that many chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than their owne: supposing it to be so much new reputation gotten: witnes the quip *Archidamus* gave *Persander*, saying that hee soooke the credit of a good Physitian, to become a paltry Poet. Note but how *Cesar* displaieth his invention at large, when he would have us conceive his inventions how to build bridges, and devices, how to frame other war-like engins; and in respect of that how close and succinct he writes, when he speaketh of the offices belonging to his profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of his war-fare. His exploits prove him a most excellent Captaine, but he would be known for a skilfull Ingenier, a quality somewhat strange in him. *Dionysius* the elder was a very great chieftaine and Leader in warre, as a thing best fitting his fortune: but he greatly laboured by meanes of Poetry, to assume high commendation unto himselfe, howbeit he had but little skill in it. A certaine Lawier was not long since brought to see a study, stored with all manner of bookes, both of his owne, and of all other faculties, wherein he found no occasion to entertaine himselfe withall, but like a fond cunning clarke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and censure a fence or barricado, placed over the scrow of the study, which a hundred Captaines and Souldiers see every day, without observing or taking offence at them.

*Optat ephippia hos piger, optat arare caballus.*

The Oxe would trappings weare,

The Horse, ploughs-yoake would beare.

*Hor. lib. 1. epist.*  
*14. 43.*

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By



By this course you never come to perfection, or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must a man endeavour to induce the Architect, the Painter, the Shoemaker to speake of their owne trade, and so of the rest, every man in his vocation. And to this purpose am I wont, in reading of histories (which is the subject of most men) to consider who are the writers: I they be such as profess nothing but bare learning, the chiefe thing I learne in them, is their stile and language: if Physitians, I beleeve them in whatsoever they shall report concerning the temperatenesse of the aire, the health and complexion of Princes, or of hurts and infirmities: If Lawiers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretenses of lawes and customes, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affaires of the Church, the Ecclesiasticall censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, manners, complements, ceremonies, and entertainments: If Warriors, what belongs unto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the atchievements or exploits wherein they have been themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practices, policies, and manner how to direct, complot, and conduct them. And therefore what in another Writer I should peradventure have cursorie passed over, I have with some advisednesse considered and marked the same in the historie of the Lord of *Langey*, a man most expert and intelligent in such matters: which is, that after he had exactly set downe and declared those glorious, and farre-fetcht remonstrances of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth made in the consistorie of *Rome*, in the presence of the Bishop of *Mascon*, and the Lord of *Velly*, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixed many bitter and outrageous words against us; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfulnessse and sufficiencie in the art of warre than our Kings, he would forthwith tie a rope about his necke, and goe aske him mercy: whereof he seemed to beleeve something: for afterward whilest he lived, he chanced twice or thrice to utter the verie same words. Moreover, that he had challenged the King to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dagger in a boat. The said Lord of *Langey*, following his storie, addeth that the said Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passed unto the king, dissembled the chiefe part unto him, yea and concealed the two precedent articles from him. Now me thought it very strange, that it should lie in the power of an Ambassador to dispence with any point, concerning the advertizements he should give unto his Master, namely of such consequence, comming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me seemed it should have beene the office of a trustie servant, truly and exactly to set downe things as they were, and in what manner they had succeeded: to the end the libertie of disposing, judging and chusing, might wholly lie in the master. For to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should couster and take it otherwise than he ought, and lest that might provoke him to some bad resolution; and in the meane while to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affaires, mee thought should rather have appertained to him that giveth the law, than to him that receiveth the same; to the Master or over-seer of the schoole, and not to him who should thinke himselfe inferior, as well in authority, as in wisdom and good counsell. Howsoever it were, I would be loth be so used in mine owne small and particular businesse, we doe so willingly upon every slight occasion and pretence neglect and forgoe commandement, and are so farre from obeying, that we rather usurp a kinde of masterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspiere unto liberty and authoritie, that no profit ought to be so deare unto a superiour, proceeding from those that serve him as their simple and naturall obedience. Whosoever obeyeth by discretion, and not by subjection, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And *P. Crassus* he whom the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consull in *Asia*, having sent a Græcian Inginer, to bring the greatest of two ship-masts before him, which he had scene in *Athens*, therewith to frame an engine of batterie: This man under colour of his skill, presumed to doe otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lesler of the two masts which according to his arts reason hee deemed the fittest. *Crassus* having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, caused him to be well whipped; preferring the interest of true discipline, before that of the worke. On the other side a man might also consider, that this so strict obedience belongs but to precise and prefixed commandements. Ambassadors have a more scopefull and free charge, which in many points dependeth chiefly of their disposition. They doe not meereley execute, but frame and direct by their owne advice and counsell,

the



the will of their Master. I have in my dayes seene some persons of commandement, checked and found fault withall, because they had rather obeyed the literall sense, and bare words, of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affaires they had in hand. Men of understanding and experience doe yet at this day condemne the custome of the Kings of *Persia*, which was to mince the instructions given to their Agents, and Lieutenants so small, that in the least accident they might have recourse to their directions and ordinances: This delay, in so farre reaching a scope of domination, having often brought great prejudice, and notable damage unto their affaires. And *Crassus* writing unto a man of that profession, and advertizing him of the use whereto he purposed the foresaid mast; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and wish him to interpose his censur or advice of it.

## CHAP. XVII.

## Of feare.

*Obstupui, steterantque comae, & vox faucibus haesi.*  
I stood agast, my haire on end,  
My jaw-tide tongue no speeche would lend.

*Ving. E. A. 1. 2.*  
274.

I Am no good Naturalist (as they say) and I know not well by what springs feare doth worke in us: but well I wot it is a strange passion: and as Physicians say, there is none doth soonet transport our judgement out of his due seat. Verily I have seene divers become mad and senselesse for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled and best resolved, it is certaine that whilest his fit continueth, it begetteth many strange dazlings, and terrible amazements in him. I omit to speake of the vulgar sort, to whom it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding sheets: and to others it sometimes sheweth Larves, Hobgoblins, Robbing-good-fellowes, and such other Bug-beares and *Chimeras*. But even amongst Souldiers, with whom it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath she changed a flocke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bushes and shrubs into men-at-arms and Lanciers? our friends into our enemies? and a red crosse into a white? At what time the Duke of *Bourbon* tooke *Rome*, an Ancient that kept sentinell, in the borough *Saint Peter*, was at the first alarm surprised with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, he suddenly threw himselfe thorow the hole of a breach out of the Citie, and fell just in the midst of his enemies, supposing the way to goe straight in the heart of the Citie: but in the end he no sooner perceived the Duke of *Burbons* troupes, advancing to withstand him, imagining it to bee some sallie the Citizens made that way, hee better bethinking himselfe, turned head, and the very same way, he came out, he went into the towne againe, which was more than three hundred paces distance towards the fields. The like happened, but not so succesfully unto Captaine *Iulius* his ensigne-bearer at what time *Saint Paul* was taken from us by the Earle of *Bures*, and the Lord of *Ren*, who was so frighted with feare, that going about to cast himselfe over the towne wals, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creepe thorow a spike-hole, he was cut in peeces by the assailants. At which siege likewise, that horror and feare is very memorable, which so did choake, seize upon, and freeze the heart of a gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, he fell downe starke dead upon the ground before the breach. The like passion rage doth sometimes possesse a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that *Germanicus* had with the Germanes, two mightie troupes were at one instant so frighted with feare, that both betooke themselves to their heeles, and ran away two contrary wayes, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings unto our heeles, as unto the first named, and other times it takes the use of feet from us: as we may reade of *Theophilus* the Emperor, who in a battell hee lost against the *Agarens*, was



so amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight: *adeo pavor etiam auxilia formidat: Feare is so afraid even of that should help.* Untill such time as *Mannel*, one of the chiefe leaders in his armie, having rouzed and shaken him, as it were out of a dead sleepe, said unto him, *Sir, if you will not presently follow me, I will surely kill you, for better were it you should lose your life, than being taken prisoner, lose your Empire and all.* Then doth she shew the utmost of her power, when for her owne service, she calls us off unto valour, which it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In the first set battell, the Romans lost against *Hannibal*, under the Consul *Sempronius*, a troupe of wel-nigh ten thousand footmen, was so surpris'd with feare, that seeing no other way to take, nor by what other course to give their basenes free passage, they headlong bent their flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron of their enemies, which with such furie it rowted and brake through, as it disfranked, and slew a great number of the Carthaginians: purchasing a reproachfull and disgracefull flight, at the same rate it might have gained a most glorious victorie. It is feare I stand most in feare of. For, in sharpnesse it surmounteth all other accidents. What affection can be more violent and just than that of *Pompeyes* friends, who in his owne ship were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is it, that the feare of the Egyptian sailes, which began to approach them, did in such sort daunt and skare them, that some have noted, they only busied themselves to hasten the marriners, to make what speed they could, and by maine strength of oares to save themselves, untill such time, as being arrived at *Tyre*, and that they were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke themselves of their late losse, and give their plaints and teares free passage, which this other stronger passion had suspended and hindred.

*1. Cic. Tusc. q. li.  
4. ex Enn. de O-  
rat. l. 3.*

*Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat.*  
Feare then unbreafts all wit,  
That in my minde did sit.

Those who in any skirmish or sudden bickering of warre have been throughly skared, fore-hurt, wounded, and gored as they be, are many times the next day after, brought to charge againe. But such as have conceived a true feare of their enemies, it is hard for you to make them looke them in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to lose their goods, to be banished, or to be subdued, live in uncessant agonie and languor; and thereby often lose both their drinking, their eating, and their rest. Whereas the poore, the banished, and seely servants, live often as carelessly and as pleasantly as the other. And so many men, who by the impatience and urging of feare, have hanged, drowned, and headlong tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught us, that feare is more importunate and intolerable than death. The Græcians acknowledge another kinde of it, which is beyond the error of our discourse: proceeding, as they say, without any apparent cause, and from an heavenly impulsion. Whole Nations and Armies are often scene surpris'd with it. Such was that, which brought so wonderfull a desolation to *Carthage*, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries, and frightfull exclamations: the inhabitants were scene desperately to runne out of their houses, as to a sudden alarum, and furiously to charge, hurt, and enter-kill one another, as if they had beene enemies come to usurpe and possesse their Citie. All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furie, untill such time as by praiers and sacrifices they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the Panike terror.

*Erast. bil. 2. cent.  
10. ad. 19. bil. 3.  
161. 7. ad. 3.*

## CHAP. XVIII.

*That we should not judge of our happinesse, untill after  
our death.*

*Ovid. Met. lib. 3.  
135.*

— *scilicet ultima semper  
Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus  
Ante obitum nemo, supremæque funera debet.*  
We must expect of man the latest day,  
Nor ere he die, he's happie, can we say.

The



THE very children are acquainted with the storie of *Croesus* to this purpose: who being taken by *Cyrus*, and by him condemned to die, upon the point of his execution, cried out aloud: Oh *Solon*, *Solon*! which words of his, being reported to *Cyrus*, who inquiring what he meant by them, told him, hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement *Solon* had before times given him: which was, that no man, what cheerefull and blandishing countenance soever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe happie, till such time as he have passed the last day of his life, by reason of the uncertaintie and vicissitude of humane things, which by a very light motive, and slight occasion, are often changed from one to another cleane contrary state and degree. And therefore *Agésilus* answered one that counted the King of *Persia* happy, because being very young, he had gotten the garland of so mightie and great a dominion: yea but said he, *Priam* at the same age was not unhappy. Of the Kings of *Macedon*, that succeeded *Alexander* the great, some were afterward seene to become Joyners and Scriveners at *Rome*: and of Tyrants of *Sicily*, Schoolemasters at *Carthage*: One that had conquered halfe the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble, and miserable suter to the taskally officers of a king of *Egypt*: At so high a rate did that great *Pompey* purchase the irksome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers daies, *Lodowicke Sforze*, tenth Duke of *Milane*, under whom the state of *Italie* had so long beene turmoiled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at *Loches* in *France*, but not till he had lived and lingered ten yeares in thralldome, which was the worst of his bargain. The fairest Queene, wife to the greatest King of Christendome, was she not lately seene to die by the hands of an executioner? Oh unworthie and barbarous crueltie! And a thousand such examples. For, it seemeth that as the seabillowes and surging waves, rage and storme against the surly pride and stubborne height of our buildings; So are there above, certaine spirits that envie the rising prosperities and greatnesse heere below.

*Vsq̃ue adeò res humanas res abdita quadam  
Obterit, & pulchros fasces savasq̃ue secures  
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.  
A hidden power somens states hath out-worne  
Faire swords, fierce scepters, signes of honours borne,  
It seemes to trample and deride in scorn.*

*Lucret. lib. 5.  
1243.*

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometimes narrowly watch the last day of our life, thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow what for many yeares together she had beene crecting, and makes us crie after *Laberius*, *Nimirum hac die una plus vixi, mihi quam vivendum fuit*. Thus it is, *I have lived longer by this one day, than I should*. So may that good advice of *Solon* be taken with reason. But forso much as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatnesse, and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a welborne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed unto man, untill he have beene scene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be some maske: either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophie are not in us but by countenance, or accidents that never touch us to the quick, give us alwaies leasure to keep our countenance settled. But when that last part of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine English, and put off all vizards: then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewine. be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

*Nam verà voces tum demum pectore ab imo  
Ejciuntur, & eripitur persona; manet res.  
For then are sent true speeches from the heart,  
We are our selves, we leave to play a part.*

*Lucret. lib. 3. 57.*

Loe heere, why at this last cast, all our lives other actions must be tride and touched. It is the master-day, the day that judgeth all others: it is the day, saith an auncient Writer,



that must judge of all my forepassed yeares. To death doe I referre the essay of my studies fruit. There shall wee see whether my discourse proceed from my heart, or from my mouth. I have scene divers, by their death, either in good or evill, give reputation to all their forepassed life. *Scipio*, father in law to *Pompey*, in well dying, repaired the ill opinion which untill that houre men had ever held of him. *Epaminondas* being demanded, which of the three he esteemed most, either *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates*, or himselfe; *It is necessary*, said he, *that we be scene to die, before your question may well be resolved*. Verily we should steale much from him, if he should be weighed without the honour and greatnesse of his end. God hath willed it, as he pleased: but in my time three of the most execrable persons, that ever I knew in all abomination of life, and the most infamous, have beene seen to die very orderly and quietly, and in every circumstance composed even unto perfection. There are some brave and fortunate deaths. I have scene her cut the twine of some mans life, with a progresse of wonderful advancement, and with so worthie an end, even in the flowre of his growth, and spring of his youth, that in mine opinion, his ambitious and haughtie couragious designs, thought nothing so high, as might interrupt them: who without going to the place where he preterded, arrived there more gloriously and worthily, than either his desire or hope aimed at. And by his fall fore-went the power and name, whither by his course he aspirid. When I judge of other mens lives, I ever respect, how they have behaved themselves in their end; and my chiefeft study is, I may well demeane my selfe at my last gaspe, that is to say, quietly, and constantly.

## CHAP. XIX.

*That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die.*

**C**icero saith, that to *Philosophie* is no other thing, than for a man to prepare himselfe to death: which is the reason, that studie and contemplation doth in some sort withdraw our soule from us, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprenticeship and resemblance of death; or else it is, that all the wisdom and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve upon this point, to teach us, not to feare to die. Truly either reason mockes us, or it only aimeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all her travell to make us live well, and as the holy Scripture saith, *at our ease*. All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, howbeit they take divers meanes unto, and for it, else would men reject them at their first coming. For, who would give eare unto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dissensions of philosophicall sects in this case, are verball: *Transcurramus solertissimas vias*: *Let us run over such over-fine fooleries, and subtil trifles*. There is more wilfulnesse and wrangling among them, than pertaines to a sacred profession. But what person a man undertakes to act, he doth ever therewithall personate his owne. Although they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our aime is voluptuousnes. It pleaseth me to importune their eares still with this word, which so much offends their hearing: And if it imply any chiefe pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the assistance of vertue, than to any other supply, voluptuousnes being more strong, sinnowie, sturdie, and manly, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more naturall; and not terme it vigor, from which it hath his denomination. Should this baser sensuality deserve this faire name, it should be by competencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse void of incommodities and crosses, than vertue. And besides that, her taste is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, she hath her fasts, her eyes, and her travels, and both sweat and bloud. Furthermore she hath particularly so many wounding passions, and of so severall sorts, and so filthie and loathsome a societie waiting upon her, that shee is equivalent to penitencie. Wee are in the wrong, to thinke her incommodities serve her as a provocation, and seasoning to her sweetnes, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie: and to say, when we come to vertue, that like successes and difficulties over-whelme it, and yeeld it austere and inaccessible. Whereas much



much more properly then unto voluptuousnes, they ennobled, sharpen, animate, and raise that divine and perfect pleasure, which it meditates and procureth us. Truly he is verie unworthie her acquaintance, that counter-ballanceth her cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor use of it. Those who go about to instruct us, how her pursuit is very hard and laborious, and her jovissance well pleasing and delightfull: what else tell they us, but that shee is ever unpleasur and irksome? For, what humane meane did ever attaine unto an absolute enjoying of it? The perfectest have beene content but to aspire and approach her, without ever possessing her. But they are deceived; seeing that of all the pleasures we know, the pursuit of them is pleasant. The enterprise is perceived by the qualitie of the thing, which it hath regard unto: for it is a good portion of the effect, and consubstantiall. That happines and felicitie, which shineth in vertue, replenisheth her approaches and appurtenances, even unto the first entrance and utmost barre. Now of all the benefits of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnisheth our life with an easefull tranquillitie, and gives us a pure and amiable taste of it: without which every other voluptuousnes is extinguished. Loe, here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all leade us with a common accord to despise griefe, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which mans life is subject, it is not with an equall care: as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men passe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and other some without feeling any griefe or sicknes, as *Xenophilus* the Musitian, who lived an hundred and six yeares in perfect and continuall health: as also if the worst happen, death may at all times, and whensoever it shall please us, cut off all other inconveniences and crosses. But as for death, it is inevitable.

*Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium  
Versatur urna, seruus, ocyus  
Sors exitura, & nos in a:cr-  
num exitum impositura cymba.  
All to one place are driv'n, of all  
Shak't is the lot-pot, where-hence shall  
Sooner or later drawne lots fall,  
And to deaths boat for aye enthrall.*

*Hor. lib. 3. od. 3.  
25.*

And by consequence, if she make us affraid, it is a continual subject of torment, and which can no way be eased. There is no starting-hole will hide us from her, she will finde us where-soever we are, we may as in a suspected countrie start and turne here and there: *qua quasi saxum Tantalus semper impendit*: which evermore hangs like the stone over the head of *Tantalus*: Our lawes doe often condemne and send malefactors to be executed in the same place where the crime was committed: to which whilest they are going, leade them along the fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best cheere you can,

*Cic. fin. lib. 1.*

*non Sicula dapes  
Dulcem elaborabunt saporibus  
Non avium, citharaque cantus  
Sonnium reducent.*

*Hor. lib. 3. od. 1. 18.*

Not all King *Denys* daintie fare,  
Can pleasing taste for them prepare:  
No song of birds, no musikes sound  
Can lullabie to sleepe profound.

Doe you thinke they can take any pleasure in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the finall intent of their voiage being still before their eyes, hath not altered and altogether distracted their taste from all these commodities and allurements?

*Audit iter, numeratque dies, spatioque viarum  
Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura.*

*Claudian. in Ruf. l.  
2. l. 137.*

He heares his journey, counts his daies, so measures he  
His life by his waies length, vext with the ill shall be.

The end of our carriere is death, it is the necessarie object of our aime: if it affright us, how is it possible we should step one foot further without an ague? The remedie of the vulgar sort is, not to thinke on it. But from what brutall stupiditie may so grosse a blindness come upon him? he must be made to bridle his Ass by the taile,



*Qui capere ipse suo instituit vestigia retro.*  
Who doth a course contrarie runne  
With his head to his course begunne.

It is no marvell if he be so often taken tripping; some doe no sooner heare the name of death spoken of, but they are afraid, yea the most part will crosse themselves, as if they heard the Devill named. And because mention is made of it in mens wils and testaments, I warrant you there is none will set his hand to them, til the Physitian have given his last doome, and utterly forsaken him. And God knowes, being then betweene such paine and feare, with what sound judgement they endure him. For so much as this syllable sounded so unpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed so ill-boding and unluckie, the Romans had learned to allay and dilate the same by a Periphrasis. In lieu of saying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would say, he hath lived. So it be life, be it past or no, they are comforted: from whom we have borrowed our phrascs *quondam, alias, or late such a one*. It may haply be, as the common saying is, the time we live, is worth the money we pay for it. I was borne betweene eleven of the clocke and noone, the last of Februarie 1533. according to our computation, the yeare beginning the first of Januarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39. yeares old. I want at least as much more. If in the meane time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter so farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we see both young and old to leave their life after one selfe-same condition. No man departs otherwise from it, than if he but now came to it, seeing there is no man so crazed, bedrell, or decrepit, so long as he remembers *Methusalem*, but thinkes he may yet live twentie yeares. Moreover, seely creature as thou art, who hath limited the end of thy daies? Happily thou presumest upon Physitians reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things, long since thou livest by extraordinarie favour. Thou hast alreadie over-past the ordinarie tearmes of common life: And to prove it, remember but thy acquaintances and tell me how many more of them have died before they came to thy age, than have either attained or outgone the same: yea and of those that through renoune have ennobled their life, if thou but register them, I will lay a wager, I will finde more that have died before they came to five and thirty yeares, than after. It is consonant with reason and pietie, to take example by the humanity of *Iesus Christ*, who ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares. The greatest man that ever was being no more than a man, I meane *Alexander* the great, ended his dayes, and died also of that age. How many severall meanes and waies hath death to surpris us!

*Hor. lib. 2. od. 13.*  
13.

*Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis*  
*Cantum est in horas.*  
A man can never take good heed,  
Hourly what he may shun and speed.

I omit to speake of agues and pleurisies; who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of *Britanie* should have beene stifled to death in a throng of people, as whilome was a neighbour of mine at *Lyons*, when Pope *Clement* made his entrance there? Hast thou not seene one of our late Kings slaine in the midst of his sports? and one of his ancestors die miserably by the chocke of an hog? *Eschilus* fore-threatned by the fall of an house, when he stood most upon his guard, stricken dead by the fall of a Tortoise shell, which fell out of the tallants of an Eagle flying in the aire? and another choaked with the kernell of a grape? And an Emperour die by the scratch of a combe, whilest he was combing his head: And *Amylius Lepidus* with hitting his foot against a doore-sceele? And *Aufidius* with stumbling against the Confull-Chamber doore as he was going in thereat? And *Cornelius Gallus* the Prætor, *Tigillius* Captaine of the Romane watch, *Lodowike* sonne of *Guido Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, end their daies betweene womens thighs? And of a farre worse example *Spensippus* the Plantonian Philosopher and one of our Popes? Poore *Bebins* a Judge whilest he demurreth the sute of a plaintife but for eight daies, behold his last expired; And *Camus Iulius* a Physitian, whilest he was anointing the eies of one of his patients, to have his owne sight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may adde one of a brother of mine, called Captaine *Saint Martin*, a man of three and twentie yeares of age, who had alreadie given good testimonie of his worth and forward valour, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right eare, without apparance of any



any contusion, bruse, or hurt, and never sitting or resting upon it, died within six houres after of an Apoplexie, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being still before our eies, how is it possible for man to forgo or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme unto us, that shee is still ready at hand to take us by the throat? What matter is it, will you say unto me, how and in what manner it is, so long as a man doe not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howsoever a man may shrowd or hide himselfe from her dart, yea were it under an oxe-hide, I am not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth me to live at my ease; and the best recreation I can have, that doe I ever take; in other matters, as little vainglorious, and exemplate as you list.

—*præulerim delirus inersque videri,  
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,  
Quam sapere & ringi.*

Id. 1. epi. 2. 124.

A dotard I had rather seeme, and dull,  
Some my faults may please make me a gull,  
Than to be wise, and beat my vexed scull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come unto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they daunce: but no speech of death. All that is good sport. But if she be once come, and on a sudden and openly surprise, either them, their wives, their children, or their friends, what torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what despaire doth then overwhelm them? saw you ever any thing so drooping, so changed, and so distracted? A man must looke to it, and in better times fore-see it. And might that brutish carelesse lodge in the minde of a man of understanding (which I find altogether impossible) shee sels us her ware at an over-deere rate: were she an enemy by mans wit to be avoided, I would advise men to borrow the weapons of cowardlinesse: but since it may not be, and that be you either a coward or a run-away, an honest or valiant man, she overtakes you,

*Nempe & sagacem persequitur virum,  
Nec parcat imbellis juvenis  
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.*

Id. 3. od. 2. 14.

Shee persecutes the man that flies,  
Shee spares not weake youth to surprise,  
But on their hammes and backe turn'd plies.

And that no temper of cuirace may shield or defend you,

*Ille licet ferro cinctus se condat & are,*

Propat. l. 3. &  
17. 25.

*Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput.*

Though he with yron and brasse his head empale,  
Yet death his head enclosed thence will hale.

Let us learne to stand, and combat her with a resolute minde. And being to take the greatest advantage she hath upon us from her, let us take a cleane contrary way from the common, let us remove her strangenesse from her, let us converse, frequent, and acquaint our selves with her, let us have nothing so much in minde as death, let us at all times and seasons, and in the ugliest manner that may be, yea with all faces shapen and represent the same unto our imagination. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a stone, at the least prick with a pinne, let us presently ruminare and say with our selves, what if it were death it selfe? and thereupon let us take heart of grace, and call our wits together to confront her. Amiddest our bankets, feasts, and pleasures, let us ever have this restraint or object before us, that is, the remembrance of our condition, and let not pleasure so much mislead or transport us, that we altogether neglect or forget, how many waies, our joyes, or our feasting, be subject unto death, and by how many hold-fasts shee threatens us and them. So did the Egyptians, who in the midst of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest cheere, caused the anatomic of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests.

*Omniem credo diem tibi dilaxisse supremum,  
Grata superveniet, qua non sperabitur hora.  
Thinke every day shines on thee as thy last,  
Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.*

Hor. lib. 1. epi. 4.  
13.



It is uncertaine where death looks for us; let us expect her everie where: the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath unlearned to serve. There is no evill in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life is no evill. To know how to die, doth free us from all subjection and constraint. *Paulus Aemilius* answered one, whom that miserable king of *Macedon* his prisoner sent to entreat him, he would not lead him in triumph, let him make that request unto himselfe. Verily, if Nature afford not some helpe, in all things, it is very hard that art and industrie should goe farre before. Of my selfe, I am not much given to melancholy, but rather to dreaming and sluggishnes. There is nothing wherewith I have ever more entertained my selfe, than with the imaginations of death, yea in the most licentious times of my age.

*Catull. eleg. 4. 16.*

*Incundum, cum atas florida ver ageret.*

When my age flourishing  
Did spend it's pleasant Spring.

Being amongst faire Ladies, and in earnest play, some have thought me busied, or musing with my selfe, how to digest some jealousie, or meditating on the uncertaintie of some conceived hope, when God he knowes, I was entertaining my selfe with the remembrance of some one or other, that but few daies before was taken with a burning fever, and of his sodainc end, comming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of idle conceits, of love, and merry glee; supposing the same, either sicknes or end, to be as neere me as him.

*Lucr. lib. 3. 947.*

*Iam fuerit, nec post, unquam revocare licebit.*

Now time would be, no more  
You can this time restore.

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such a conceit, than at any other. It is impossible, we should not apprehend or feele some motions or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely upon us: but doubtlesse, he that shall manage and meditate upon them with an impartiall eye, they will assuredly, in tract of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise for my part, I should be in continuall feare and agonie; for no man did ever more distrust his life, nor make lesse account of his continuance: Neither can health, which hitherto I have so long enjoied, and which so seldome hath beene crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any sicknesse shorten them of it. At every minute me thinkes I make an escape. And I uncessantly record unto my selfe, that whatsoever may be done another day, may be effected this day. Truly hazards and dangers doe little or nothing approach us at our end: And if we consider, how many more there remaine, besides this accident, which in number more than millions seeme to threaten us, and hang over us; we shall find, that be we found or sicke, lustie or weake, at sea or at land, abroad or at home, fighting or at rest, in the midst of a battell or in our beds, she is ever alike neere unto us. *Nemo altero fragilior est,*  
*nemo in craftum sui certior.* No man is weaker then other; none surer of himselfe (to live)  
*till to morrow.* Whatsoever I have to doe before death, all leasure to end the same, seemeth short unto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memoriall of something I would have done after my death: I told him (as indeed it was true,) that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lustie, I had made haste to write it, because I could not assure my self I should ever come home in safety; As one that am ever hatching of mine owne thoughts, and place them in my selfe: I am ever prepared about that which I may be: nor can death (come when she please) put me in mind of any new thing. A man should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to doe but with himselfe.

*Hor. lib. 2. od. 16.*

*Quid brevi fortes jaculamur avo*

*Multa?*

To aime why are we ever bold,  
At many things in so short hold?

For then we shall have worke sufficient, without any more accrease. Some man complaineth more that death doth hinder him from the assured course of an hoped for victorie, than of death it selfe; another cries out, he should give place to her, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing up; another bewaileth he must forgoe



forgoe his wives company : another moaneth the losse of his children the chiefest commodities of his being. I am now by mines of the mercy of God in such a taking, that without regret or grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am every where free : my farewell is soone taken of all my friends, except of my selfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more simply and fully, or more generally spake of all thoughts of it, than I am fully assured I shall doe. The dearest deaths are the best.

— *Miser, ô miser (aiunt) omnia admit.*

*Lact. lib. 3. p. 42.*

*Vna dies infestis mihi tot premis vicia :*

O wretch, O wretch, (friends cry) one day,  
All joyes of life hath tane away :

And the builder,

— *maneant (saith he) opera interrupta, mina q̃,*

*Virg. Aen. lib. 9.*

*Murorum ingentes.*

88.

The workes unfinished lie,  
And walls that threatned hie.

A man should designe nothing so long afore-hand, or at least with such an intent, as to passionate himselfe to see the end of it ; we are all borne to be doing.

*Cum moriar, medium solvar & inter opus.*

*Ovid. am. lib. 2.*  
*el. 10. 36.*

When dying I my selfe shall spend,  
Ere halfe my businesse come to end.

I would have a man to be doing, and to prolong his lives offices, as much as lieth in him, and let death seize upon me, whilst I am setting my cabiges, carelesse of her dart, but more of my unperfect garden. I saw one die, who being at his last gaspe, uncessantly complained against his destinie, and that death should so unkindly cut him off in the midst of an historie which he had in hand, and was now come to the fifteenth or sixteenth of our Kings.

*Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi carum,*

*Iam desiderium rerum super infides una.*

*Lact. lib. 3. p. 44.*

Friends adde not that in this case, now no more  
Shalt thou desire, or want things wisht before.

A man should rid himselfe of these vulgar and hurtfull humours. Even as Church-yards were first placed adjoining unto churches, and in the most frequented places of the City, to enure (as *Lycurgus* said) the common people, women and children, not to be skared at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacle of bones, sculls, tombes, graves and burials, should forewarne us of our condition, and fatall end.

*Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivia cede*

*Mus olim, & miscere epulis spectacula dira.*

*Syl. Ital. 11.*

*Certamen ferro, saepe & super ipsa cadentum*

51.

*Pocula, respersis non parco sanguine mensis.*

Nay more, the manner was to welcome guests,  
And with dire shewes of slaughter to mix feasts.

Of them that fought at sharpe, and with bords tainted

Of them with much bloud, who o'refull cups fainted.

And even as the Egyptians after their feasting and carousings, caused a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guests and by-standers, by one that cried aloud, *Drinke and be merry, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead:* So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have alwaies death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of, than of the death of men : that is to say, what words, what countenance, and what face they shew at their death ; and in reading of histories, which I so attentively observe. It appeareth by the shuffling and budling up of my examples, I affect no subject so particularly as this. Were I a composer of books, I would keepe a register, commented of the divers deaths, which in teaching men to die, should after teach them to live. *Diccarum* made one of that title, but of another and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to mee, the effect exceeds the thought so farre, that there is no fence so sure, or cunning so certaine, but a man shall either lose or forget,

if



if he come once to that point; let them say what they list: to premeditate on it, giveth no doubt a great advantage: and it is nothing, at the least to goe so farre without diuinay or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it: Nature her selfe lends her hand, and gives us courage. If it be a short and violent death, wee have no leisure to feare it; if otherwise, I perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I doe naturally fall into some disdain and contempt of life. I finde that I have more adoe to digest this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, than I have when I am troubled with a fever: forsomuch as I have no more such fast hold on the commodities of life, whereof I begin to lose the use and pleasure, and view death in the face with a lesse undanted looke, which makes me hope, that the further I goe from that, and the nearer I approch to this, so much more easily doe I enter in composition for their exchange, Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which *Cesar* affirmed, that often somethings seeme greater, being farre from us, than if they bee neere at hand: I have found that being in perfect health, I have much more beene frightened with sicknesse, than when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the pleasure and the strength make the other seeme so disproportionable from that, that by imagination I amplifie these commodities by one moiety, and apprehended them much more heaue and burthensome, than I feele them when I have them upon my shoulders. The same I hope will happen to me of death. Consider we by the ordinary mutations, and daily declinations which we suffer, how Nature deprives us of the might of our losse and empairing: what hath an aged man left him of his youths vigor, and of his forepast life?

*Cor. Gal. lib.*  
1. 16.

*Hec senibus vita portio quam a manet!*

Alas to men in yeares how small

A part of life is left in all?

*Cesar* to a tired and crazed Souldier of his guard, who in the open street came to him, to beg leave, he might cause himselfe to be put to death; viewing his decrepit behaviour, answerd pleasantly: *Doeſt thou thinke to be alive then?* Were man all at once to fall into it, I doe not thinke we should be able to beare such a change, but being faire and gently led on by her hand, in a slow, and as it were unperceived descent, by little and little, and step by step, she rouses us into that miserable state, and day by day seekes to acquaint us with it. So that when youth failes in us, we feele, nay we perceive no shaking or transchange at all in our selves: which in essence and veritie is a harder death, than that of a languishing and irkesome life, or that of age. Forsomuch as the leape from an ill being, unto a not being, is not so dangerous or steepie; as it is from a delightfull and flourishing being, unto a painfull and sorrowfull condition. A weake bending, and faint stopping bodie hath lesse strength to beare and undergoe a heauey burden: So hath our soule. She must bee roused and raised against the violence and force of this aduersarie. For as it is impossible, she should take any rest whilest she feareth: whereof if she be assured (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impossible, unquietnesse, torment, and feare, much lesse the least displeasure should lodge in her.

*Hor. lib. 3. od. 3.*

*Non vultus instantis tyranni*

*Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,*

*Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,*

*Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.*

No urging tyrants threatening face,

Where minde is sound can it displace,

No troublous wind the rough seas Master,

Nor *Joves* great hand the thunder-caster.

She is made Mistris of her passions and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attaine to this advantage: Herein consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords us meanes wherewith to jest and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

— in manicis, &

*Compeditibus, savoris sub custode tenebo.*

*Ipse Deus simul atque volam, me solvet: opinor,*

*Hoc sentit moriar, mors ultima lumen rerum est.*

*Li. I. Epi. 16. 76.*



In gyves and fetters I will hamper thee,  
Under a Jayler that shall cruell be:  
Yet, when I will, God me deliver shall,  
He thinkes, I shall die: death is end of all.

Our religion hath had no surer humane foundation, than the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not only call and summon us unto it, For why should we feare to lose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but also, since we are threatened by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, than to endure one: what matter is it when it cometh, since it is unavoidable? *Socrates* answered one that told him, 'The thirty Tyrants have condemned thee to death; And *Nature* them, said he, What fondnesse is it to carke and care so much, at that instant and passage from all exemption of paine and care? As our birth brought us the birth of all things, so shall our death the end of all things. Therefore is it as great foillie to weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeeres hence, as to waile we lived not a hundred yeeres agoe. *Death is the beginning of another life.* So wept we, and so much did it cost us to enter into this life; and so did we spoile us of our ancient vaile in entring into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reason so long to feare a thing of so short time? Long life or short life is made all one by death. For long or short is not in things that are no more. *Aristo.* le saith, there are certaine litle beasts alongst the river *Hyspanis*, that live but one day; she which dies at 8. a clocke in the morning, dies in her youth, and she that dies at 5. in the afternoon, dies in her decrepitude, who of us doth not laugh, when we shall see this short moment of continuance to be had in consideration of good or ill fortune? The most and the least in ours, if we compare it with eternitie, or equall it to the lasting of mountaines, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is no lesse ridiculous. But nature compels us to it. Depart (saith she,) out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, retorne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a peece of the worlds order, and but a parcell of the worlds life.

— inter se mortales mutua vivunt,  
*Et quasi cunctores uti lampada tradunt.*

Lucr. 2. 741. 75.

Mortall men live by mutuall entercourse:  
And yeeld their life-torch, as men in a course.

Shal I not change this goodly contexture of things for you? It is the condition of your creation: death is a part of your selves: you flie from your selves. The being you enjoy, is equally shared betweene life and death. The first day of your birth doth as wel addresse you to die, as to live.

*Prima quæ vitam dedit, hora carpit.*

The first houre, that to men

Gave life, strait, cropt it then.

Sen. Her. fur.  
Act. 3.

*Nascentes morimur, finisq. ab origine pendet.*

As we are borne we die; the end

Manil. ast. li. 4.

Doth of th'originall depend.

All the time you live, you steale it from death: it is at her charge. The continuall worke of your life, is to contrive death; you are in death, during the time you continue in life: for, you are after death, when you are no longer living. Or if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life: but during life, you are still dying: and death doth more rudely touch the dying, than the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you have profited by life, you have also beene fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

*Cum non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis?*

Why like a full-fed guest,

Lucr. 6. 982.

Depart you not to fest?

If you have not knowne how to make use of it: if it were unprofitable to you, what need you care to have lost it? to what end would you enjoy it longer?

— *cur amplius addere quæris?*

Lucr. 1. 3. 985.

*Rursum quod pereat male, & ingrati occidat omne?*

Why seeke you more to gaine, what must againe

All perish ill, and passe with griefe or paine?

Life in it selfe is neither good nor evill: it is the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have lived one day, you have seene all: one day is equal to all



all other daies: There is no other light, there is no other night. This Sunne, this Moone, these Starres, and this disposition, is the very same, which your forefathers enjoyed, and which shall also entertaine your posteritie.

*Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes  
Aspicient.*

No other saw our Sires of old,  
No other shall their sonnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and varietie of all the acts of my comedie, is performed in one yeare. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons; they containe the infancie, the youth, the virilitie, & the old age of the world. He hath played his part: he knowes no other wiliness belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other.

Lucr. l. 3. 333.

*— Versamur ibidem, atque in sumus usque,*

We still in one place turne about,  
Still there we are, now in, now out.

Virg. Georg. l. 2.  
403.

*Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.*

The yeare into it selfe is cast  
By those same steps, that it hath past.

Lucr. l. 2. 978.

I am not purposed to devise you other new sports.

*Nam tibi prater ea quod machiner, inveniamque  
Quod placeat, nihil est, eadem sunt omnia semper.*

Else nothing, that I can devise or frame,  
Can please thee, for all things are still the same.

“ Make roome for others, as others have done for you. *Equalitie is the chiefe ground- worke of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended where all are contained?* So may you live long enough, you shall never diminish any thing from the time you have to die: it is bootlesse; so long shall you continue in that state, which you feare, as if you had died being in your swathing-clothes, and when you were sucking.

ib. 1126.

*— licet, quot vis, vivendo vincere secla,*

*Mors aeterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit.*  
Though yeares you live, as many as you will,  
Death is eternall, death remaineth still.

Lucr. lib. 3. 9.

And I will so please you, that you shall have no discontent.

*In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te,  
Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum,  
Scansque jacentem.*

Thou know'st not there shall be not other thou,  
When thou art dead indeed, that can tell how  
Alive to waile thee dying,  
Standing to waile thee lying.

963.

Nor shall you wish for life, which you so much desire.

966.

*Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit,  
Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum.*

For then none for himselfe himselfe or life requires:  
Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is lesse to be feared than nothing, if there were any thing lesse than nothing.

970.

*— multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum,*

*Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse videmus.*  
Death is much lesse to us, we ought esteeme,  
If lesse may be, than what doth nothing seeme.

Nor alive, nor dead, it doth concerne you nothing. Alive, because you are: Dead, because you are no more. Moreover, no man dies before his houre. The time you leave behinde was no more yours, than that which was before your birth, and concerneth you no more.

1016.

*Respice enim quam nil ad nos antea vetusta  
Temporis aeterni fuerit.*

For marke, how all antiquitie fore-gone  
Of all time ere we were, to us was none.

Where.



Whereſoeuer your life endeth, there is it all. The profit of life conſiſts not in the ſpace, but rather in the uſe. Some man hath lived long, that hath had a ſhort life. Follow it whileſt you have time. It conſiſts not in number of yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long enough. Did you thinke you ſhould never come to the place, where you were ſtill going? There is no way but hath an end. And if company may ſolace you, doth not the whole world walke the ſame path?

— *Omnia te vita perſundā ſequentur.*

Life paſt, all things at laſt

Shall follow thee as thou haſt paſt.

Do not all things move as you doe, or keepe your courſe? Is there any thing grows not old together with your ſelfe? A thouſand men, a thouſand beaſts, and a thouſand other creatures die in the very inſtant that you die.

*Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora ſequuta eſt,*

*Qua non audierit miſtus vagitibus agris*

*Ploratus mortis comites & funerus atri.*

No night enſued day light: no morning followed night,

Which heard not moaning mixt with ſick-mens groaning,

With deaths and funerals joyned was that moaning.

To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot goe backe? You have ſcene many who have found good in death, ending thereby many many miſeries. But have you ſcene any that hath received hurt thereby? Therefore is it meere ſimplicities to condemne a thing you never proved, neither by your ſelfe nor any other. Why doeſt thou complaine of me and of deſtiny? Doe we offer thee any wrong? is it for thee to direct us, or for us to governe thee? Although thy age be not come to her period, thy life is. A little man is a whole man as well as a great man. Neither men nor their lives are meaſured by the Ell. *Chiron* reſuſed immortalitye, being informed of the conditions thereof, even by the God of time and of continuance, *Saturne* his father. Imagine truly how much an ever-during life would be leſſe tolerable and more painfull to a man, than is the life which I have given him: Had you not death, you would then unceſſantly curſe, and cry out againſt me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpoſe and wittingly blended ſome bitterneſſe amongſt it, that ſo ſeeing the commoditie of it's uſe, I might hinder you from over-greedily embracing, or indiſcreetly calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is, neither to ſlie from life, nor to run to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene ſweetneſſe and ſowrenes. I firſt taught *Thales* the chiefeſt of your Sages and Wiſemen, that to live and die, were indifferent, which made him answer one very wiſely, who asked him, wherefore he died not; *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the aire, the fire, and other members of this my univerſe, are no more the instruments of thy life, than of thy death. Why feareſt thou thy laſt day? He is no more guiltie, and conſerreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the laſt ſtep that cauſeth wearineſſe: it only declares it. All dayes march towards death, only the laſt comes to it.* Behold heere the good precepts of our univerſall mother Nature. I have oftentimes bethought my ſelfe whence it proceedeth, that in times of warre, the viſage of death (whether wee ſee it in us or in others) ſeemeth without all compariſon much leſſe dreadful and terrible unto us, than in our houſes, or in our beds, otherwiſe it ſhould be an armie of Phyſitians and whiners, and ſhe ever being one, there muſt needs be much more aſſurance amongſt countrey-people and of baſe condition, than in others. I verily beleve, theſe fearefull lookes, and aſtoniſhing countenances wherewith we encompaſſe it, are thoſe that more amaze and terrifie us than death: a new forme of life; the out-cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the viſitation of diſmaid and ſwoning friends; the aſſiſtance of a number of pale-looking, diſtracted, and whining ſervants; a darke chamber: tapers burning round about; our couch beſet round with Phyſitians and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and aſtoniſhment on every ſide of us: are wee not already dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they ſee them masked; and ſo are we: The maſke muſt as well be taken from things, as from men, which being removed, we ſhall finde nothing hid under it, but the very ſame death, that a ſeely varlet, or a ſimple maid-ſervant, did lately ſuffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death, which takes all leaſure from the preparations of ſuch an equipage.



## C H A P. XX.

## Of the force of Imagination.

**F**ortis imaginatio generat easum: A strong imagination begetteth chance, say learned clarks. I am one of those that feele a very great conflict and power of imagination. All men are shockt therewith, and some overthrowne by it. The impression of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist her, my endeavour is to avoid it. I could live with the only assistance of holy and merry-hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth sensibly drive me into anguish; and my sense hath often usurped the sense of a third man. If one cough continually, he provokes my lungs and throat. I am more unwilling to visit the sicke dutie doth engage me unto, than those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evill which I studie, and place it in me. I deeme it not strange that she brings both agues and death to such as give her scope to worke her wil, and applaude her. *Simon Thomas* was a great Physitian in his daies. I remember upon a time comming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in *Tholouse*, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said *Simon Thomas* of the meanes of his recoverie, he told him, that one of the best was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes upon the livelines and freshnes of my face, and setting his thoughts upon the jolitie and vigor, wherewith my youthfull age did then flourish, and filling all his senses with my flourishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaired and infected. *Gallus Vibius* did so well enure his minde to comprehend the essence and motions of folly, that he so transported his judgement from out his seat, as he could never afterward bring it to his right place againe: and might rightly boast, to have become a foole through wisdom. Some there are, that through feare anticipate the hang-mans hand; as he did, whose friends having obtained his pardon, and putting away the cloth wherewith he was hood-winked, that he might heare it read, was found starke dead upon the scaffold, wounded only by the stroke of imagination. Wee sweat, we shake, we grow pale, and we blush at the motions of our imaginations; and wallowing in our beds we feele our bodies agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions, yea in such manner, as sometimes we are ready to yeeld up the spirit. And burning youth (although asleepe) is often therewith so possessed and enfolded, that dreaming it doth satisfie and enjoy her amorous desires.

Lucr. lib. 4. 1027.

*Ut quasi transactis saepe omnibus rebus profundant  
Flaminis ingentes fluctus, vestemque eruentent.*

And if all things were done, they powre forth streames,  
And bloodie their night-garment in their dreames.

And although it be not strange to see some men have hornes growing upon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed: notwithstanding the fortune or successe of *Cyprius* King of *Italie* is memorable, who because the day before he had with earnest affection, assisted and beene attentive at a bul-baiting, and having all night long dreamed of hornes in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them forth the next morning in his forehead. An earnest passion gave the sou of *Crassus* his voice, which nature had denied him. And *Antiochus* got an ague, by the excellent beautie of *Stratonice* so deeply imprinted in his minde. *Plinie* reporteth to have seene *Lucius Cossutius* upon his marriage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. *Pontanus* and others recount the like Metamorphosies to have hapned in *Italie* these ages past: And through a vehement desire of him and his mother.

Ovid Metam.  
lib. 9. 794.

*Vota puer solvit, quae femina voverat Iphis.*  
*Iphis* a boy, the vowes then paid,  
Which he vow'd when he was a maid.

My selfe traveling on a time by *Vitry* in *France*, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop  
of



of *Soissons* had in confirmation, named *Germane*, and all the inhabitants thereabout have both knowne and seene to be a woman-child, untill she was two and twentie yeares of age, called by the name of *Marie*. He was, when I saw him, of good yeares, and had a long beard, and was yet unmarried. He saith, that upon a time leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape another, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman, he suddenly felt the instrument of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and countie have a song in use, by which they warne one another, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs too wide, for feare they should bee turned to boies, as *Marie Germane* was. It is no great wonder, that such accidents doe often happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastened to this subject, that lest she should so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpnesse of desire, it is better one time for all, to incorporate this virile part unto wenches. Some will not sticke to ascribe the scarres of King *Dagobert*, or the cicatrices of Saint *Francis* unto the power of Imagination. Othersome will say, that by the force of it, bodies are sometimes removed from their places. And *Celsus* reports of a Priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained void of all respiration and sense. Saint *Augustine* speaketh of another, who if hee but heard any lamentable and wastefull cries, would suddenly fall into a swoone, and bee so forcibly carried from himselfe, that did any chide and braule never so loud, pinch and thump him never so much, he could not be made to stirre, untill hee came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, he had heard sundry strange voyces, comming as it were from a farre, and perceiving his pinches and bruses, wondered at them. And that it was not an obstinate conceit, or wilfull humour in him, or against his feeling sense, it plainly appeared by this, because during his extasie, he seemed to have neither pulse nor breath. It is very likely that the principall credit of visions, of enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the mindes of the vulgar sort, as the weakest and feeblest, whose conceit and beleefe is so seized upon, that they imagine to see what they see not. I am yet in doubt, these pleasant bonds, wherewith our world is so fettered, and *France* so pestered, that nothing else is spoken of, are haply but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that some one, for whom I may as well answer as for my selfe, and in whom no manner of suspicion either of weaknesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make report of an extraordinary faint swooning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time, as he least looked for it, and wrought him no small shame, whereupon the horror of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the same fortune, and fell into a like drooping: And was thence forward subject to fall into like fits: So did the passionate remembrance of his inconvenience possesse and tyrannize him; but his fond doting was in time remedied by another kinde of raving. For himselfe avowing and publishing aforehand the infirmitie he was subject unto, the contention of his soule was solaced upon this, that bearing his evill as expected, his dutie thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse thereat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleered and unmasked, his body finding it selfe in his right due and place) to make the same to be felt, seized upon, and apprehended by others knowledge: he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once bene capable, he cannot afterward be incapable, except by a just and absolute weaknesse. Such a mischief is not to be feared, but in the enterprises, where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect; and chiefly where opportunitie comes unexpected, and requires a sudden dispatch. There is no meanes for a man to recover himselfe from this trouble; I know some, who have found to come unto it with their bodies as it were halfe glutted else-where, thereby to stupifie or allay the heat of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves lesse unable, by how much more they be lesse able: And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his assured him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchantments, to preserve him in any such conflict: It is not amisse I relate how it was. An Earle of very good place, with whom I was familiarly acquainted, being married to a very faire Lady, who had long bene solicited for love, by one assisting at the wedding, did greatly trouble his friends; but most of all an old Lady his kins-woman, who was chiefe at the marriage, and in whose house it was solemnized,



lennized, as she that much feared such forceries and witchcrafts : which shee gave mee to understand, I comforted her as well as I could, and desired her to relie upon me : I had by chance a peece of golden plate in my trunke, wherein were ingraven certaine celestiaall figures, good against the Sunne-beames, and for the head-ach, being firly laid upon the suture of the head : and that it might the better be kept there, it was sewed to a ribband, to be fastened under the chin. A fond doting conceit, and cofin-germane to that wee now speake of, *James Peletier* had whilest he lived in my house, bestowed that singular gift upon mee ; I advised my selfe to put it to some use, and told the Earle, he might haply be in danger, and come to some misfortune as others had done, the rather because some were present, that would not sticke to procure him some ill lucke, and which was worse, some spitefull shame ; but neverthelesse I willed him holdly to goe to bed : For I would shew him the part of a true friend, and in his need, spare not for his good to employ a miracle, which was in my power ; alwaies provided, that on his honour he would promise me faithfully to keepe it very secret ; which was only, that when about mid-night he should have his candle brought him, if he had had no good successe in his businesse, he should make such and such a signe to me. It fel out, his mind was so quailed, and his eares so dulled, that by reason of the bond wherewith the trouble of his imagination had tied him, hee could not run on poste : and at the houre appointed, made the signe agreed upon betweene us, I came and whispered him in the eare, that under pretence to put us all out of his chamber, he should rise out of his bed, and in jesting manner take my night-gowne which I had on, and put it upon himselfe (which he might well doe, because wee were much of one stature) and keepe it on till he had performed my appointment, which was, that when we should be gone out of the Chamber, he should withdraw himselfe to make water, and using certaine jestures, I had shewed him, speake such words thrice over. And every time hee spake them he should girt the ribband, which I put into his hands, and very carefully place the plate thereto fastned, just upon his kidneyes, and the whole figure, in such a posture. All which when he had accordingly done, and the last time so fastened the ribband, that it might neither be untide nor stirred from his place, he should then boldly and confidently returne to his charge, and not forget to spread my night-gowne upon his bed, but so as it might cover them both. These fopperies are the chiefe of the effect. Our thought being unable so to free it selfe, but some strange meanes will proceed from some abstruse learning : Their inanie gives them weight and credit. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters proved more venerian than solare, more in action, than in prohibition. It was a ready and curious humour drew me to this effect, farre from my nature. I am an enemy to craftie and fained actions, and hate all suttletie in my hands, not only recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vicious, the course unto it is faultie. *Amasis* King of *Egypt*, took to wife *Laodice*, a very beauteous yong virgin of *Greece*, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himselfe a luttie gallant, found himselfe so short, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatned to kill her, supposing it had beene some charme or forcerie. As in all things that consist in the fantasie, she addrest him to devotion. And having made his voves and promises to *Venus*, he found himselfe divinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong us, to receive and admit us with their wanton, squeamish, quarellous countenances, which setting us a fire, extinguish us.

*Pythagoras* his neece was wont to say, That a woman which lies with a man ought, together with her petie-coate, leave off all bashfulnesse, and with her petie-coate, take the same againe. The minde of the assailant molested with sundry different alarums, is easily dismaid. And he whom imagination hath once made to suffer this shame (and she hath caused the same to be felt but in the first acquaintances ; because they are then burning and violent, and in the first acquaintance and comming together, or triall a man gives of himselfe, he is much more afraid and quaint to misse the marke he shoots at) having begun ill he falls into an ague or spite of this accident, which afterward continueth in succeeding occasions. Married men, because time is at their command, and they may go to it when they list, ought never to presse or importune their enterprize, unlesse they be readie. And it is better undecently to faile in hanfeling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion, and more private opportunitie, lest sudden and alarmed, than to fall into a per-



perpetuall miserie, by apprehending an astonishment and desperation of the first refusall. Before possession taken, a patient ought by fallies, and divers times, lightly assay and offer himselfe without vexing or opiniating himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as know their members docile and tractable by nature, let them only endeavour to counterco-  
sin their fantasie. Men have reason to checke the indocile libertie of this member, for so importunately insinuating himselfe when we have no need of him, and so importunately, or as I may say impertinently falling, at what time we have most need of him; and so importunately contesting by his authority with our will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our solicitations both mentall and manuell. Nevertheless if a man inasmuch as he doth gormandize and devour his rebellion, and drawes a triall by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his cause, I would peradventure make other of our members to be suspected to have (in envy of his impottance, and sweetnesse of his use) devised this imposture, and framed this set quatrell against him, and by some malicious complot armed the world against him, enviously charging him alone with a fault common to them all. For I referre it to your thought, whether there be any one particular part of our body, that doth not sometimes refuse her particular operation to our will and wish, and that doth not often exercise and practise against our will. All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleepe. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces witness the secretest and most lurking thoughts we have, and bewray them to by-standers? The same cause that doth animate this member, doth also, unwitting to us, embolden our heart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on us, the flame of a contagious or aguish emotion. Is there nought besides these muscles and veines, that rise and fall without the consent, not only of our will, but also of our thought? We cannot command our haire to stand an end, nor our skinn to startle for desire or feare. Our hands are often carried where we direct them not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes so secke of their faculties, the one loseth her speech, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feed upon, we would willingly forbid it: the appetite to eat, or list to drinke, doe not leave to move the parts subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of season, forsaketh us, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilatations, besides our intent, and against our meaning. as these are destined to discharge the kidneys. And that which, the better to authorize our wills power, Saint *Augustin* alleageeth, to have scene one, who could at all times command his posterior, to let as many scapes as he would, and which *Vives* endeareth by the example of an other in his daies, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voice propounded unto his eares, inferneth the pure obedience of that member: than which, none is commonly more indiscreet and tumultuous. Seeing my selfe know one so skittish and mutinous, that these fortie yeares keepe his master in such awe, that will he, or will he, he will with a continuall breath, constant and unintermitted custome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knew it but by Histories, how that many times our bel-  
ly, being restrained thereof, brings us even to the gates of a pining and languishing death: And that the Emperour, who gave us free leave to vent at all times, and every where, had also given us the power to doe it. But our will, by whose privilege we advance this reproch, how much more likely, and consonant to trueth may we tax it of rebellion, and accuse it of sedition, by reason of its unrulenesse and disobedience? Will shee at all times doe that, which we would have her willingly to doe? Is shee not often willing to effect that, which we forbid her to desire? and that to our manifest prejudice and dam nag? Doth she suffer her selfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would urge in defence of my client, that it would please the Judges to consider, that concerning this matter, his cause being inseparably conjoynd to a consort, and indistinctly: yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his said consort. For, his effect is indeed sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never: and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the sawcinesse and illegalitie of the accusers scene. Howsoever it be, protesting that Advocates and Judges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what, and how they please, Nature will in the meane time follow her course: who, had she endued this member with any particular privilege,  
yet



yet had she done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of the only immortall worke, of mortall men. Divine worke according to *Socrates*; and love, desire of immortalitie, and immortall *Demon* himselfe. Some man peradventure, by the effects of imagination leaveth the pox or Kings evill heere, which his companion carrieth into *Spaine* againe: loe heere why in such cases men are accustomed to require a prepared minde, wherefore doe Physitians labour and practise before hand the conceit and credence of their patients, with so many false promises of their recoverie and health, unlesse it be that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the imposture of their decoction? They knew that one of their trades-master hath left written, how some men have been found, in whom the only sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation: All which humor or caprice is now come into my minde, upon the report which an Apothecarie, whilome a servant in my fathers house, was wont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and by birth a Switzer; a nation little vaine-glorious, and not much given to lying, which was, that for a long time he had knowne a Merchant in *Tholouse*, sickish, and much troubled with the stone, and who often had need of glitters, who according to the fits and occurrences of his evill, caused them diversly to be prescribed by Physitians. Which being brought him, no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they were too hot, and view them well, and lying along upon his bed, on his bellie, and all complements performed, only injection excepted, which ceremony ended, the Apothecarie gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeed, he found and felt the very same effect, which they doe that have effectually taken them. And if the Physitian saw it had not wrought sufficiently, he would accordingly give him two or three more in the same manner. My witnesse protesteth, that the sicke mans wife, to save charges (for he paid for them as if he had received them) having sometimes assaid to make them onely with luke warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at all, they were forced to returne to the former, and use the Apothecarie. A woman supposing to have swallowed a pinne with her bread, cried and vexed her-selfe, even as if she had felt an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the same to sticke; but because there appeared neither swelling or alteration, a skilfull man deeming it to be but a fantasie conceived, or opinion, apprehended by eating of some gretty peece of bread, which haply might pricke her in the swallow, made her to vomit, and unknowne to her, cast a pinne in that which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, and imagining she had cast the same, was presently eased of her paine. I have knowne a Gentleman, who having feasted a company of very honest Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, in his owne house, by way of sport, and in jest, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eat of a baked Cat; whereat the Gentlewoman of the companie apprehended such horror, that falling into a violent ague and distemper of her stomacke, she could by no meanes be recovered. Even brute beasts, as well as we, are seene to be subject to the power of imagination; witnesse some Dogs, who for sorrow of their Masters death are seene to die, and whom we ordinarily see to startle and barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and struggle. But all this may be referred to the narrow future of the Spirit and the body, entercommunicating their fortunes one unto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth sometimes worke, not only against her owne body, but also against that of others. And even as one body ejecteth a disease to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox, or sore eies, that goe from one to another:

*Ovid. am. lib. 2.*  
219.

*Dum spectare oculi laesos, leduntur & ipsi:*

*Multaque corporibus transiunt noceat.*

Eies become sore, while they looke on sore eies:

By passage many ills our limmes surprise.

Likewise the imagination moved and tossed by some vehemence, doth cast some darts, that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of *Scythia*, being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them, only with their looke. The Tortoises and the Estriges hatch their egges with their looks only, a signe that they have some ejaculative vertue. And concerning witches they are said to have offensive and harme-working eies.

*Virg. Buc. eccl. 3.*  
103.

*Nescio quis teneros oculos mihi fascinat agnos.*

My



My tender Lambs I cannot see,  
By what bad cie, bewitched be.

Magicians are but ill respondents for me. So it is, that by experience wee see women to transerre divers markes of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes: witnes she that brought forth a Blacke-a-more. There was also presented unto *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, an Emperour, a young girle, borne about *Pisa*, all shagd and hairy over and over, which her mother said, to have beene conceived so, by reason of an image of Saint *John Baptist*, that was so painted, and hung over her bed. That the like is in beasts, is witnessed by *Iacobs* sheepe, and also by partridges and hares, that grow white by the snow upon mountaines. There was lately scene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eyeing a bird, sitting upon a tree, that he seeing the Cat, they both so wistly fixed their looks one upon another, so long, that at last, the bird fell downe as dead in the Cats pawes, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractive power of the Cat. Those that love hawking, have haply heard the Falkner, tale, who earnestly fixing his sight upon a Kite in the aire, laid a wager that with the only force of his looke, he would make it come stooping downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The Histories I borrow, I referre to the consciences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and hold together by the prooffe of reason, not of experiences: each man may adde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietie of accidents, let him not leave to think, there are store of them. If I come not well for my selfe, let another come for me. So in the studie wherin I treat of our manners and motions, the fabulous testimonies, alwaies provided they be likely and possible, may serve to the purpose, as well as the true, whether it hapned or no, be it at *Rome*, or at *Paris*, to *John* or *Peter*, it is alwaies a trick of humane capacitie, of which I am profitably advised by this report. I see it and reape profit by it, as well in shadow as in bodie. And in divers lessons that often histories afford, I commonly make use of that, which is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are, whose end is but to relate the events. Mine, if I could attaine to it, should be to declare, what may come to passe, touching the same. It is justly allowed in schooles, to suppose similitudes, when they have none. Yet doe not I so, and concerning that point, in superstitious religion, I exceed all historicall credit. To the examples I here set downe, of what I have read, heard, done, or scene, I have forbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the idlest circumstances. My conscience doth not falsifie the least jot. I wor not whether my insight doth. Concerning this subject I doe sometimes enter into conceit, that it may well become a Divine, a Philosopher, or rather men of exquisite conscience, and exact wisdom, to write histories. How can they otherwise engage their credit upon a popular reputation? How can they answer for the thoughts of unknowne persons? And make their bare conjectures passe for currant payment? Of the actions of divers members, acted in their presence, they would refuse to beare witnes of them, if by a judge they were put to their corporall oath. And there is no man so familiarly knowne to them, of whose inward intention they would undertake to answer at full. I hold it lesse hazardous to write of things past, than present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound to give account but of a borrowed truth. Some perswade mee to write the affaires of my time, imagining I can see them with a sight lesse blinded with passion, than other men, and perhaps neerer, by reason of the access which fortune hath given me to the chiefest of divers factions. But they will not say, how for the glory of *Salust*, I would not take the paines; as one that am a vowedemie to observance, to assiduitie, and to constancie, and that there is nothing so contrarie to my stile, as a continued narration. I doe so often for want of breath breake off and interrupt my selfe. I have neither composition nor explication of any worth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phrases and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accommodatiug the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guide, my measure might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might haply publish judge ments, agreeing with me, and consonant to reason, yet unlawfull and punishable. *Plutarke* would peradventure tell us of that which he hath written, that it is the worke of others, that his examples are in all and everie where true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and presented with a lustre, that lights and direct us unto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not dangerous, as in a medicinal drug, whether in an old tale or report, be it thus or thus, so or so.

The



## CHAP. XXI.

*The profit of one man is the damage of another.*

**D**Emades the Athenian condemned a man of the Citie, whose trade was to sell such necessities as belonged to burials, under colour, hee asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come unto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteth but by the losse of others: by which reason a man should condemne all manner of gaine. The Merchant thrives not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husbandman by dearth of corne; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by suits and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and practice of religious Ministers, is drawne from our death and vices. *No Physitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend, saith the ancient Greeke Comike: nor no Souldier is pleased with the peace of his Citie, and so of the rest.* And which is worse, let every man sound his owne conscience, hee shall finde, that our inward desires are for the most part nourished and bred in us by the losse and hurt of others; which when I considered, I began to thinke, how Nature doth not gainsay herselfe in this, concerning her generall policie: for Physitians hold, that *The birth, increase, and augmentation of every thing, is the alteration and corruption of another.*

Lucr. l. 687. 813.  
li. 2. 762. l. 3. 936.

*Nam quodcumque suis incrementis finibus exis,  
Continuo hoc mors est illi: quod fuit ante.  
What ever from it's bounds doth changed passe,  
That strait is death of that which erst it was.*

## CHAP. XXII.

*Of custome, and how a received law should not easily be changed.*

**M**Y opinion is, that hee conceived aright of the force of custome, that first invented this tale; how a country woman having enured herselfe to cherish and beare a young calfe in her armes, which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great ox, shee carried him still in her armes. For truly, *Custome is a violent and deceiving schoole-mistress.* She by little and little, and as it were by stealth, establisheth the foot of her authoritie in us; by which mild and gentle beginning, if once by the aid of time, it have settled and planted the same in us, it will soone discover a furious and tyrannicall countenance unto us, against which we have no more the libertie to lift so much as our eyes: wee may plainly see her upon every occasion to force the rules of Nature: *Vsus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister: Use is the most effectfull master of all things.* I beleeve Platoes den mentioned in his common-wealth, and the Physitians that so often quit their arts reason by authoritie; and the same King who by meanes of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poyson; and the mayden that *Albert* mentioneth to have accustomed herselfe to live upon spiders: and now in the new-found world of the *Indians*, there were found divers populous nations, in farre differing climates, that lived upon them; made provision of them, and carefully fed them; as also of grasse-hoppers, pisse-mires, lizards, and night-bats; and a toad was sold for six crownes in a time that all such meats were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, rost, bake, and dresse with divers kinds of sawces. Others have becane found to whom our usuall flesh and other meats were mortall and venomous. *Consuetudinis magna est vis; Pernoctant venatores in nive, in montibus nri se patiuntur: Pugiles castibus*

Plin. epist. 20.

Etic. Tusc. qu. 2.

con-



*conusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem.* Great is the force of custome: Huntsmen wil watch all night in snow, and endure to bee scorched on the hils: Fencers brused with sand-bags or cudgels, doe not so much as groane. These forrein examples are not strange, if wee but consider what we ordinarily finde by travell, and how custome quaileth and weakeneth our custodiary senses. We need not goe seeke what our neighbours report of the Cataracts of Nile; and what Philosophers deeme of the celestiall musicke, which is, that the bodies of it's circles, being solid sin ooth, and in their rowling motion, touching and rubbing one against another, must of necessitie produce a wonderfull harmonic: by the changes and entrecappings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carrols of the asters and planets are caused and transported. But that universally the hearing senses of these low worlds creatures, dizzied and lulled asleepe, as those of the Egyptians are, by the continuation of that sound; how loud and great soever it be, cannot sensibly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, Millers, Forgers, Armorers, and such other, could not possibly endure the noise that commonly rings in their eares, if it did pierce them as it doth us. My perfumed Jerkin serveth for my nose to smell unto, but after I have worne it three or foure daies together, not I, but others have the benefit of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custome may joyne and establish the effect of her impression upon our senses; as they prove that dwell neere to bells or steeples. I have my lodging neere unto a tower, where both evening and morning a very great bell doth chime *Ave marie* and *Cover-few*, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was soone acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times it cannot waken me out of my sleepe. *Plato* did once chide a child for playing with nuts, who answered him, *Thou chidest me for a small matter. Custome* (replied *Plato*) *is no small matter.* I finde that our greatest vices make their first habit in us, from our infancie, and that our chiefe government and education, lieth in our nurses hands. Some mothers thinke it good sport to see a childe wring off a chickens necke, and strive to beat a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond-foolish, that they will conster as a good Augur or fore-boding of a martiall minde to see their sonnes misuse a poore peasant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himselfe; and impute it to a ready wit, when by some wily disloyaltie, or crafty deceit, they see them cousin and over-reach their fellowes: yet are they the true seeds or roots of cruelty, of tyranny, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by meanes of custome.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inclinations, with the weaknesse of age, and lightnesse of the subject. First, it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then shriller, purer, and more native, when it is tender, newer, and youngest. Secondly, the deformity of the crime consisteth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes; it depends of it selfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus: Why should not hee as well deceive one of a crowne, as he doth of a pinne? than as commonly some doe, saying, alas, it is but a pinne; I warrant you, he will not doe so with crownes. A man would carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuity, and so distinguish the deformity of them, that they may not only eschew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what colour soever they beare, the very conceit may seeme odious unto them. I know well, that because in my youth I have ever accustomed my selfe to tread a plaine beaten path, and have ever hated to entermeddle any manner of deceit of cousoning-craft, even in my childish sports (for truly it is to be noted, that Childrens playes are not sports, and should be deemed as their most serious actions.) There is no pastime so slight, that inwardlie I have not a naturall propension, and serious care, yea extreme contradiction, not to use any deceipt. I shuffle and handle the cards, as earnestly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompt, as if they were double duckets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I win or lose, as I doe when I play in good earnest. How and wheresoever it be, mine owne eyes will suffice to keepe me in office; none else doe watch mee so narrowly; not that I respect more. It is not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at *Nantes* was borne without armes, and hath so well fashioned his feet to those services, his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their naturall office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meat, he chargeth and shoots off a pistole, he threds a needle, he soweth, he writeth, puts off his cap, combeth



combeth his head, plaieyth at cards and dice; shuffleth and handleth them with a great dexteritie as any other man that hath the perfect use of his hands: the monie I have sometimes given him, he hath caried away with his feet, as well as any other could doe with his hands. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke, (because hee had no hands) would brandish a two-hand-Sword, and mannage a Holbard, as nimbly as any man could doe with his hands: he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throw a Dagger, and make a whip to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in France. But her effects are much better discovered in the strange impressions, which it worketh in our mindes where it meetes not so much resistance. What cannot she bring to passe in our judgements, and in our conceits? Is there any opinion so fantastical, or conceit so extravagant (I omit to speake of the grosse imposture of religions, wherewith so many great nations and so many worthy and sufficient men have beene besotted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compasse of our humane reason, it is more excusable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated thereunto by divine favour, doe lose and mis-carrye himselfe therein) or of other opinions, is there any so strange, that custome hath not planted and established by lawes in what regions so ever it hath thought good? And this ancient exclamation is most iust: *Non pudet physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque naturae, ab animis consuetudine imbutis querere testimonium veritatis?* Is it not a shame for a naturall Philosopher, that is the watch-man and bunif man of nature, to seeke the testimonie of irish, from mindes endued and double dide with custome? I am of opinion, that no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a stay. There are certaine people, that turne their backs towards those they salute, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worship. There are others, who when the King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretcheth forth her hand; and in another countrey, where the noblest about him, stoopeth to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth: Let us here by the way insert a tale. A French Gentleman was ever wont to blow his nose in his hand, (a thing much against our fashion) maintaining his so doing; and who in wittie jesting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what privilege this filthie excrement had, that wee should have a daintie linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is worse, so carefully fold it up, and keepe the same about us, which should be more loathsome to ones stomacke, than to see it cast away, as wee doe all our other excrements and filth. Me thought he spake not altogether without reason: and custome had taken from me the discerning of this strangeness, which being reported of an other countrie we deeme so hideous. Miracles are according to the ignorance wherein we are by nature, and not according to natures essence; use brings the sight of our judgement asleepe. The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to us, than we are to them: nor with more occasion, as every man would avow, if after he had travelled through these farre-fetcht examples, hee could stay himselfe upon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like weight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what form soever they be of: infinite in matter: infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theme. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speaketh to the King, but through a trunke. Another nation, where virgins shew their secret parts openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome, this fashion used in other places, hath some relation: where chastitie is nothing regarded but for marriage sake; and maidens may at their pleasure lie with whom they list; and being with childe, they may without feare of accusation, spoyle and cast their children, with certaine medicaments, which they have only for that purpose. And in another country, if a Merchant chance to marrie, all other Merchants that are bidden to the wedding, are bound to lie with the bride before her husband, and the more they are in number, the more honour and commendation is hers, for constancie and capacitie: the like if a gentleman or an officer marrie; and so of all others: except it be a day-labourer, or some other of base condition; for then must the Lord or Prince lie with the bride; amongst whom (notwithstanding this abusive custome) loyaltie in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall account, during the time they are married. Others there are, where publike brothel-houses of men are kept, and where open mart of marriages are ever to be had: where wo-

Ch. Nat. Dial.



men goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in command, where they do not onely weare jewels at their noses, in their lip and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of gold through their paps and buttocks, where when they eat, they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitorics, and the soles of their feet, where not children, but brethren and nephewes inherit; and in some places, the nephewes onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Sovereigne Magistrats have the generall charge of husbandry and tilling of the lands, and of the distribution of the fruits, according to every mans need: where they howle and weepe at their childrens deaths, and joy and feast at their old mens decease. Where ten or twelve men lie all in one bed with all their wives, where such women as lose their husbands, by any violent death, may marrie againe, others not: where the condition of women is so detested, that they kill all the maiden children, so soone as they are borne, and to supply their naturall need, they buy women of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alleaging any cause, put away their wives, but they (what just reason soever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully sell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then to be brayed in a mortar, so long till it come to a kind of pap, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drinke it. Where the most desired sepulcher that some wish for, is to bee devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke, that blessed soules live in all liberty, in certaine pleasant fields stored with all commodities, and that from them proceeds that *Eccho*, which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and shoot exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in signe of subjection men must raise their shoulders, and stoope with their heads, and put off their shooes when they enter their Kings houses. Where Eunuchs that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noses and lips cut off. And Priests that they may the better acquaint themselves with their *Demons*, and take their Oracles, put out their eyes. Where every man makes himselfe a God of what he pleaseth: the hunter of a Lion or a Fox; the fisher, of a certaine kinde of Fish; and frame themselves Idols of every humane action or passion: the Sunne, the Moone, and the earth are their chiefest Gods: the forme of swearing is, to touch the ground, looking upon the Sunne, and where they eat both flesh and fish raw. Where the greatest oath is to sweare by the name of some deceased man, that hath lived in good reputation in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send unto Princes their vassals every yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the old fire is cleane put out: of which new fire all the neighbouring people are bound upon paine *lese majestatis*, to fetch for their uses. Where, when the King (which often cometh to passe) wholly to give himselfe unto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next successor is bound to doe like, and convayeth the right of the Kingdome unto the third heire. Where they diversifie the forme of policie, according as their affaires seeme to require: and where they depose their Kings, when they thinke good, and appoint them certaine ancient grave men to undertake and weald the Kingdoms government, which sometimes is also committed to the communitie. Where both men and women are equally circumcised, and alike baptised. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combats hath presented his King with seven enemies heads, is made noble. Where some live under that so rare and unfociable opinion of the mortalitie of soules. Where women are brought a bed without paine or griefe. Where women on both their legs weare greaves of Copper: and if a louse bite them, they are bound by duty of magnanimitie to bite it againe: and no maid dare marrie, except she have first made offer of her Virginitie to the King. Where they salute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it up toward heaven: where all men beare burchens upon their head, and women on their shoulders. Where women pisse standing, and men cowering. Where in signe of true friendship they send one another some of their owne blood, and offer incense to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods: where not onely kindred and consanguinitie in the fourth degree, but in any furthest off, can by no meanes be tolerated in marriages: where children sucke till they be four, and sometimes twelve yeares old, in which place they deeme it a dismall thing to give a childe sucke the first day of his birth. Where fathers have the charge to



punish their male-children, and mothers onely maid-children, and whose punishment is to hang them up by the feet and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcised; where they eat all manner of herbes, without other distinction, but to refuse those that have ill favour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich soever their houses be, they have neither doores nor windowes, nor any chests to locke; yet are all theeves much more severely punished there, than any where else; where, as monkies doe, they kill lice with their teeth, and thinke it a horrible matter to see them crushed between their nailes; where men so long as they live never cut their haire, nor pare their nailes: another place where they onely pare the nailes of their right hand, and those of the left are never cut, but very curiously maintained: where they indeavour to cherish all the haire growing on the right side, as long as it will grow: and very often shave away that of the left-side: where in some Provinces neere unto us, some women cherish their haire before, and othersome that behinde, and shave the contrarie: where fathers lend their children, and husbands their wives to their guests, so that they pay ready mony: where men may lawfully get their mothers with childe: where fathers may lie with their daughters, and with their sonnes: where, in solemn assemblies and banquets, without any distinction of blood or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men feede upon humane flesh, and in others, where it is deemed an offence of pietie in children to kill their fathers at a certaine age: in other places fathers appoint what children shall live, and be preserved, and which die and be cast out, whilst they are yet in their mothers wombe: where old husbands lend their wives to yong men, for what use soever they please: In other places, where al women are common without sinne or offences: yea in some places, where for a badge of honour, they weare as many frienged tassels, fastened to the skirt of their garment as they have laine with severall men. Hath not custome also made a severall common-wealth of women? hath it not taught them to manage Armes? to levie Armies, to marshall men, & to deliver battles? And that which strict-searching Philosophie could never perswade the wisest, doth she not of her owne naturall instinct teach it to the grossest headed vulgar? For we know whole nations, where death is not only condemned, but cherished; where children of seven yeares of age, without changing of countenance, or shewing any signe of dismay, endured to be whipped to death; where riches and worldly pelfe was so despised and holden so contemptible, that the miserablest and neediest wretch of a Citie would have scorned to stoope for a purse full of gold. Have we not heard of divers most fertile regions, plenteously yeelding al maner of necessary victuals, where neverthelesse the most ordinary cates and daintiest dishes, were but bread, water-cresses, & water? Did not custome worke this wonder in *Chios*, that during the space of seven hundred yeres it was never found or heard of, that any woman or maiden had her honor or honestie called in question? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either she doth not, or cannot: and with reason doth *Pindarus*, as I have heard say, *Call her the Queene and Empresse of all the world.* He that was met beating of his father, answered, *It was the custome of his house; that his father had so beaten his grandfather, and he his great-grandfather; & pointing to his sonne, said, this child shall also beat mee, when he shall come to my age.* And the father, whom the sonne haled and dragged through thicke and thinne in the street, commanded him to stay at a certaine doore, for himself had dragged his father no further: which were the bounds of the hereditarie and injurious demeanours the children of that family were wont to shew their fathers. *By custome, saith Aristotle, as often as by sicknesse, doe we see women tug and teare their haire, bite their nailes, and eat cole and earth: and more by custome than by nature doe men meddle and abuse themselves with men.* The lawes of conscience, which we say to proceed from nature, rise and proceed of custome: every man holding in special regard, and inward veneration the opinions approved, and customes received about him, cannot without remorse leave them, nor without applause applie himselfe unto them: when those of *Creet* would in former ages curse any man, they besought the Gods to engage him in some bad custome. But the chiefe effect of her power is to seize upon us, and so to entangle us, that it shall hardly lie in us, to free ourselves from her hold-fast, and come into our wits againe, to discourse and reason of her ordinances; verily, because wee sucke them with the milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worlds visage presents it selfe in that estate unto our first view, it seemeth we are borne with a condition to follow that course. And the common imaginations we finde in credit about us, and by our fathers seed infused in our soule, seeme



to be the generall and naturall. Whereupon it followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the compasse of custome, wee deeme likewise to bee beyond the compasse of reason; God knowes how for the most part, unreasonably. If as we, who study our selves, have learned to doe, every man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any sort belonging unto his private state, each man should finde, that this is not so much a good word, as a good blow to the ordinary sottishnesse of his judgement. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgar, and never to themselves; and in lieu of applying them to their maners, most men most foolishly and unprofitably apply them to their memorie. But let us returne to customes soveraignty, such: as are brought up to libertie, and to command themselves, esteeme all other forme of policie, as monstrous and against nature. Those that are enured to Monarchie doe the like. And what facilitie soever fortune affoordeth them to change, even when with great difficultie they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they run to plant a new one with semblable difficulties; because they cannot resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the meditation of custome, that every man is contented with the place where nature hath settled him: and the savage people of *Scotland* have nought to doe with *Touraine*, nor the Scythians with *Theffalie*. *Darius* demanded of certaine Græcians, *For what they would take upon them the Indians custome, to eat their deceased fathers.* (For such was their maner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tombe, than in their owne bowels) they answered him, *That nothing in the world should ever bring them to embrace so inhumane a custome:* But having also attempted to perswade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Græcians, which was to burne their corpes, they were much more astonished thereat. Every man doth so, forsomuch as custome doth so bleare us that we cannot distinguish the true visage of things.

*Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam  
Principio, quod non minuant mirari omnes  
Paulatim.*

*Luc. l. 2. 1037.*

Nothing at first so wondrous is, so great,  
But all, t'admire, by little slake their heat.

Having other times gone about to endeare, and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with resolute auctoritie received in most parts about us, and not desiring, as most men doe, onely to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from her beginning, I found the foundation of it so weak, that my selfe, who was to confirme it in others, had much adoe to keepe my countenance. This is the receipt by which *Plato* undertaketh to banish the unnaturall and preposterous loves of his time, and which hee esteemeth Sovereigne and principall: To wit, that publike opinion may condemn them; that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A receipt by meanes whereof the fairest Daughters winne no more the love of their fathers, nor brethien most excellent in beautie, the love of their sisters. The very fables of *Thyestes*, of *Oedipus*, and of *Macrons*, having with the pleasure of their songs infused this profitable opinion, in the tender conceit of children. Certes, chastitie is an excellent vertue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne: but to use it, and according to nature to prevaile with it, is as hard as it is easie, to endeare it and to prevaile with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and universall reasons are of a hard perscrutation. And our Masters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to taste them, at first sight cast themselves headlong into the libertie or sanctuarie of custome. Those that will not suffer themselves to be drawne out of his originall source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions: witnesse *Chrysippus*; who in so many severall places of his compositions, inserted the small accompt he made of conjunctions, how incestuous soever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an undoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head and frowning wrimples of custome, which ever attends them: which maske being pulled off, and referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his judgement, as it were overturned, and placed in a much surer state. As for example, I wil then aske him, what thing can be more strange than to see a people bound to follow lawes, he never understod? Being in all his domesticall affaires, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases, and sales, necessarily bound to custo-



many rules, which forsomuch as they were never written nor published in his owne tongue, he cannot understand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and use. Not according to the ingenious opinion of *Isocrates*, who counselleth his King to *make the Traffikes and negotiations of his subjects, free, enfranchized and gameful, and their debates, controversies, and quarrels burthensome, and charged with great subsidies, and impositions*: But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and trafficke of reason it selfe, and to give lawes a course of merchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune, for that (as our Historians report) it was a Gentleman of *Gaskonie*, and my COUNTRYMAN, that first opposed himselfe against *Charles the great*, at what time he went about to establish the Latine and Imperiall lawes amongst us. What is more barbarous than to see a nation, where by lawful custome the charge of judging is sold, and judgements are paid for with readie money; and where justice is lawfully denied him, that hath not wherewithall to pay for it; and that this merchandize hath so great credit, that in a politicall government there should be set up a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joynd to the three ancient states, to wit, the Cleigie, the Nobility, and the Communitie; which fourth state having the charge of lawes, and sometimes auctoritie of goods and lives, should make a body, apart, and severall from that of Nobilitie, whence double Lawes must follow; those of honour, and those of justice; in many things very contrarie do those as rigorously condemne a lie pocketed up, as these a lie revenged: by the law and right of armes he that putteth up an injurie shall be degraded of honour and nobilitie; and he that revengeth himselfe of it, shall by the civill Law incurre a capitall punishment. Hee that shall addresse himselfe to the Lawes to have reason for some offence done unto his honour, dishonoreth himselfe. And who doth not so, is by the Lawes punished and chastised. And of these so different parts, both nevertheless having reference to one head; those having peace, these war committed to their charge; those having the gaine, these the honor: those knowledge, these vertue: those reason, these strength: those the word, these action: those justice, these valour: those reason, these force: those a long gowne, and these a short coat, in partage and share. Touching indifferent things, as clothes and garments, whosoever will reduce them to their true end, which is the service and commodity of the bodie, whence dependeth their originall grace and comelines, for the most fantasticall to my humour that may be imagined, amongst others I will give them our square caps; that long hood of plaited velvet, that hangs over our womens heads, with his parti-coloured traile, and that vaine and unprofitable modell of a member, which we may not so much as name with modestie, whereof notwithstanding we make publike shew, and open demonstration. These considerations do nevertheless never distract a man of understanding from following the common guife. Rather on the contrary, me seemeth, that all severall, strange, and particular fashions proceed rather of follie, or ambitious affectation, than of true reason: and that a wise man ought inwardly to retire his minde from the common presse, and hold the same liberty and power to judge freely of all things, but for outward matters, he ought absolutely to follow the fashions and forme customarily received. Publike societie hath nought to do with our thoughts; but for other things, as our actions, our travel, our fortune, and our life, that must be accommodated and left to it's service and common opinions: as that good and great *Socrates*, who refused to save his life by disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most wicked and unjust. For that is the rule of rules, and generall law of lawes, for every man to observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

Νόμοις ἐπαρὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καλόν.

Lawes of the native place,

To follow, is a grace.

GIOM. GRAC. 7.

Loe here some of another kind. There riseth a great doubt, whether any so evident profit may be found in the change of a received law, of what nature soever, as there is hurt in removing the same; forsomuch as a well settled policie may be compared to a frame or building of divers parts joynd together with such a ligament as it is impossible to stirre or displace one, but the whole body must needes be shaken, and shew a feeling of it. The Thuriars Law-giver instituted, that, *whosoever would goe about, either to abolish any one of the old Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himselfe before the people with a roape about his necke, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently bee strangled*. And he of *Lacedamon* laboured all his life to get an assured promise of his citizens, that



that they would never infringe any one of his ordinances. That *Ephore* or *Tribune*, who so rudely cut off the two strings, that *Phrinis* had added unto musicke, respecteth not whether musicke be better or no with them, or whether the accords of it be better filled, he hath sufficient reason to condemn them, because it is an alteration of the old forme. It is that which the old rustie sword of justice of *Marseille* did signifie. I am distasted with noveltie, what countenance soever it shew : and I have reason so to be, for I have seene very hurtfull effects follow the same. That which so many yeares since doth so presse us, hath not yet exploited all. But some may alleage with apparance, that by accident, it hath produced and engendered all, yea both the mischiefes and ruines, that since are committed without and against it: it is that a man should blame and finde fault with.

*Hec patior telis vulnera facta meis,*

Alas I suffer smart

Procur'd by mine owne dart.

*Ovid. epist.  
Phyl. 48.*

Those which attempt to shake an Estate, are commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it: he that is first mover of the same, reapeth not alwayes the fruit of such troubles; he beats and troubleth the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie, and great building, having bin dismyst and dissolved by it, namely in her old yeares, giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the top to the middle, than it tumbleth downe from the middle to the bottom. But if the inventors are more damageable, the imitators are more vicious, to cast themselves into examples, of which they have both felt and punished the horror and mischiefe. And if there be any degree of honour, even in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glory of the invention, and courage of the first attempt. All sorts of new licentiousnesse doe haply draw out of this originall and fruitfull source, the images and patterns to trouble our common-wealth. We may reade in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evill, the apprentisage and excuse of all sorts of wicked enterprises: And in favour of publike vices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses, bastardizing & allaying their true titles: yet it is to reforme our consciences and our conceits, *Honestioratio est. It is an honest speech and well said.* But the best pretence of innovation or noveltie is most dangerous: *Adco nihil novum ex antiquo probabile est. So nothing moved out of the first place is allowable:* Yet me seemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it argueth a great selfe-love and presumption, for a man to esteeme his opinions so far, that for to establish them, a man must be faine to subvert a publike peace, and introduce so many inevitable mischiefes, and so horrible a corruption of manners, as civill warres, and alterations of a state bring with them, in matters of such consequence, and to bring them into his owne countrie. Is it not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine and knowne vices, for to combat contested and debatable errors? Is there any worse kinde of vices, than those which shooke a mans owne conscience and naturall knowledge? The Senate durst give this defeate in payment about the controverties betweene it and the people for the mysterie of their religion: *Ad deos, id magis quam ad se pertinere: ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur:* That that did rather belong to the Gods than to them, and the Gods should looke to it, that their due rites were not polluted. Agreeing with that, which the Oracle answered those of *Delphos*, in the *Median* warre, fearing the invasions of the *Persians*. They demanded of that God what they should doe with the treasures consecrated to his Temple, whether hide, or cary them away: who answered them, that they should remove nothing, but take care of themselves, for he was able to provide for all things that were fit for him. Christian religion hath all the markes of extreme justice and profit, but none more apparent than the exact commendation of obedience due unto magistrates, and manutention of policies: what wonderfull example hath divine wisdom left us, which to establish the wel-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hers against death and sinne, would not do it but at the mercy of our politick order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of so high and worthie effect, to the blindness and injustice of our observations and customes, suffering the innocent blood of so many her favored elect to run, and allowing a long losse of yeares for the ripening of this inestimable fruit? There is much difference betweene the cause of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his countrie, and him that undertaketh to governe and change them. The first alleageth for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example; what-

*Terenz. Andact.  
1. sec. 1.*



Cic. div. l. 1.

soever he doth cannot be malice, at the most it is but ill lucke. *Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas?* For who is he whom antiquitie will not move, being witnessed & signed with former monuments? Besides that which *Isocrates* saith, that defect hath more part in moderation, than hath excesse. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, usurpeth the authoritie of judging: and must resolve himselfe to see the fault of what he hunteth for, and the good of what he bringeth in. This so vulgar consideration hath confirmed me in my state, and restrained my youth, that was more rash, from burthning my shoulders with so filthie a burthen, as to make my selfe respondent of so important a science. And in this to dare, what in sound judgement I durst not in the easiest of those wherein I had beene instructed, and wherein the rashnes of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to goe about to submit publicke constitutions and unmoveable observances, to the instabilitie of a private fantasie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to undertake that on divine-lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civill law. Wherein although mans reason have much more commerce, yet are they sovereignly judges of their judges: and their extreme sufficiency serveth to expound custome and extend the use, that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the same. If at any time divine providence hath gone beyond the rules, to which it hath necessary constrained us, it is not to give us a dispensation from them. They are blowes of her divine hand, which we ought not imitate, but admire: as extraordinarie examples, markes of an expresse and particular avowing of the severall kinds of wonders, which for a testimonie of her omnipotencie it offereth us, beyond our orders and forces, which it is follic and impietie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration, and meditate with astonishment. Acts of her personage, and not of ours. *Cotta* protesteth very opportunely; *Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanum, P. Scipionem, P. Scaevolam, Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum, sequor* When we talke of religion, I follow *Titus Coruncanus, Publius Scipio, P. Scavola*, and the professors of religion, not *Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus*.

Cic. De Nat. l. 3. p.

May God know it in our present quarell, wherein are a hundred articles yea, great and deepe articles, to be removed and altered, although many there are, who may boast to have exactly survaied the reasons and foundations of one and other faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great meane to trouble us. But whither goeth all this other throng? Under what colours doth it quarter it selfe? It followeth of theirs, as of other weake and ill applied medicines, the humors, that it would have purged in us, it hath enflamed, exasperated, and sharpened, by her conflict, and still do remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of her weaknesse purge us, but hath rather weakened us; so that we cannot now void it, and by her operation we reap nothing but long continuall, and intestine griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever reserving her authoritie above our discourse, loth sometimes present us the urgent necessitie, that lawes must needs yeeld her some place: And when a man resisteth the increase of an innovation, brought in by violence, to keepe himselfe cackwhere and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any sort advance their desleigne, that have not law, nor order, but to follow their advantage, it is a dangerous obligation, and prejudiciall inequality.

Sen. Oed. Act. 3. sc. 1.

*Aditum nocendi perfido prestat fides.*

Trust in th'untrüstie, may

To hurt make open way.

For so much as the ordinarie discipline of an estate, that hath his perfect health, doth not provide for these extraordinarie accidents, it presupposeth a bodie holding it selfe in his principall members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding is a cold, dull, heave and forced proceeding: and is not like to hold out against a licentious and unbridled proceeding. It is yet as all men know, a reproach to those two great personages, *Octavius* and *Cato*, in their civill warres; the one of *Scilla*, the other of *Cesar*, because they rather suffered their countie to incur all extremities, than by her lawes to aid her, or to innovate any thing. For truly in these last necessities, where nothing is left to take hold by, it were peradventure better, to shrug the shoulders, stoope the head, and somewhat yeeld to the stroke, than beyond possibilitie to make head and resist, and be nothing



the better, and give violence occasion to trample all underfoot : and better were it to force the lawes to desire but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to sleep foure and twentie houres : And he who for a time removed one day from the Calender : And another who of the moneth of Iune made a second May. The Lacedemonians themselves, so strict observers of their countries ordinances, being urged by their Lawes, which precisely forbad and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admirall, and on the other side their affaires necessarily requiring, that *Lysander* should once more take that charge upon him, they created one *Aracus* Admirall, but instituted *Lysander* superintendent of all maritime causes. And with the same stultitie, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the change of some ordinance, *Pericles* alleaging, that it was expressly forbid to remove the table, wherein a law had once beene set downe, perswaded him but to turne it, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof *Plutarke* commendeth *Philopemen*, who being borne to command, could not onely command according to the lawes, but the lawes themselves, whensoever publike necessitie required it.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*Divers events from one selfe same counsell.*

**I** *Ames Amiot*, great Almoner of France, did once tell me this storie, to the honour of one of our Princes, (and so he was indeed by very good tokens, albeit by off-spring he were a stranger) that during our first troubles, at the siege of *Roane*, the said Prince being advertised by the Queene-mother of a conspiracie and enterprise, that should be attempted against his life, and by letters particularly informed him of the partie that should performe it, who was a gentle-man of *Anjou*, or *Manse*, and who to that purpose did ordinarily frequent the said Princes court; he never imparted that secret or communicated that warning to any man, but the next morrow walking upon *Saint Catherins* hill, whence our batterie played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to *Roane*) with the said Lord great Almoner : and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to descrie the said gentleman, whom the Queene-mother had described unto him, and caused him to be called, who being come before his presence, said thus unto him, perceiving him already to wax pale, and tremble at the alarms of his conscience : *Master, such a one, I am fully perswaded you fore imagine what I will charge you with, and your countenance doth plainly shew it, you can conceale nothing from me : for I am so well instructed of your businesse, that would you goe about to hide it, you should but marre all you have perfect knowledge of this and this thing, (which were the chiefest props and devices of the secretest drifts of his complot and conspiracie) faine not therefore as you tender your life, to confesse the truth of all your purpose.* When the silly man saw himselfe so surprized and convicted (for the whole matter had beene discovered unto the Queene by one of the complices) he had no other way, but to lift up his hands, and beg for grace and mercie at the Princes hands, at whose feete he would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him : thus following his discourse; *Come hither my friend, said he, Did I ever doe you any displeasure ? Have I ever through any particular hatred, wronged or offended any friend of yours ? It is not yet three weekes since I knew you, what reason might move you to conspire and enterprise my death ?* The Gentleman with a faint trembling voyce, and selfe-accusing looke, answered him, that no particular occasion had ever moved him to that, but the interest of the generall cause of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to root out, and in what manner soever, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of supererogation. Then said the Prince, *I will shew you how much the religion which I professe is more milde, than that whereof you make profession : yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never been offended by me : and mine, commands me to pardon you, convicted as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Goe your way, withdraw your selfe, let mee never see you here againe, and if you be wise, hence-forward in your enterprises take more souldiers for your counsellors, than those of your religion.* The Emperour *Augustus* being



in *Ganle*, received certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that *L. Cinna* conspired against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that purpose sent to all his friends against the next morrow for advice and counsell, but passed the fore-going night with great anxietie and unrest, considering that following his intent, he should bring a yong Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great *Pompeyes* nephew, to his death: which perplexitie produced divers strange discourses and consideration in him. *What?* said he unto himselfe, *Shall it ever be reported, that I doe live in feare, and suffer mine enemy to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall he then goe free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have saved from so many civill warres, and from so many battels? And now that I have established an universall peace in the world, shall he be absolved and goe unpunished, that hath not only determined to murder, but to sacrifice me?* (For, the complot of the conspiracie was to murder him, when he should be at sacrifice.) After that, having taken some rest with himselfe, he with a lowder voice began to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, *Why livest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy vengeance and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may counterwaile the sundry mischiefs that are like to ensue, if it be preserved?* *Livia* his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie, and hearing his speeches, said thus unto him: *And may not womens counsels be admitted? Doe as Physicians are wont, who when their ordinarie receipts will not worke, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto thou couldest never doe any good with severitie: Lepidus hath followed Savidienus, Murena Lepidus, Cæpio Murena, Egnatius Sæpio; begin now to prove what good lenitie and clemencie will doe thee. Cinna is convicted, pardon him: To annoy or hurt thee now, he is not able, and thou shalt thereby increase thy glory.* *Augustus* seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermanded his friends, whom he had summoned to the Counsell, commanded *Cinna* to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for *Cinna* to sit in, he thus bespake him: *First Cinna, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and leisure to answer me: Thou knowest (oh Cinna) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies campe, who wast not only become, but borne my foe; I saved thee, thou puttest in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, have so enriched thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerours are become envious over the conquered. The Priestis office, which thou beggedst at my hands, I freely bestowed on thee, having first refused the same to others, whose fathers and friends had in many battels shed their blood for me: After all which benefits, and that I had in dutie tied thee so fast unto me, thou hast notwithstanding undertaken to kill me. To whom Cinna replied, crying aloud, That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertained the same. Oh Cinna, this is not according to thy promise, answered then *Augustus*, which was that thou wouldest not interrupt me: What I say, is true, thou hast undertaken to murder me, in such a place, on such a day, in such a company, & in such manner: and seeing him so amazed in heart, and by his evidence stricken dumbe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience; why wouldest thou doe it, replied he, is it because thou wouldest be Emperour? Truly the commonwealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. Thou canst not so much as defend thine owne house, and didst but lately lose a processe, only by the favor of a feely libertine. What? hast thou no meane or power in any other matter, but to attempt *Cæsars* life? I quit it, if there be no man but my selfe to impeach thy hopes. Supposest thou that *Paulus*, that *Fabius*, that the *Cossenians* or the *Servillians* will ever permit thee? And so great a troupe of noble men, noble, not only in name, but such as by their vertues honour their nobilitie, will ever suffer it? After many other such like discourses (for he talked with him more than 2. houres) he said unto him; *Away, oh Cinna, that life which once I gave thee, as to an enemy, I now give thee againe, as to a traitour, and a patrieide: let a true friendship from this day forward begin betwene us, let us strive together, which of us two with a better faith shall out-goe the other, & whether I have given thy life, or thou hast received the same with great confidence: and so left him.* Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blaming him that he durst not aske it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone, heire and executor of his goods. Now after this accident, which hapned to *Augustus* in the xl. yeare of his age, there was never any conspiracie or enterprise attempted against him; and he received a just reward for*



for his so great clemency. But the like succeeded not to our Prince, for his mildnesse and lenitie could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason: so vaine and frivolous a thing is humane wisdom: and contrary to all projects, devices, counsels, & precautions, fortune doth ever keepe a full sway and possession of all events. We count those Physicians happy and successful, that successfully end a desperate cure, or come to a good issue: as if there were no other art but theirs, that could not subsist of it selfe, and whose foundations were too feeble to stand and rely upon her owne strength: and as if there were none but it, that stands in need of fortunes helpe-affording hand, for the effecting of her operations. My conceit of it, is both the worst and the best a man may imagine: for thanks be to God, there is no commerce betweene us: I am contrary to others; for I ever despise it, and when I am sick, in stead of entring into league or composition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it most: and answer such as urge mee to take Physicke, that at least they will tarry till such time as I have recovered my health and strength againe; that then I may the better be enabled to endure the violence and hazard of their potions. I let nature worke, and presuppose unto my selfe, that she hath provided her selfe, both of teeth and clawes, to defend her self from such assaults as shall belee her, and to maintaine this contexture or frame, whose dissolution it so much hateth. In lieu of bringing helpe unto her, when shee most striveth, and is combated by sicknesse, I greatly feare lest I bring succor unto her adversarie, and sin charge her with new enemies. Now I conclude, that not onely in Physicke, but likewise in sundry more certaine arts, fortune hath great share in them. The Poeticall furies, which ravish and transport their Author beyond himselfe, why shall we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since himselfe confesseth, that they exceed his strength and sufficiencie, and acknowledge to proceed from elsewhere, than from himselfe, and that they are not in his power, no more than Orators say to have those strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their art transport them beyond their purpose? The like wee see to bee in painting, for sometimes the Painters hand shall draw certaine lines or draughts, so farre exceeding his conception or skill, that himselfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently shew, the share shee hath in all their workes, by the graces and beauties that often are found in them, not onely beyond the intent, but besides the very knowledge of the workman. A heedie Reader shall often discover in other mens compositions, perfections farre-differing from the Authors meaning, and such as haply he never dreamed of, and illustrateth them with richer senses, and more excellent constructions. As for military enterprises, no man is so blinde but seeth what share fortune hath in them: even in our counsels and deliberations, some chance or good lucke must needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisdom can effect, is no great matter. The sharper and quicker it is, more weaknesse findes it in it selfe, and so much the more doth it distrust it selfe. I am of *Sillaes* opinion: and when I nearest consider the most glorious exploits of warre, me thinkes I see, that those who have the conduct of them, employ neither counsell nor deliberation about them, but for fashion-sake, and leave the best part of the enterprise to fortune, and on the confidence they have in her ayd, they still go beyond the limits of all discourse. Casuall rejoycings, and strange furies ensue among their deliberations, which for the most induce them to take the counsell least grounded upon apparance or reason, and which quail their courage beyond reason; whence it hath succeeded unto divers great Captaines, by giving credit to such rash counsels, and alleaging to their soldiers, that by some divine inspiration, and other signes and prognostications, they were encouraged to such and such enterprises. Loe here wherefore in this uncertainty and perplexitie, which the impuissances and inabilityie doth bring us to see and chuse what is most commodious, for the difficulties which the divers accidents and circumstances of everie thing draw with them: the surest way, if other considerations did not invite us thereto, is, in my conceit, to follow the partie, wherein is most honestie and justice; and since a man doubteth of the nearest way, ever to keepe the right. As in these two examples I have lately mentioned, there is no doubt, but that it was more commendable and generous in him, who had received the offence, to remit and pardon the same, than to have done otherwise. If the first had but ill successe, his good intent is not to be blamed; and no man knoweth, had he take the contrary way, whether he should have escaped the end, to which his destinie called him; and then had he lost the glorie and commendations of so seld-seene humanitie. Sundrie



day men possessed with this feare, are read-of in ancient Histories; the greatest part of which have followed the way offore-running the conspiracies, which were complotted against them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good; witnesse so many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to bee in this danger, ought not much to relie upon his power, or hope in his vigilancie. For, how hard a matter is it, for a man to warrant and safeguard himselfe from an enemy, that masks under the visage of the most officious and heartie-seeming friend we have? And to know the inward thoughts and minde-concealed meanings of such as daily attend, and are continually with us? It will little availe him to have forraine nations to his guard, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men? whosoever he be that resolveth to condemn his owne life, may at any time become Master of other mens lives.

Moreover that continuall suspition, which makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when *Dion* was advertised that *Calippus* watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe himselfe of it: affirming; *He had rather die once, than ever live in feare and miserie, and to guard himselfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends.* Which thing *Alexander* presented more lively and undantedly by effect, who by a letter of *Parmenio* having received advertisement, that *Philip* his neereft and best regarded Physitian, had with money bene suborned and corrupted by *Darius*, to poison him, who at the very instant that he gave *Philip* the letter to reade, swallowed downe a potion he had given him: was it not to expresse his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shun them, but consent to their treachery? This Prince is the Sovereigne patterne of hazardous attempts: yet know I not whether in all his life, he shewed an act of more resolute constancie, than this, nor an ornament so many wayes famous. Those which daily preach and buzze in Princes eares, under colour of their safetie, a heedy diffidence and ever-warie distrustfulness, doe nought but tell them of their ruine, and further their shame and downfall. No noble act is atchieved without danger. I know one by his owne complexion of a right martial courage, and ready for any resolution, whose good and hopefull fortune is dayly corrupted by such verball perswasions; as first to keepe close with his friends; never to listen to any reconciliation with his old enemies: to stand upon his owne guard; never to commit himselfe to any stronger than himselfe, what faire promise soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who because he did ever follow the contrarie counsell, and would never listen to such schoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldnesse wherewith they so greedily gape after glory, is alwayes at hand, when ever need shall be, as gloriously in a doublet as in an armour; in a cabinet as in a campe; the arme held downe, as lifted up. A wisdom so tenderly precise, and so precisely circumspect, is a mortall enemy to haughty executions. *Scipio*, to sound the depth of *Siphax* intent, and to discover his minde; leaving his armie, and abandoning the yet unsettled country of *Spaine*, which under his new conquest of it, was likely to be suspected, he I say, could passe into *Affrike* onely with two simple ships or small barks, to commit himselfe in a strange and foe countrie, to engage his person, under the power of a barbarous King, under an unknowne faith, without either hostage, or letters of credence, yea without any body, but onely upon the assurance of the greatnesse of his courage, of his successfull good fortune, and of the promise of his high-raised hopes. *Habita fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat.* Most commonly trusting obligeth trustnesse. To an ambitious and fame-aspiring minde, contrariwise, a man must yeeld little, and cary a hard hand against suspicions: Feare and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustfull of our Kings established his affaires, and settled his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and libertie, to the hands and mercy of his enemies: Seeming to put his whole confidence in them, that so they might likewise conceive an undoubted affiance in him. *Cesar* did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardly-ruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awe-moving fiercenesse of his words: and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no whit feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a seditious and rebellious Armie.

*Lucanli. 9. 296.*

— *stetisti agere fulvi*

*Caspiis, inrepidus vulum, meruitque cimeri*

*Nil*



*Nil metuent.*

He on a rampart flood of turfe uprear'd,  
Fearelesse, and fearing none was to be fear'd.

True it is, that this undaunted assurance cannot so fully and lively be represented, but by those in whom the imagination or apprehension of death, and of the worst that may happen, can strike no amazement at all: for, to represent it fearefully-trembling, doubtful and uncertaine, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter: It is an excellent motive to gaine the heart and good will of others, for a man to go and submit himselfe to them, provided it be done freely, and without contraint of any necessity, and in such sort, that a man bring a pure and unspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance void of all scruple. Being yet a childe, I saw a gentleman, who had the command of a great Citie, and by a commotion of a seditiously furious people greatly put to his plunges, who to suppress the rising fire of this tumult, resolved to sally out from a strongly assured place, where he was safe, and yeeld himselfe to that many-headed monster mutinous rowt; thrived so ill by it, that he was miserably slaine amongst them: yet deeme I not his oversight to have beene so great in issuing out; his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke a way of submission, and remission, and attempted to extinguish that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following, than of guiding, and by requiring sure, than by demonstrative resolution: and I deeme, a graciously milde severitie, with a militarie commandement, full of confidence and securitie, be seeming his ranke, and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had beene more successfull, at least with more honour, and well seeming comeliness. There is nothing lesse to be expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous faced multitude, thus agitated by furie, than humilitie and gentleness; it will much sooner receive reverence, and admie feare. I might also blame him, that having undertaken a resolution (in my judgement, rather brave than rash) to cast himselfe inconsiderately, weake and unarmed, amidst a tempestuous Ocean of senselesse and mad men, he should have gone through stich with it, and not leave the person he represented in the briers, whereas after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chanced to bleed at the nose; and then to change that demisse and flattering countenance he had undertaken, into a dismaid and drooping looke, filling both voice and eyes with astonishment and repentance: and seeking to squat himselfe, hee the more enflamed, and called them upon him. It was determined, there should be a generall muster made of divers troupes of armed men (a place fittest for secret revenges, and where they may safest be atchieved) there were most apparant reasons, that the place was very unsure, or at least, to be suspected, by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survey them. Divers counsels were proposed, sundry opinions heard, as in a subject of great difficultie, and on which depended so many weightie consequences. My advice was, they should carefully avoid to give any testimonie of suspition, or shew of doubt, and that our troupes should be as full as might be, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every Souldier shew an undaunted carriage, and undisinayed countenance, and in stead of keeping some of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aimed at) all Captaines should be put in minde to admonish their Souldiers to make their sallies as orderly and as strong as might be, in honour of the assistance; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification toward these suspectfull troupes, which afterward caused a mutuall and profitable confidence. I finde the course that *Julius Caesar* held to be the best a man may take: First he assayed by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, contenting himselfe in the conspiracies that were discovered unto him, simply to shew they were not unknowen to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or disinay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholly abandoning and remitting himselfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certainly, it is the state wherein he was, when he was murthered in the Senate. A stranger having published every where, that he could teach *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Syracusa* a way to understand and discover the very certaintie of all the practices, his subjects or any else should practise against him, if he would bestow a good summe of money upon him: *Dionysius* being therof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secret and understand the truth of so necessarie an art for his preservation: the stranger told him, there was no other skill in his art, but that he



he should deliver him a talent, and then boast hee had learned the use of so unvaluable a secret of him. *Dionysius* allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused six hundred crownes to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of money to an unknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction; for by way of this reputation he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisements as they receive of the plots conspired, and treasons practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men beleieve, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of *Athens* committed many fond oversights in the establishing of his late tyrannie upon the Florentines, but this the chiefeft, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies and Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by *Mathew*, surnamed *Moro*, one of the complices, thinking to suppress this warning, and conceale that any in the Citie were offended at him, or grudged at his rule, caused him immediatly to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Romane (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the *Trinuvirate*, had many times by the subtiltie of his invention, escaped those who pursued him. It fortun'd upon a day, that a troupe of horse-men, who had the charge to apprehend him, passing alongst a hedge, under which he lay lurking, had well-nigh discovered him; which he perceiving, and considering the dangers and difficulties he had so long endured, thinking to save himselfe from the continuall and daily searches that every where were made after him, and calling to minde the small pleasure he might hope of such a life, and how much better it were for him to die once, than live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarily discovered his lurking hole, and that he might rid them and himselfe from further pursuit and care, did willingly yeeld unto their crueltie. For a man to call his enemies to aid him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were better to embrace it, than remaine still in the continuall fit of such a fever that hath no remedie. But since the provisions of man may apply unto it, are full of unquietnesse and uncertaintie, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and draw some comfort from that, which a man is never sure shall come to passe.

## CHAP. XXIV.

## Of Pedantisme.

I Have in my youth oftentimes beene vexed, to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sport-maker, and the nicke-name of *Magister* to be of no better signification amongst us. For, my selfe being committed to their tuition, how could I chuse but be somewhat jealous of their reputation? In deed I sought to excuse them by reason of the naturall disproportion that is betweene the vulgar sort, and rare and excellent men, both in judgement and knowledge: forso much as they take a cleane contrarie course one from another. But when I considered, the choyest men were they, that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were lost my selfe, witnesse our good *Bellay*:

Bellay.

*Mais je hay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque.*

A pedant knowledge, I

Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient; for *Plutarch* saith, that Greeke and Scholer, were amongst the Romans, words of reproach and imputation. And comming afterwards to yeares of more discretion, I have found they had great reason, and that *magis magnos clericos, non sunt magis magnos sapientes*: The most great Clerkes are not the most wisest men. But whence it may proceed, that a minde rich in knowledge, and of so many things, becommeth thereby never livelier nor more quicke-sighted; and a grosse-headed & vulgar spirit may without amendment containe the discourse and judgement of the most excellent wits the world ever produced, I still remaine doubtfull. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs follow (said once a Lady unto me, yea one of our chiefeft Princesses, speaking of some body)



body) that in the more we force, droppe, and as it were diminish it selfe, to make room for others. I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lamps dammed with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind over-whelmed by over-abundance of matter and staidie: which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, loseth the meane to spread and cleare it selfe; and that surcharge keepeth it low-drooping and faint. But it is otherwise, for our mind stretcheth the more by how much more it is replenished. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seene, of sufficient men in the managing of publike affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellors in matters of estate, to have been therewithall excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retired from all publike negotiations, they have indeed sometimes been vilified, by the comike libertie of their times, their opinions and demeanors yeelding them ridiculous. Will you make them Judges of the right of a proccesse, or of the actions of a man? They are readie for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion. Whether man be any thing but an Oxe, what working or suffering is; what strange beasts law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrate, or speake they unto him; they do it with an unreverent and uncivill libertie. Heare they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepherd to them, as idle as a Swaine busied about milking of his cattell, or shearing of his sheepe: but yet more rudely. Esteeme you any man the greater for possessing two hundred acres of land? They scoffe at him, as men accustomed to embrace all the world, as their possession. Do you boast of your Nobilitie, because you can blazon your descent of seven or eight rich Grand-fathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceive not the universall image of nature, and how many predecessors every one of us hath had, both rich and poore, Kings and groomes, Greekes and Barbarians. And were you lineally descended in the fiftieth degree from *Hercules*, they deeme it a vanitie to vaunt or alleage this gift of fortune. So did the vulgar sort disdain them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as presumptuous and insolent. But this Platonicall lustre is far from that which our men stand in need of. They were envied as being beyond the common sort, as despising publike actions, as having proposed unto themselves a particular and inimitable life, aiming and directed at certaine high discourses, and from the common use: these are disdained as men beyond the ordinary fashion, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an unsociable life, & professing base and abject customes, after the vulgar kind. *Ods homines ignavos opera, Philosophas sententia.* I hate men that are fooles in working, & Philosophers in speaking. As for those Philosophers, I say, that as they were great in knowledge, so were they greater in all action. And even as they report of that *Syracusan* Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation, to shew some practice of his skill, for the defence of his countrie, reared so many certaine terror-moving engines, and shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceit, himselfe notwithstanding disdaining all this his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his art; his engines and manuall works being but the apprenticeships, and trialls of his skill in sport: So they, if at any time they have been put to the triall of any action, they have been seen to flie so high a pitch, and with so loftie a flight, that men might apparently see their minds and spirits were through the intelligence of things, become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the seat of politike government possessed by unworthy and incapable men, have withdrawne themselves from it. And hee who demanded of *Crates*, how long men should Philosophize, received this answer, Untill such time as they who have the conduct of our Armies be no longer blockish asses. *Heraclius* resigned the royaltie unto his brother. And to the *Ephesians*, who reproved him for spending his time in playing with children before the temple: hee answered, And is it not better to doe so, than to governe the publike affaires in your companie? Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the seat of justice, and the thrones of Kings, to be but base and vile. And *Empedocles* refused the royaltie, which the *Agrigentines* offered him. *Thales* sometimes accusing the carke and care men tooke about good husbandry, and how to grow rich; some replied unto him, that he did as the Fox, because he could not attaine unto it himselfe: which hearing, by way of sport he would needs shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thristie and rich; and bending his wits to gaine and profit, erected a traffike, which within one yeare brought him such riches, as the skillfullest in the trade of thriving, could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That

Pacuvius Lips.  
lib. 6. 10.



which *Aristotle* reporteth of some, who called both him, and *Anaxagoras*, and such like men, wise, and not prudent, because they cared not for things more profitable: besides, I doe not verie well digest this nice difference of words, that serveth my find-fault people for no excuse: and to see the base and needie fortune, wherewith they are content, we might rather have just cause to pronounce them, neither wise nor prudent. I quit this first reason, and thinke it better to say, that this evill proceedeth from the bad course they take to follow sciences; and that respecting the manner we are instructed in them, it is no wonder if neither Schollers nor Masters, howbeit they prove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the daily care, and continuall charges of our fathers, aymeth at nothing so much, as to store our heads with knowledge and learning; as for judgement and vertue, that is never spoken of. If a man passe by, crie out to our people; *Oh what a wise man goeth yonder? And of another: Oh what a good man is yonder?* He will not faile to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third crier were needfull, to say, *Oh what blocke-heads are those!* We are ever readie to aske, *Hath he any skill in the Greeke and Latine tongue? can he write well? doth hee write in prose or verse?* But whether hee be growne better or wiser, which should be the chiefest of his drift, that is never spoken of, we should rather enquire who is better wise, than who is more wise. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both understanding and conscience emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke up corne, or any graine, and without tasting the same, carrie it in their bills, therewith to feed their little ones; so doe our pedants gleane and picke learning from bookes, and never lodge it further than their lips, only to degorge and cast it to the wind. It is strange how fitly sottishnesse takes hold of mine example. Is not that which I doe in the greatest part of this composition, all one and selfe same thing? I am ever heere and there picking and culling, from this and that booke, the sentences that please me, not to keepe them (for I have no store-house to reserve them in) but to transport them into this: where, to say truth, they are no more mine, than in their first place: we are (in mine opinion) never wise, but by present learning, not by that which is past, and as little by that which is to come. But which is worse, their Schollers, and their little ones are never a whit the more fed or better nourished: but passeth from hand to hand, to this end only, thereby to make a glorious shew, therewith to entertaine others, and with it's helpe to frame some quaint stories, or prettie tales, as of a light and counterfeit coyne, unprofitable for any use or employment, but to reckon and cast accompts. *Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum. Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum.* They have learned to speake with others, nor with themselves: speaking is not so requisite as government. Nature, to shew that nothing is savage in whatsoever she produceth, causeth oftentimes, even in rudest and most unarted nations, productions of spirits to arise, that confront and wrestle with the most artift productions. As concerning my discourse, is not the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bag-pipe, prettie and quaint? *Bonha prou bonha, mas à remuda loum dits quem. You may blow long enough, but if once you stirre your singers, you may go seeke.* Wee can talke and prate, *Cicero* saith thus, These are *Platoes* customs, These are the verie words of *Aristotle*; but what say we our selves? what doe we? what judge we? A Peroquet would say as much. This fashion puts me in mind of that rich Romane, who to his exceeding great charge had beene verie industrious to finde out the most sufficient men in all sciences, which he continually kept about him, that if at any time occasion should bee moved amongst his friends to speake of any matter pertaining to Schollership, they might supplie his place, and be readie to assist him: some with discourse, some with a verse of *Homer*, other some with a sentence, each one according to his skill or profession; who perswaded himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants minds. As they doe whose sufficiencie is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I aske what he knoweth, hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durst not dare to tell me that his posteriors are scabious, except he turne over his *Lexicon* to see what posteriors and scabious is, wee take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must be enfeofed in us, and made our owne. Wee may verie well be compared unto him, who having need of fire, should goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, should there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carrie some home, what avails it us to have our bellies full of meat, if it be not digested? If it bee not transchanged

Senapist. 108.



in us? except it nourish, augment, and strengthen us? May we imagine that *Lucullus*, whom learning made and framed so great a Captaine without experience, would have taken it after our manner? We relie so much upon other mens armes, that we disanull our owne strength. Will I arme my selfe against the feare of death? it is at *Senecaes* cost: will I draw comfort either for my selfe, or any other? I borrow the same of *Cicero*. I would have taken it in my selfe, had I been exercised unto it: I love not this relative and begd-for sufficiencie. Suppose we may be learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, we can never be wise, but by our owne wisdom.

Μὴ ὀφείλω, ὅτι ἐχὼ δι τὴν σοφίαν.

That wise man I cannot abide,

That for himselfe cannot provide,

*Proverb. 1. 4.*

*Ex quo Ennius: Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quirit.* Whereupon saith *Ennius*; That wise man is vainly wise, who could not profit himselfe.

*Ennius.*

— si cupidus, si

*Vannus, & Eugenea quantumvis vilior agna.*

*Juvenal. Sat. 8.*

If covetous, if vaine (not wise)

14.

Than any lamb more base, more nice.

*Non enim paranda nobis solum sed fruenda sapientia est. For, wee must not only purchase wisdom, but enjoy and employ the same.* *Dionysius* scoffeth at those Gramarians, who ploddingly labour to know the miseries of *Ulysses*, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh those Musicians, that so attentively tune their instruments, and never accord their manners; derideth those Orators, that studie to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except our mind be the better, unlesse our judgement be the sounder, I had rather my scholler had employed his time in playing at Tennis; I am sure his bodie would be the nimbler. See but one of these our universitie men or bookish schollers returne from schole, after he hath there spent ten or twelve yeares under a Pedants charge: who is so unapt for any matter? who so unfit for any companie? who so to seeke if he come into the word? all the advantage you discover in him, is, that his Latine and Greeke have made him more sottish, more stupid, and more presumptuous, than before he went from home. Whereas he should returne with a mind full-fraught, he returnes with a wind-puff conceit: in stead of plum-feeding the same, he hath only spunged it up with vanitie. These Masters, as *Plato* speaketh of Sophisters (their cosin Germanes) of all men, are those that promise to be most profitable unto men, and alone, amongst all, that not only amend not what is committed to their charge, as doth a carpenter or a mason, but empaire and destroy the same, and yet they must full dearly be paid. If the law which *Protagoras* proposed to his disciples, were followed, which was, that either they should pay him according to his word, or sweare in the temple, how much they esteemed the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfie him for his paines, my Pedagogues would be aground, especially if they would stand to the oath of my experience. My vulgar Perigordin-speech doth verie pleasantly terme such selfe-conceited wifards, Letter-series, as if they would say letter-strucken men, to whom (as the common saying is) letters have given a blow with a maller. Verily for the most part they seeme to be distracted even from common sense. Note but the plaine husbandman, or the unwilie shoemaker, and you see them simply and naturally plod on their course, speaking only of what they know, and no further; whereas these letter-puff pedants, because they would faine raise themselves aloft, and with their literall doctrine which floteth up and downe the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men, they uncessantly intricate and entangle themselves: they utter loftie words, and speake golden sentences, but so that another man doth place, fit, and applie them. They are acquainted with *Galen*, but know not the disease. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have not yet conceived the ground of the case. They know the Theorike of all things, but you must seeke who shall put it in practice. I have seene a friend of mine, in mine owne house, who by way of sport talking with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kind of fustian tongue, and spake a certaine gibbrish, without rime or reason, sans head or foot, a hotch-pot of divers things, but that he did often enterlace it with inke-pot termes, incident to their disputations, to amuse the bookish for for a whole day long with debating and contending; ever thinking he answered the Objections made unto him; yet was he a

*Cic. Finib. 5. 1. 7.*



man of letters and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

*Perf. sat. 1. 61.*

*Vos o patritius sanguis quos vivere par est*

*Occipiti ceco, postica occurrere sanne.*

You noble blouds, who with a noddle blind,

Shoud live, meet with the mocke that's made behind.

Whosoever shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spred it selfe, he shall find (as I have done,) that for the most part, they neither understand themselves, nor others, and that their memorie is many times sufficiently full fraught, but their judgement ever hollow and emptie: except their natural inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene *Adrianus Turnebus*, who having never professed any thing but studie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthiest man that lived these thousand yeares, and who notwithstanding had no Pedanticall thing about him, but the wearing of his gowne, and some externall fashions, that could not well be reduced, and incivilized to the countiers cut; things of no consequence. And I naturally hate our people, that will more hardly endure a long robe uncuriously worne, than a crosse skittish mind: and that observe what leg, or reverence he makes, note his garbe or demeanor, view his boots, or his hat, and marke what manner of man he is. For his inward parts, I deeme him to have been one of the most unspotted and truly honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose urged him to speak of matters furthest from his study, wherein he was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgement distinguish them, that he seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie than warre, and matters of state. Such spirits, such natures may be termed worthy, goodly, and solid.

*Inven. sat. 14.  
34.*

— *quis arte benigna*

*Et meliore luto finxit praeordia Titan.*

Whose bowels heavens-bright-Sunne composed

Of better mold, art wel disposed.

That maintaine themselves against any bad institution. Now it sufficeth not that our institution marre us not, it must change us to the better. There are some of our Parliaments and Courts, who when they are to admit of any officers, doe only examine them of their learning; others, that by presenting them the judgement of some law cases, endeavour to sound their understanding. Me thinks the latter keep the better stile: And albeit these two parts are necessaie, and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should that of learning be lesse prized than judgement, this may well be without the other, and not the other without this. For as the Greeke verse saith.

*Comm. Graec. T.  
O. p. 112.*

*Ως εστιν η παιδων, ουκ ην τις παρ.*

Learning nought worth doth lie,

Be not discretion by.

*Sen. ap. 106. f.*

Whereto serveth learning, if understanding be not joyned to it? Oh would to God, that for the good of our justice, the societies of Lawyers were as wel stored with judgement, discretion, and conscience, as they are with learning and wit. *Non vita, sed schola discimus. We learn not for our life, but for the schoole.* It is not enough to joyne learning and knowledge to the minde, it should be incorporated unto it: it must not be sprinkled, but dyed with it; and if it change not and better her estate (which is imperfect) it were much better to leave it. It is a dangerous Sword, and which hindreth and offendeth her master, if it be in a weake hand, and which hath not the skill to manage the same: *Vt fuerit melius non didicisse: So as it were better that we had not learned.* It is peradventure the cause, that neither we, nor divinitie require not much learning in women; and that *Francis Duke of Britannie*, sonne to *John the fifth*, when he was spoken unto for a marriage betweene him and *Isabel* a daughter of *Scotland*; and some told him she was but meanly brought up, and without any instruction of learning, answered, hee loved her the better for it, and that a woman was wise enough, if she could but make a difference betweene the shirt and dublet of her husbands. It is also no such wonder (as some say) that our auncesters did never make any great accompt of Letters, and that even at this day (except it be by chaunce) they are not often found in our Kings or Princes chiefest counsels and consultations: And if the end to grow rich by them, which now adaies is altogether proposed unto us by the studie of Law, of Physicke, of Pedantisme, and of Divinitie; did not keep them in credit, without doubt you should see them



as beggarly and needy, and as much vilified as ever they were. And what hurt I pray you, since they neither teach us to think well, nor doe well? *Postquam docti prodiderunt, boni desunt. Since men became learned, good men failed.* Each other science is prejudiciall unto him, that hath not the science of goodnesse. But may not the reason I whilom sought for, also proceed thence? That our studie in *France*, having as it were no other aime but profit, but those lesse whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, than lucrative, giving themselves unto learning, or so briefly (before they have apprehended any liking of them, retired unto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to engage themselves to studie and Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to base fortune, and who by learning and letters seek some meane to live, and enrich themselves. The minds of which people being both by naturall inclination, by example, and familiar institution, of the basest stampe, doe fallly reap the fruit of learning. For it is not in her power to give light unto the mind, that hath none, nor to make a blind man to see. The mysterie of it is not to afford him sight, but to direct it for him, to adresse his goings, alwaies provided he have feet of his owne, and good, strait, and capable legs. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug is sufficiently strong to preserve it selfe without alteration or corruption, according to the fault of the vessel, that containes it. Some man hath a cleare sight, that is not right-sighted; and by consequence seeth what good is, and doth not follow it; and seeketh knowledge, but makes no use of it. The chiefest ordinance of *Plato* in his common wealth is, to give unto his Citizens their charge, according to their nature. Nature can doe all, and doth all. The crooked back, or deformed, are unfit for any exercise of the bodie, and crooked and mis-shapen minds unproper for exercises of the minde. The baltard and vulgar sort are unworthy of Philosophie. When we see a man ill shod, if he chance to be a Shoemaker, wee say it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worse shod than they. Even so it seemes, that experience doth often shew us, a Physitian lesse healthy, a Divine lesse reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman lesse sufficient than another. *Aristo Chius* had heretofore reason to say, that Philosophers did much hurt to their auditors, forasmuch as the greatest number of minds are not apt to profit by such instructions, which, if they take not a good, they will follow a bad course: *animus ex Aristippe, acerbus ex Zenonis schola exire. They proceed licentious out of the Schoole of Aristippus, but bitter out of the Schoole of Zeno.* In that excellent institution which *Zenophon* giveth the Persians, wee find, that as other Nations teach their children Letters, so they taught theirs vertue. *Plato* said the eldest borne sonne, in their royall succession, was thus taught. As soone as he was borne, he was delivered, not to women, but to such Eunuchs, as by reason of their vertue were in chiefest authorite about the King. Their speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes and bodie, goodly and healthy; and at seven yeares of age, they instructed and inured him to sit on horsebacke, and to ride a hunting: when he came to the age of fourteene, they delivered him into the hands of foure men, that is to say, the wisest, the justest, the most temperate, and the most valiant of all thenation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever upright and true; the third, to become Master of his owne desires; and the fourth, to feare nothing. It is a thing worthy great consideration, that in that excellent, and as I may terme it, matchlesse policie of *Lycurgus*, and in truth, by reason of her perfection, monstrous, yet notwithstanding, so carefull for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and even in the Males holme and resting-place, there is so little mention made of learning: as if that generous youth disdainning all other yokes but of vertue, ought only be furnished, in lieu of tutors of learning, with masters of valour, of justice, of wisdom, and of temperance. An example which *Plato* hath imitated in his Lawes. The manner of their discipline was, to propound questions unto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their actions: and if by way of reason or discourse, they condemned or praised, either this man, or that deed, they must betold the truth and best: by which meanes at once they sharpened their wits, and learned the right. *Astages* in *Zenophon* calleth *Cyrus* to an account of his last lesson: It is (saith he) that a great lad in our Schoole, having a little coat, gave it to one of his fellowes, that was of lesse stature than himselfe, and tooke his coat from him, which was too big for him: our Master having made me judge of that difference, I judged that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemed to be better fitted as they were; whereupon he shewed me, I had done ill; because I had not only considered the comeli-

,, Sen. epist. 95.

Cic. Nat. Deor.  
lib. 3.

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ness where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required, that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and said, he was whipt for it, as we are in our countie-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or *Aoriste* of *τινα*. My Regent might long enough make me a prolix and cunning Oration in *genere demonstrativo*, in the oratorie kind of praise or dispraise, before ever hee should perswade me his Schoole is worth that. They have gone about to make the way shorter: and since Sciences (even when they are right taken) can teach us nothing but wisdom, honestie, integritie, and resolution; they have at first sight, attempted to put their children to the proper of effects, and instruct them, not by heare-say, but by assay of action, lively modelling and framing them, not only by precepts and words, but principally by examples and works, that it might not be a Science in their mind, but rather his complexion and habitude; not to purchase, but a naturall inheritance.

To this purpose when *Agessilaus* was demanded, what his opinion was, children should learne: answered, *What they should doe being men*. It is no marvell, if such an institution have produced so admirable effects. Some say, that in other Cities of *Greece* they went to seeke for Rhetoricians, for Painters, and for Musicians; whereas in *Lacedemon*, they sought for Law-givers, for Magistrates, and Generals of armies: In *Athens* men learn'd to say well, but here, to doe well: there to resolve a sophisticall argument, and to confound the imposture and amphibologie of words, captiously enterlaced together; here to shake off the allurements of voluptuousnesse, and with an undanted courage to contemne the threats of fortune, and reject the menaces of death: those busied and laboured themselves about idle words, these after martiall things: there the tongue was ever in continuall exercise of speaking, here the minde in an uncessant practice of well-doing. And therefore was it not strange, if *Antipater* requiring fiftie of their children for hostages, they answered cleane contrarie to that we would doe, *that they would rather deliver him twice so many men*; so much did they value and esteeme the losse of their countries education. When *Agessilaus* inviteth *Xenophon* to send his children to *Sparta*, there to be brought up; it is not, because they should learne Rhetorike, or Logike, but, as himselfe saith, *to the end they may learne the worthiest and best science that may bee, to wit, the knowledge how to obey, and the skill how to command*. It is a sport to see *Socrates*, after his blunt manner, to mocke *Hippias*, who reporteth unto him, what great summes of money he had gained, especially in certaine little Cities, and small townes of *Sicily*, by keeping schoole, and teaching letters, and that at *Sparta* he could not get a shilling. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who can neither measure nor esteeme; nor make no accompt of Grammer, or of Rythmes; and who only amuse themselves to know the succession of Kings, the establishing and declination of estates, and such like trash of flim-flam tales. Which done, *Socrates* forcing him particularly to allow the excellencie of their forme of publike government, the happinesse and vertue of their private life, remits unto him to guesse the conclusion of the unprofitablenesse of his arts. Examples teach us both in this martiall policie, and in all such like, that the studie of sciences doth more weaken and effeminate mens minds, than corroborate and adapt them to warre. The mightiest, yea the best settled estate, that is now in the world, is that of the Turkes, a nation equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and disesteeme of letters. I find *Rome* to have beene most valiant, when it was least learned. The most warlike nations of our daies, are the rudest and most ignorant. The Scythians, the Parthians, and *Tamburlane*, serve to verifie my saying. When the Gothes over-ran and ravaged *Greece*; that which saved all their Libraries from the fire, was, that one among them, scattered this opinion, that such trash of bookes and papers must be left untoucht and whole for their enemies, as the only meane, and proper instrument to divert them from all militarie exercises, and amuse them to idle, secure, and sedentarie occupations. When our King *Charles* the eight, in a manner without unsheathing his sword, saw himselfe absolute Lord of the whole Kingdome of *Naples*, and of a great part of *Thuscany*, the Princes and Lords of his traine ascribed this sodaine, and unhop'd for victorie, and facilitie of so noble and prodigious a conquest, only to this, that most of the Princes and nobilitie of *Italie* amused themselves rather to become ingenious and wise by learning, than vigorous and warriers by militarie exercises.



## CHAP. XXV.

*Of the institution and education of Children; to the Ladie Diana  
of Foix, Countesse of Gurfon.*

I Never knew father, how crooked and deformed soever his sonne were, that would either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne: and yet (unlesse he be merely besotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceiveth his defects, and hath a feeling of his imperfections. But so it is, he is his owne. So is it in my selfe. I see better than any man else, that what I have set downe, is nought but the fond imaginations of him, who in his youth hath tasted nothing but the paring, and seen but the superficialities of true learning: whereof he hath retained but a generall and shapelesse forme: a snacke of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular: After the French manner. To be short, I know there is an art of Physicke; a course of lawes; foure parts of the Mathematickes; and I am not altogether ignorant, what they tend unto. And perhaps I also know the scope and drift of Sciences in generall, to be for the service of our life. But to wade further, or that ever I tired my selfe with plodding upon *Aristotle* (the Monarch of our modern doctrine) or obstinately continued in the search of any one science: I confesse I never did it. Nor is there any one art, whereof I am able so much as to draw the first lineaments. And there is no scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute himselfe wiser than I, who am not able to appose him in his first lesson: and if I be forced to it, I am constrained verie impertinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much unknowne to them, as theirs is to me. I have not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except *Plutarke* or *Seneca*, from whom (as the *Danaides*) I draw my water, unceasingly filling, and as fast emptying: some thing whereof I fasten to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching bookes: Historie is my chiefe studie, Poesie my only delight, to which I am particularly affected: for as *Cleantes* said, that as the voice being forcible pent in the narrow gullet of a trumpet, at last issueth forth more strong and shriller, so me seemes, that a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping Poesie, darts it selfe forth more furiously, and wounds me even to the quicke. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me, (whereof behold here an essay) I perceive them to faint under their owne burthen; my conceits, and my judgement march but uncertaine, and as it were groping, staggering, and stumbling at every rush: And when I have gone as far as I can, I have no whit pleased my selfe: for the further I faile, the more land I descrie, and that so dimmed with fogges, and over-cast with clouds, that my sight is so weakned, I cannot distinguish the same. And then undertaking to speake indifferently of all that presents it selfe unto my fantasie, and having nothing but mine owne naturall meanes to imploy therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) among good Authors, to light upon those verie places which I have undertaken to treat off, as even now I did in *Plutarke*, reading his discourse of the power of imagination; wherein in regard of those wise men, I acknowledge my selfe so weake, and so poore, so dull and grosse-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and disclaime my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to jumpe with theirs, and that I follow them a loose-off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not; which is, that I know the utmost difference betweene them and my selfe: all which notwithstanding I suffer my inventions to run abroad, as weake and faint, as I have produced them, without bungling and botching the faults, which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had need have a strong backe, to undertake to march foot to foot with these kind of men. The indiscreet writers of our age, amidst their triviall compositions, intermingle and wrest in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors, supposing by such filching-theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinite varietie and dissemblance of lustres, makes a face so wan, so ill-favored, and so ugly, in respect of theirs, that they lose much more than gaine thereby. These were two contrarie



trarie humours: The Philosopher *Chrysippus* was wont to foist-in amongst his bookes, not only whole senteneces, and other long-long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in *Euripides* his *Medea*. And *Apollodorus* was wont to say of him, that if one should draw from out his bookes, what he had stolne from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Whereas *Epicurus* cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes, he left behind him, had not made use of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light upon such a place: I had languishingly traced after some French words, so naked and shallow, and so void either of sence or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but meere French words; and after a tedious and wearisome travell, I chanced to stumble upon an high, rich, and even to the clouds-raised piece, the descent whereof had it been somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascent reaching a little further, it had been excusable, and to be borne-withall; but it was such a steepe downe-fall, and by meere strength he-wen out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first six words, me thought I was carried into another world: whereby I perceive the bottome whence I came to be so low and deep, as I durst never more adventure to go through it; for, if I did stuffe any one of my discourses with those rich spoiles, it would manifestly cause the sottishnesse of others to appeare. To reprove mine owne faults in others, seemes to me no more unsufferable, than to reprehend (as I doe often) those of others in my selfe. They ought to be accused every where, and have all places of Sanctuarie taken from them: yet do I know how over-boldly, at all times I adventure to equall my selfe unto my filchings, and to march hand in hand with them; not without a fond-hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to bleare the eyes of the Judges from discerning them. But it is as much for the benefit of my application, as for the good of mine invention and force. And I doe not furiously froat, and bodie to bodie wrestle with those old champions: it is but by sleights, advantages, and false-offers I seek to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I doe not rashly take them about the necke, I doe but touch them, nor doe I go so far as by my bargaine I would seeme to doe; could I but keepe even with them, I should then be an honest man; for I seeke not to venture on them, but where they are strongest. To doe as I have seen some, that is, to shroud themselves under others armes, not daring so much as to show their fingers ends unarmed, and to borch up all their works (as it is an easie matter in a common subject, namely for the wiser sort) with ancient inventions, here and there hudled-up together. And in those who endeavoured to hide what they have filched from others, and make it their owne, it is first a manifest note of injustice, than a plaine argument of cowardlinesse; who having nothing of any worth in themselves to make show of, will yet under the countenance of others sufficiencye goe about to make a faire offer: Moreover (oh great foolishnesse) to seek by such cosening tricks to forestall the ignorant approbation of the common sort, nothing fearing to discover their ignorance to men of understanding (whose praise only is of value) who will soone trace out such borrowed ware. As for me, there is nothing I will doe lesse. I never spake of others, but that I may the more speake of my selfe. This concerneth not those mingle-mangles of many kinds of stuffe, or as the Grecians call them *Rapsodies*, that for such are published, of which kind I have (since I came to yeares of discretion) seen divers most ingenious and wittie; amongst others, one under the name of *Capilupus*; besides many of the ancient stampe. These are wits of such excellence, as both here and elsewhere they will soone be perceived, as our late famous writer *Lipsius*, in his learned and laborious work of the Politikes: yet whatsoever come of it, for so much as they are but follies, my intent is not to smother them, no more than a bald and hoarie picture of mine, where a Painter hath drawne not a perfect visage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, these are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver them but to show what my conceit is, and not what ought to be beleaved. Wherin I ayme at nothing but to display my selfe, who peradventure (if a new prentiship change me) shall be another to morrow. I have no authoritie to purchase believe, neither do I desire it; knowing well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, told me not long since in mine owne house, I should somewhat more have extended my selfe in the discourse concerning the institution of children. Now (Madam) if there were any sufficiencye in me, touching that subject, I could not better employ the same, than to bestow it as a present upon that little lad; which ere long threatneth to make a happy issue from out your honorable wombe: for (Madame) you are too generous to begin with



with other than a man in childe. And having had so great a part in the conduct of your successfull marriage, I may challenge some right and interest in the greatnesse and prosperitie of all that shall proceed from it: moreover, the ancient and rightfull possession, which you from time to time have ever had, and still have over my service, urgeth me with more than ordinarie respects, to wish all honour, well-fare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sort concerne you and yours. And truly, my meaning is, but to shew, that the greatest difficulty, and importing all humane knowledge, seemeth to be in this point, where the nurture and institution of young children is in question. For, as in matters of husbandrie, the labor that must be used before sowing, setting, and planting, yea in planting it selfe, is most certaine and easie. But when that which was sown, set and planted, cometh to take life; before it come to ripenesse, in which a long and great varietie of proceeding belongeth to it. So in men, it is no great matter to get them, but being borne, what continuall cares, what diligent attendance, what doubts and feares, doe daily wait on their parents and tutors, before they can be nurtured and brought to any good? The fore-shew of their inclination whilest they are young is so uncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so false, and their proceedings so doubtful, that it is very hard, (yea for the wisest) to ground any certaine judgement, or assured successe upon them. Behold *Cymon*, view *Themistocles*, and a thousand others, how they have differed, and fallen to better from themselves, and deceive the expectation of such as knew them. The young whelps both of Dogges and Beares, at first sight shew their naturall disposition, but men headlong embracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admitting this or that passion, allowing of that or this law, are easily changed, and soone disguised; yet is it hard to force the naturall propension or readinesse of the mind, whereby it followeth, that for want of heedie fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vaine, to addresse young children in those matters, whereunto they are not naturally addiected. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them up in the best and profitablest studies, and that a man should slightly passe over those fond presages, and deceiving prognostikes, which we over precisely gather in their infancie. And (without offence be it said) me thinks, that *Plato* in his common-wealth alloweth them too-too much authoritie.

Madame, Learning joyned with true knowledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament, and an implemēt of wonderfull use and consequence, namely in persons raised to that degree of fortune, wherein you are. And in good truth, learning hath not her owne true forme, nor can she make shew of her beauteous lineaments, if she fall into the hands of base and vile persons. [ For, as famous *Torquato Tasso* saith; Philosophie being a rich and noble Queene, and knowing her owne worth, graciously smileth upon, and lovingly embraceth Princes and noble men, if they become suiters to her, admitting them as her minions, and gently affording them all the favours she can; whereas upon the contrarie, if she be wooed, and sued unto by clownes, mechanicall fellowes, and such base kind of people, she holds her selfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no proportion with them. And therefore see we by experience, that if a true Gentleman, or nobleman follow her with any attention, and wooed her with importunitie, he shall learne and know more of her, and prove a better scholler in one yeare, than an ungentle or base fellow shall in seven, though he pursue her never so attentively. ] She is much more readie and fierce to lend her furtherance and direction in the conduct of a warre, to attempt honorable actions, to command a people, to treat a peace with a prince of forraigne nation, than she is to forme an argument in Logick, to devise a Syllogisme, to canvase a case at the barre, or to prescribe a receipt of pills. So (noble Ladie) for so much as I cannot perswade my selfe, that you will either forget or neglect this point, concerning the institution of yours, especially having tasted the sweetnesse thereof, and being descended of so noble and learned a race. For we yet possesse the learned compositions of the ancient and noble Earles of *Forx*, from out whose heroicke loynes your husband and you take your of-spring. And *Francis* Lord of *Candale* your worthie uncle, doth daily bring forth such fruits thereof, as the knowledge of the matchlesse qualitie of your house shall hereafter extend it selfe to many ages; I will therefore make you acquainted with one conceit of mine, which contrarie to the common use I hold, and that is all I am able to afford you, concerning that matter. The charge of the Tutor, which you shall appoint your sonne, in the choice of whom consisteth the whole substance of his education and bringing



cit. De Nat. li. 1.

bringing-up; on which are many branches depending, which (forasmuch as I can adde nothing of any moment to it) I will not touch at all. And for that point, wherein I presume to advise him, he may so far forth give credit unto it, as he shall see just cause. To a gentleman borne of noble parentage, and heire of a house, that aymeth at true learning, and in it would be disciplined, not so much for gaine or commoditie to himselfe (because so abject an end is far unworthie the grace and favour of the Muses, and besides, hath a regard or dependencie of others) nor for externall shew and ornament, but to adorne and enrich his inward minde, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man, than a bare learned man. My desire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gentleman be very circumspect, and carefull in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, than a full stufte head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather prefer wisdom, judgement, civill customes, and modest behaviour, than bare and meere literall learning; and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in their schollers cares (as if they were still pouring in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is their charge nothing else, but to repeat, what hath beene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this part, and that at first entrance, according to the capacitie of the wit he hath in hand, he should begin to make shew of it, making him to have a smacke of all things, and how to chuse and distinguish them, without helpe of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times leaving him to open it by himselfe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne cometh. *Socrates*, and after him *Arcefilas*, made their schollers to speake first, and then would speake them-selves. *Obest plerumque is qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum qui docent.* Most commonly the authoritie of them that teach, binders them that would learne.

It is therefore meet, that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so gueffe how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength: for want of which proportion, we often marre all. And to know how to make a good choice, and how far forth one may proceed (still keeping a due measure) is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an undanted spirit, to know how to second, and how far forth he shall condescend to his childish proceedings, and how to guide them. As for my selfe, I can better and with more strength walke up, than downe a hill. Those which according to our common fashion, undertake with one selfe-same lesson, and like maner of education, to direct many spirits of divers formes and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarce meet with two or three, that reap any good fruit by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not only have him to demand an accompt of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of it, not by the testimonie of his memorie, but by the witnesse of his life. That what he lately learned, he cause him to set forth and pourtray the same into sundrie shapes, and then to accomodate it to as many different and severall subjects; whereby he shal perceive, whether he have yet apprehended the same, and therein enfeoffed himselfe, at due times taking his instruction from the institution given by *Plato*. It is a signe of cruditie and indigestion for a man to yeeld up his meate, even as he swallowed the same: the stomacke hath not wrought his full operation, unlesse it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and concoct.

[ Wee see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such a one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough; ] Our minde doth move at others pleasure, as tyed and forced to serve the fantasies of others, being brought under by authoritie, and forced to stoop to the lure of their bare lesson; wee have beene so subjected to harpe upon one string, that we have no way left us to descant upon voluntarie: our vigour and libertie is cleane extinct. *Nunquam iutele sua sunt.* They never come to their owne reason. It was my hap to bee familiarlie acquainted with an honest man at *Pisa*, but such an *Aristotelian*, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to *Aristotles* doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all solid imaginations, and perfect veritie; for, whatsoever had no coherencie with it, was but fond *Chimeras*, and idle humours; in asmuch as he had knowne all, seene all, and said all. This proposition of his, being somewhat over amply and injuriously interpreted by some, made him a long time after to be troubled in the inquisition of *Rome*. I would have him make his scholler narrowly



rowly to sift all things with discretion, and harbour nothing in his head by meere authoritie, or upon trust. *Aristotles* principles shall be no more axiomes unto him, than the *Stokes* or *Epicurians*. Let this diversitie of judgements be proposed unto him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguish the truth from falsehood, if not, he will remaine doubtfull.

*Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrada.*

No lesse it pleaseth me,

To doubt, than wise to be.

*Dant inferno.*

*Cant. 12. 48.*

For if by his owne discourse he embrace the opinions of *Xenophon*, or of *Plato*, they shall be no longer theirs, but his. He that meereley followeth another, traceth nothing, and seeketh nothing: *Non sumus sub Rege, sibi quisque se vindicet. We are not under a Kings command, everyone may challenge himselfe, for let him at least know that he knoweth.* It is requisite he endeavour as much to feed himselfe with their conceits, as labour to learne their precepts; which, so he know how to applie, let him hardly forget, where, or whence he had them. Truth and reason are common to all, and are no more proper unto him that spake them heretofore, than unto him that shall speake them hereafter. And it is no more according to *Platoes* opinion, than to mine, since both he and I understand and see alike. The Bees doe here and there sucke this, and cull that flower, but afterward they produce the hony, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Majoram. So of peeces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect peece of worke, altogether his owne; alwaies provided, his judgement, his travell, studie, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceal, where, or whence he hath had any helpe, and make no shew of anything, but of that which he hath made himselfe. Pirates, filchers, and borrowers, make a shew of their purchaces and buildings, but not of that which they have taken from others: you see not the secret fees or bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you shall manifestly discover the alliances they make, the honours they get for their children, and the goodly houses they build. No man makes open shew of his receipts, but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of studie (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honest. It is the understanding power (said *Epicharmus*) that seeth and heareth, it is it, that profiteth all, and disposeth all, that moveth, swayeth, and ruleth all: all things else are but blind, senselesse, and without spirit. And truly in barring him of libertie to doe any thing of himselfe, we make him thereby more servile and more coward. Who would ever enquire of his scholler what he thinketh of Rhetorike, of Grammar, of this, or of that sentence of *Cicero*? Which things thoroughly fettered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie; in which both letters and syllables are substantiall parts of the subject. To know by roat is no perfect knowledge, but to keep what one hath committed to his memories charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that will he dispose of, without turning still to his booke, or looking to his pattern. A meere bookish sufficiencie is unpleasant. All I expect of it, is an imbellishing of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to *Platoes* mind, who saith, constancie, faith, and sinceritie, are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tending else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have *Paluel* or *Pompey*, those two excellent dancers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie tricks, and high capers, only with seeing them done, and without stirring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellows would instruct our minds without moving or putting it in practice. And glad would I be to find one, that would teach us how to manage a horse, to toss a pike, to shoot-off a peece, to play upon the lute, or to warble with the voice, without any exercise, as these kind of men would teach us to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercise of speaking or judging. In which kind of life, or as I may terme it, Prentiship, what action or object soever presents it-selfe unto our eyes, may serve us in stead of a sufficient booke. A prettie pranke of a boy, a knavish trick of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourte elie, spoken either in jest or earnest, at the table or in companie, are even as new subjects for us to worke-upon: for furtherance whereof, commerce or common societie among men, visiting of forraine countries, and observing of strange fashions, are verie necessary, not only to be able (after the manner of our yong gallants of *France*) to report how many paces the Church of *Santa Rotonda* is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan *Signora Livia* weareth, and the worth of her hosen; or as some do, nicely to dispute how

*Sen. epist. 33.*



how much longer or broader the face of *Nero* is, which they have seene in some old ruines of *Italie*, than that which is made for him in other old monuments else-where. But they should principally observe, and be able to make certaine relation of the humours and fashions of those countries they have seene, that they may the better know how to correct and prepare their wits by those of others. I would therefore have him begin even from his infancie to travell abroad; and first, that at one shoot he may hit two markes, he should see neighbour-countries, namely where languages are most different from ours; for, unless a mans tongue be fashioned unto them in his youth, he shall never attaine to the true pronuntiation of them, if he once grow in yeares. Moreover, we see it received as a common opinion of the wiser sort, that it agreeth not with reason, that a childe be alwaies nuzzled, cockered, dandled, and brought up in his parents lap or sight; forsomuch as their naturall kindnesse, or (as I may call it) tender fondnesse, causeth often, even the wisest to prove so idle, so over-nice, and so base-minded. For parents are not capable, neither can they find in their hearts to see them checkt, corrected, or chastised, nor indure to see them brought up so meanly, and so far from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve them to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint himselfe with, sometimes all wet and bemyred, other times sweatie, and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreme hot, or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough-untamed horse, or with his weapon furiously incounter a skilfull Fencer, or to handle and shoot-off a musket; against which there is no remedy, if he will make him prove a sufficient, compleat, or honest man: he must not be spared in his youth; and it will come to passe, that he shall many times have occasion and be forced to shooke the rules of Physicke.

*Hor. li. 1. od. 2. 4.*

*Vitamque sub dio & trepidis agat  
In rebus.* —

Leade he his life in open aire,  
And in affaires full of despaire.

*Cic. Tus. qu. li. 2.*

It is not sufficient to make his miade strong, his muscles must also be strengthened: the minde is over-borne if it be not seconded: and it is too much for her alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling how mine panteth, being joynd to so tender and sensible a bodie, and that lieth so heavie upon it. And in my lecture, I often perceive how my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magnanimitie and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skin and hardnes of the bones. I have knowne men, women and children borne of so hard a constitution, that a blow with a cudgell would lesse hurt them, than a filip would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither stir tongue nor eye-browes, beat them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the vigor of their sinnewes, than of their heart. For the custome to beare travell, is to tolerate griefe: *Labor callum obducit dolori: Labour worketh a hardnesse upon sorrow.* Hee must be enured to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercises, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of cauterie, of fals, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans bodie: yea, if need require, patiently to beare imprisonment, and other tortures, by which sufferance he shall come to be had in more esteeme and accompt: for according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may haply fall into them; we have seen it by experience. Whosoever striveth against the lawes, threatens good men with mischief and extortion. Moreover, the authoritie of the Tutor (who should be soveraigne over him) is by the cockering and presence of the parents, hindred and interrupted: besides the awe and respect which the household beares him, and the knowlegde of the meanes, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgement, no small lets in a young Gentleman. In this schoole of commerce, and societie among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only endeavour to make our selves knowne to them: and we are more ready to utter such merchandize as we have, than to ingrosse and purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities verie convenient to civil conversation. It is also necessary, that a young man be rather taught to be discreetly-sparing, and close-handed, than prodigally-wastfull and lavish in his expences, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possesse it. And not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shal be spoken in his presence, because it is an uncivil importunity,



to contradict, whatsoever is not agreeing to our humour: let him be pleased to correct himselfe. And let him not seeme to blame that in others, which he refuseth to doe himselfe, nor goe about to withstand common fashions. *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia. A man may bee wise without ostentation, without envie.* Let him avoid those imperious images of the world, those uncivil behaviours, and childish ambition, wherewith God wot, too-too many are posselt: that is, to make a faire shew of that, which is not in him: endeavouring to be reputed other than indeed he is; and as if reprehension and new devices were hard to come by, he would by that meane acquire unto himselfe the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to use the libertie of arts; so is it tolerable but in noble minds, and great spirits to have a preheminance above ordinarie fashions. *Si quid Socrates & Aristippus contra morem & consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: Magis enim illi & divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequabamur.* If Socrates and Aristippus have done ought against custome or good manner, let not a man thinke he may doe the same: for they obtained this licence by their great and excellent good parts: He shall be taught, not to enter rashly into discourse or contelling, but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthie his strength; And then would I not have him imploy ali the tricks that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by consequence brevitic. That above all, he be instructed to yeeld, yea to quit his weapons unto truth, as soone as he shall discern the same, whether it proceed from his adversarie, or upon better advice from himselfe; for, he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others, for repeating of a prescript part; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further than he may approove it; nor shall he bee of that trade, where the libertie for a man to repent and re-advise himselfe is sold for readie money. *Neque, ut omnia, quae praescripta & imperata sunt, defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur. Nor is he enforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commanded him.* If his tutor agree with my humour, he shall frame his affection, to be a most loyall and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and couragious Gentleman, in al that may concerne the honor of his Sovereigne, or the good of his countrie. And endeavour to suppress in him all maner of affection to undertake any action otherwise than for a publike good and dutie. Besides many inconveniences, which greatly prejudice our libertie, by reason of these particular bonds; the judgement of a man that is waged and bought, either it is lesse free & honest, or else it is blemisht with oversight and ingratitude. A meere and precise Courtier can neither have law nor will to speake or thinke, other wise than favourable of his Master, who among so many thousands of his subjects, hath made choice of him alone, to institute and bring him up with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion Courtiers, corrupt (not without some colour of reason) his libertie, and dazle his judgement. It is therefore commonly scene, that the Courtiers-language differs from other mens, in the same state, and to be of no great credit in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speech, and reason be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confesse such faults as he shall discover in his owne discourses, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sinceritie, which are the chiefe qualities he aymeth at. That wilfully to strive, and obstinately to contest in words, are common qualities, most apparent in basest mindes: That to re-advise, and correct himselfe, and when one is most earnest, to leave an ill opinion, are rare, noble, and Philosophicall conditions. Being in companie, he shall be put in minde, to cast his eyes round about, and every where: For I note, that the chiefe places are usually teased upon by the most unworthie, and lesse capable; and that height of fortune is seldome joyned with sufficiencie. I have scene, that whilst they at the upper end of a board were busie entertaining themselves, with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taste of some good cup of wine, many good discourses at the lower end, have utterly been lost. He shall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Mason, a Stranger, or a traveller; all must be employed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make up household; yea, the follie and the simplicitie of others shall be as instructions to him. By controlling the graces and manners of others, he shall acquire unto himselfe envie of the good, and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be posselt with an honest curiositie to search out the nature and causes of all things: let him survey what-soever is rare and singu-

Sen. epist.  
103. f.

Cic. Off. lib. 1.

Cic. Acad. qu.  
lib. 4.



lar about him; a building, a fountaine, a man, a place where any battell hath been fought, or the passages of *Cesar* or *Charlemaine*.

*Prop. lib. 4. cl. 3. 39.*

*Qua tellus sit letna gelu, qua putris ab aestu,*

*Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat.*

What land is parcht with heat, what clog'd with frost,

What wind drives kindly to th' *Italian* coast.

He shall endeavour to be familiarly acquainted with the customes, with the meanes, with the state, with the dependances and alliances of all Princes; they are things soone and pleasant to be learned, and most profitable to be knowne. In this acquaintance of men, my meaning is, that hee chiefly comprehend them, that live but by the memorie of bookes. He shall, by the help of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthiest minds that were in the best ages. It is a frivolous studie, if a man list, but of unvaluable worth, to such as can make use of it. And as *Plato* saith, the onely studie the *Lacedemonians* reserved for themselves. What profit shall he not reap, touching this point, reading the lives of our *Plutarke*? Alwayes conditioned, the master bethinke himselfe whereto his charge tendereth, and that he imprint not so much in his schollers mind the date of the ruine of *Carthage*, as the manners of *Hanniball* and *Scipio*, nor so much where *Marcellus* died, as because he was unworthy of his devoire he died there: that he teach him not so much to know Histories, as to judge of them. It is, amongst things that best agree with my humour, the subject to which our spirits doe most diversly applie themselves. I have read in *Titus Livius* a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whom *Plutarke* haply read a hundred more, than ever I could read, and which perhaps the author himselfe did never intend to set downe. To some kind of men, it is a meere gramaticall studie, but to others a perfect anatomic of Philosophie; by meanes whereof, the secretest part of our nature is searched-into. There are in *Plutarke* many ample discourses most worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement, he is the chiefe work-master of such works, whereof there are a thousand, whereat he hath but slightly glanced; for with his finger he doth but point us out a way to walke in, if we list; and is sometimes pleased to give but a touch at the quickest and maine point of a discourse, from whence they are by diligent studie to be drawne, and so brought into open market. As that saying of his. That the inhabitants of *Asia* served but one alone, because they could not pronounce one onely syllable, which is *Nom*, gave perhaps both subject and occasion to my friend *Brooke* to compose his booke of voluntarie servitude. If it were no more but to see *Plutarke* wrest a slight action to mans life; or a word that seemeth to beare no such sence, it will serve for a whole discourse. It is pittie men of understanding should so much love brevitie, without doubt their reputation is thereby better, but we the worse. *Plutarke* had rather we should commend him for his judgement, than for his knowledge, he loveth better to leave a kind of longing-desire in us of him, than a satietie. He knew verie well, that even in good things, too much may be said: and that *Alexandridas* did justly reprove him, who spake verie good sentences to the *Ephores*, but they were over tedious. Oh stranger, quoth he, thou speakest what thou oughtest, otherwise then thou shouldest. Those that have leane and thin bodies stuffe them up with bumbasting. And such as have but poore matter, will puffe it up with losie words. There is a marvelous cleerenesse, or as I may terme it an enlightning of mans judgement drawne from the commerce of men, and by frequenting abroad in the world: we are all so contrived and compact in our selves, that our sight is made shorter by the length of our nose. When *Socrates* was demaunded whence he was, he answered, not of *Athens*, but of the world; for he, who had his imagination more full, and farther stretching, embraced all the world for his native Citie, and extended his acquaintance, his societie, and affections to all man-kind: and not as we do, that looke no further than our feet. If the frost chance to nip the vines about my village, my Priest doth presently argue, that the wrath of God hangs over our head, and threatneth all mankind: and judgeth that the *Pippe* is alreadye false upon the *Canibals*.

In viewing these intestine and civill broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worlds vast-frame is neere unto a dissolution, and that the day of judgement is readie to fall on us? never remembring that many worse revolutions have been seene, and that whilest we are plunged in griefe, and overwhelmed in sorrow, a thousand other parts of the world besides are blessed with all happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on us?

whereas



whereas, when I behold our lives, our licence, and impunitie, I wonder to see them so milde and easie. He on whose head it haileth, thinks all the Hemisphere besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that duli-pated *Savoyard* said, that if the seche King of *France* could cunningly have managed his fortune, he might verie well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords household, whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Masters; we are all insensible of this kind of errour: an errour of great consequence and prejudice. But whosoever shall present unto his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our universall mother Nature, attired in her richest robes, sitting in the throne of her Majestie, and in her visage shall read, so generall, and so constant a variety; he that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe alone, but a whole Kingdome, to be in respect of a great circle; but the smallest point that can be imagined, he onely can value things according to their essentiall greatnesse and proportion. This great universe (which some multiplie as *Species* under one *Genus*) is the true looking-glasse wherein we must looke, if we will know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right byasse. To conclude, I would have this worlds-frame to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundrie sects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different lawes, and fantastickall customes teach us to judge rightly of ours, and instruct our judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weaknesse, which is no easie apprenticeship: So many innovations of estates, so many falls of Princes, and changes of publike fortune, may, and ought to teach us, not to make so great accompt of ours: So many names, so many victories, and so many conquests buried in darke oblivion, makes the hope to perpetuate our names, but ridiculous, by the surprizing of ten *Argo*-letters, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fiercenesse of so many strange and gorgeous shewes: the pride-puff majestie of so many courts, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and assure our sight, undauntedly to beare the affronts and thunder-claps of ours, without feeling our eyes: So many thousands of men, low-laide in their graves afore us, may encourage us, not to feare, or be dismaied to go meet so good companie in the other world; and so of all things else. Our life (said *Pitthagoras*) drawes neare unto the great and populous assemblies of the Olympike games, wherein some, to get the glorie, and to win the goale of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie; others, for greedinesse of gaine, bring thither marchandise to sell: others there are (and those be nor the worst) that seek after no other good, but to marke, how, wherefore, and to what end, all things are done: and to be spectators or observers of other mens lives and actions, that so they may the better judge and direct their owne. Unto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophie be sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of humane actions, and a rule to square them by, to whom may be said,

*quid fas optare, quid asper  
Vile nummus habet, patria charisque propinquis  
Quantum elargiri deceat, quem to Deus esse  
Iussit, & humana qua parte locatus es in re,  
Quid sumus, aut quidnam vulturi gignimur:  
What thou maiest wish, what profit may come cleare,  
From new-stampd coyne, to friends and countrie deare,  
What thou ought'st give: whom God would have thee bee,  
And in what part mongst men he placed thee.  
What we are, and wherefore,  
To live heer we were bore.*

Pass. 3. 69.

67.

What it is to know, and not to know (which ought to be the scope of studie) what valour, what temperance, and what justice is: what difference there is betweene ambition and avarice, bondage and freedome, subjection and libertie, by which markes a man may distinguish true and perfect contentment, and how far-forth one ought to feare or apprehend death, griefe, or shame.

*Et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.  
How ev'ry labour he may plie,  
And beare, or ev'ry labour flie.*

Virg. Aen. lib. 8.  
893.

What wards or springs move us, and the causes of so many motions in us: For me seemeth,



meth, that the first discourses, wherewith his conceit should be sprinkled, ought to be those, that rule his manners, and direct his sense; which will both teach him to know himself, and how to live, and how to die well. Among the liberall Sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free: Indeed, they may all in some sort lead us, as an instruction to our life, and use of it, as all other things else serve the same to some purpose or other. But let us make especiall choice of that, which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could restraints and adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byasse and naturall limits, we should find the best part of the Sciences that now are in use, cleane out of fashion with us: yea, and in those that are most in use, there are certaine by-ways and deep-flows most profitable, which we should do well to leave, and according to the institution of *Socrates*, limit the course of our studies in those where profit is wanting.

— *Sapere aude,*

*Hor. lib. 1. epist.*  
2. 40.

*Incipe: vivendi quæ rectè prorogat horam,  
Rusticus expectat dum defluat annus, ac ille  
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis annus.  
Be bold to be wise: to begin, be strong,  
He that to live well doth the time prolong,  
Clowne-like expects, till downe the streame be run;  
That runs, and will run, till the world be done.*

It is more simplicitie to teach our children.

*Prop. lib. 4. el. 1.*  
25.

*Quid moveant Pisces, animosâque signa Leonis,  
Læus & Hæstia quid Capricornus aqua.  
What Pisces move, or hot-breath'd Leos beames,  
Or Capricornus bath'd in western streames.*

The knowledge of the starres, and the motion of the eighth spheare, before their owne.

*ἢ ἀνδρῶν γένος ἢ δ' ἀπὸν βοῶντων.  
What longs it to the seven stars, and me,  
Or those about Boötes be.*

*Anaximenes* writing to *Pythagoras*, saith, with what sense can I amuse my selfe to the secrets of the Starres, having continually death or bondage before mine eyes? For at that time the Kings of *Persia* were making preparations to war against his Countrey. All men ought to say so. Being beaten with ambition, with avarice, with rashnesse, and with superstition, and having such other enemies unto life within him. Wherefore shall I study and take care about the mobility and variation of the world? When hee is once taught what is fit to make him better and wiser, he shall be entertained with Logicke, naturall Philosophy, Geometry, and Rhetoricke, then having settled his judgement, looke what science he doth most addict himselfe unto, he shall in short time attaine to the perfection of it. His lecture shall be sometimes by way of talke and sometimes by booke: his tutor may now & then supply him with the same Author, as an end & motive of his institution: sometimes giving him the pith and substance of it ready chewed. And if of himselfe he be not so thoroughly acquainted with bookes, that hee may readily find so many notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose, it shall not be amiss, that some learned man being appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of need, may furnish him with such munition, as hee shall stand in need of; that hee may afterward distribute & dispense them to his best use. And that this kind of lesson be more easie and naturall than that of *Gaza*, who will make question? Those are but harsh, thornie, & unpleasaut precepts; vaine, idle & immateriall words, on which small hold may be taken; wherein is nothing to quicken the minde. In this, the spirit findeth substance to bide and feed upon. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will soone be ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what state things are brought unto in this our age; & how Philosophie, even to the wisest, and men of best understanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantastickall name, of small use, and lesse worth, both in opinion and effect. I thinke these Sophistries are the cause of it, which have forestalled the wayes to come unto it: They doe very ill, that goe about to make it seeme as it were inaccessible for children to come unto, setting it forth with a wrimpled, gawlie, and frowning visage; who hath masked her with so counterfet, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightfull, nothing more gamesome; and as I may say, nothing more fondly wanton: for



for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our eares, but sport and pastime. A sad and lowring looke plainly declareth, that that is not her haunt. *Demetrius* the Gramarian, finding a companie of Philosophers sitting close together in the Temple of *Delphos*, said unto them, *Either I am deceived, or by your plausible and pleasant looks, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selves*; to whom one of them named *Heraclon* the Megarian answered, *That belongeth to them, who busie themselves in seeking, whether the future tense of the verbe  $\alpha\iota\sigma\chi\omega$  hath a double  $\lambda$ , or that labour to find the derivation of the comparatives,  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ ,  $\beta\epsilon\lambda\tau\iota\omega$ , and of the superlatives  $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ ,  $\beta\epsilon\lambda\tau\iota\sigma\tau\omega$ , it is they, that must chafe in intertaining themselves with their science: as for discourses of Philosophie they are wont to glad, rejoyce, and not to vex and molest those that use them.*

*Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in agro  
Corpore, deprendas & gaudia, sumit utrumque  
Inde habitum facies.*

*Luven. sat. 9. 18.*

You may perceive the torments of the mind,  
Hid in sicke bodie, you the joyes may find,  
The face such habit takes in either kind.

That mind which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of her sound health, make that bodie also sound and healthie: it ought to make her contentment to through-shine in all exterior parts: it ought to shapen and modell all outward demeanours to the modell of it: and by consequence arme him that doth possesse it, with a gracious stoutnesse, and lively audacitie, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a settled and cheerefull countenance. The most evident token, and apparant signe of true wisdom, is a constant, and unconstrained rejoyce, whose estate is like unto all things above the Moone, that is, ever cleare, alwaies bright. It is *Buraco* and *Baralipon*, that makes their followers prove so base and idle, and not Philosophie; they know her not, but by heare-say; what? Is it not shee, that cleereth all stormes of the mind? And teacheth miserie, famine, and sicknesse to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epicicles, but by naturall and palpable reasons. Shee aymeth at nothing but vertue: it is vertue shee seekes after; which as the schoole saith, is not pitcht on the top of an high, steepe, or inaccessible hill; for they that have come unto her, affirme, that cleane-contrarie, shee keeps her stand, and holds her mansion, in a faire, flourishing, and pleasant plaine, whence as from an high watch tower, she survaileth all things, to be subject unto her, to whom any man may with great facilitie come, if he but know the way or entrance to her palace: for, the pathes that lead unto her, are certaine fresh, and shadie greene allies, sweet and flowrie waies, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like unto that of heavens-vaults. Forsomuch as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majestie sits soveraigne, goodly, triumphant, lovely, equally delicious, and couragious, protesting her selfe to be a professed and irreconcilable enemy to all sharpnesse, austeritie, feare, and compulsion; having nature for her guide, fortune and voluptuousnesse for her companions; they according to their weaknesse have imaginarily fained her, to have a foolish, sad, grim, quarrelous, spitefull, threatening, and disdainfull visage, with an horrid and unpleasant looke; and have placed her, upon a craggie, sharpe, and unfrequented rocke, amidst desert cliffes, and uncouth crags, as a skar-crow, or bug-beare, to affright the common people with. Now the tutour, which ought to know, that he should rather seek to fill the mind, and store the will of his disciple, as much, or rather more, with love and affection, than with awe, and reverence unto vertue, may shew and tell him, that Poets follow common humours, making him plainly to perceive, and as it were palpably to feele, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweat at the entrances, which lead to *Venus* chambers, than at the doores, that direct to *Pallas* cabinets.

And when he shall perceive his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting *Bradamant*, or *Angelica* before him, as a Mistresse to enjoy, embelished with a naturall, active, generous, and unspotted beautie, not ugly, or Giant-like, but blithe and livelie, in respect of a wanton, soft, affected, and artificiall-flaring beautie; the one attired like unto a young man, coyed with a bright-shining helmet, the other disguised and drest about the head like unto an impudent harlot, with embroyderies, frizelings, and carcanets of pearles: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminate shepheard of *Phrygia*. In this new kind of lesson, he shall declare unto



him, that the prize, the glorie, and height of true vertue, consisted in the facilitie, profit, and pleasure of his exercises: so far from difficultie, and incumbrances, that children as well as men, the simple as soone as the wise, may come unto her. Discretion and temperance, not force or way-wardnesse are the instruments to bring him unto her. *Socrates* (vertues chiefe favorite) that he might the better walke in the pleasant, naturall, and open path, of her progresses, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. Shee is the nurse and foster-mother of all humane pleasures, who in making them just and upright, she also makes them sure and sincere. By moderating them, she keepeth them in ure and breath. In limiting and cutting them off, whom she refuseth; she whets us on toward those she leaveth unto us; and plenteously leaves us them, which Nature pleaseth, and like a kind mother giveth us over unto facietie, if not unto wearisomnesse, unlesse we will peradventure say, that the rule and bridle, which stayeth the drunkard before drupkenesse, the glutton before surfetting, and the letcher before the losing of his haire, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faile her, it cleerely scapes her; or she cares not for her, or she frames another unto herselfe, altogether her owne, not so fleeting, nor so rowling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mightie and wise, and how to lie in sweet-perfumed beds. She loveth life; she delights in beautie, in glorie, and in health. But her proper and particular office is, first to know how to use such goods temperately, and how to lose them constantly. An office much more noble, than severe, without which, all course of life is unnaturall, turbulent, and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those incumbrances, and those hideous monsters. If so it happen, that his Disciple prove of so different a condition, that he rather love to give care to an idle fable, than to the report of some noble voyage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shall heare it; that at the sound of a Drum, or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rowze and arme the youthly heat of his companions, turneth to another that calleth him to see a play, tumbling, juggling tricks, or other idle lose-time sports; and who for pleasures sake doth not deeme it more delightfome to returne all sweatie and wearie from a victorious combat, from wrestling, or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court, or dancing schoole, with the prize or honour of such exercises; The best remedy I know for such a one, is, to put him prentise to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea, were he the sonne of a Duke; according to *Platoes* rule, who saith, *That children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the faculties of their mind.* Since it is Philosophie that teacheth us to live, and that infancie as well as other ages, may plainly read her lessons in the same, why should it not be imparted unto young Schollers?

*Pet. sal. 3. 23.*

*Vdum & molle lutum est, nunc nunc properandum, & acri  
Fingendus sine sine rota.*

He's moist and soft mould, and must by and by  
Be cast, made up, while wheele whirl's readily.

We are taught to live, when our life is well-nigh spent. Many schollers have been infected with that loathsome and marrow-wasting disease, before ever they came to read *Aristotles* treatise of Temperance. *Cicero* was wont to say, *That could he out-live the lives of two men, he should never find leasure to study the Lyrike Poets.* And I find these Sophisters both worse and more unprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters; And but the first fiftene or sixteene yeares of his life, are due unto Pedantisme, the rest unto action: let us therefore imploy so short time, as we have to live, in more necessarie instructions. It is an abuse; remove these thornie quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no whit be amended, and betake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophy; know how to chuse and fitly to make use of them: they are much more easie to be conceived than one of *Bocace* his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capable of them, than he is to learne to read or write. Philosophy hath discourses, whereof infancie as well as decaying old-age may make good use. I am of *Plutarques* mind, which is, that *Aristotle* did not so much amuse his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Syllogismes, or the principles of Geometrie, as he endeavoured to instruct him with good precepts, concerning valour, prowesse, magnanimitie, and temperance, and an undanted assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet verie young, to subdue the Empire of the world, only with 36000. footmen, 4000. horsemen, and 42000. Crownes in monie. As for other arts and sciences; he saith *Alexander* honored them, and commended their excellencie and comli-

nesse;



ness; but for any pleasure he tooke in them, his affection could not easily be drawn to exercise them.

— *petite hinc juvenesque senesque*  
*Finem animo certum, miserisque viaticis canis.*  
 Young men and old, draw hence (in your affaires)  
 Your minds set mark, provision for gray haire.

Sat. 5. 64.

It is that which *Epicurus* said in the beginning of his letter to *Meniceus*: Neither let the youngest shun, nor the oldest wearie himselfe in philosophizing, for who doth otherwise seemeth to say, that either the season to live happily is not yet come, or is already past. Yet would I not have this young gentleman pent-up, nor carelessly call-off to the heedlesse choler, or melancholy humour of the hasty Schoole-master. I would not have his budding spirit corrupted with keeping him fast-tied, and as it were labouring foureteeene or fiftieene houres a day porring on his booke, as some doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I thinke it fit, if at any time, by reason of some solitarie or melancholy complexion, he should be seene with an over-indifferent application given to his booke, it should be cherished in him; for, that doth often make him both unapt for civill conversation, and distracts him from better employments: How many have I seene in my daies, by an over-greedy desire of knowledge, become as it were foolish? *Carneades* was so deeply plunged, and as I may say besotted in it, that he could never have leasure to cut his haire, or pare his nailes: nor would I have his noble manners obscured by the incivillitie and barbarisme of others. The French wisdom hath long since proverbially been spoken of, as verie apt to conceive study in her youth, but most unapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we see at this day, that there is nothing lovelier to behold, than the young children of *France*; but for the most part, they deceive the hope which was fore-apprehended of them: for when they once become men, there is no excellencie at all in them. I have heard men of understanding hold this opinion, that the Colleges to which they are sent (of which there are store) doe thus besot them: whereas to our scholler, a cabinet, a garden, the table, the bed, a solitarie life, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres shall be alike unto him, all places shall be a study for him: for Philosophy (as a former of judgements, and modeler of customes) shall be his principall lesson, having the privilege to entremeddle her selfe with all things, and in all places. *Isocrates* the Orator, being once requested at a great banquet to speake of his art, when all thought he had reason to answer, said, *It is not now time to doe what I can, and what should now be done, I cannot doe it*; For, to present orations, or to enter into disputation of Rhetorike, before a companie assembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medly of harsh and jarring musicke. The like may be said of all other Sciences. But touching Philosophy, namely in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties, and offices, it hath been the common judgement of the wisest, that in regard of the pleasantnesse of her conversation, she ought not to be rejected, neither at banquets, nor at sports. And *Plato* having invited her to his solemne feast, we see how kindly she entertaineth the companie with a milde behaviour, fitly fitting her selfe to time and place, notwithstanding it be one of his learnedst and profitable discourses.

*Aquæ pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aquæ,*  
*Et neglecta aquæ pueris senibusque nocet.*

Hor. l. 1. ep. 125.

Poore men alike, alike rich men it easeth,  
 Alike it scorned, old and young displease.

So doubtlesse he shall lesse be idle than others; for even as the paces we bestow walking in a gallerie, although they be twice as many more, wearie us not so much as those we spend in going a far journey: So our lesson being past over, as it were, by chance, or way of encounter, without strict observance of time or place, being applied to all our actions, shall be digested, and never felt. All sports and exercises shall be a part of his study; running, wrestling, musicke, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes, and horses. I would have the exterior demeanor or decencie, and the disposition of his person to be fashioned together with his mind: for, it is not a mind, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him. And as *Plato* saith, *They must not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwise than a couple of horses matched to draw in one selfe-same reeme*. And to heave him, doth he not seeme to imploy more time and care in the exercises

of



of his bodie : and to thinke that the mind is together with the same exercised, and not the contrarie? As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed by a sweet-severe mildnesse; Not as some do, who in lieu of gently-bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and crueltie. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a well-borne and gentle nature: If you would have him stand in awe of shame and punishment, doe not so much enure him to it: accustome him patiently to endure sweate and cold, the sharpnesse of the wind, the heat of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards. Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, and in drinking: fashion him to all things; that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lustie and vigorous boy: When I was a child, being a man, and now am old, I have ever judged & believed the same. But amongst other things, I could never away with this kind of discipline used in most of our Colleges. It had peradventure been lesse hurtfull, if they had somewhat inclined to mildnesse, or gentle intreatie. It is a verie prison of captivated youth, and proves dissolute, in punishing it before it be so. Come upon them when they are going to their lesson, and you heare nothing but whipping and brawling, both of children tormented, and masters besotted with anger and chafing. How wide are they, which go about to allure a childs mind to go to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with hands-full of rods? Oh wicked and pernicious manner of teaching! which *Quintilian* hath very well noted, that this imperious kind of authoritie, namely, this way of punishing of children, drawes many dangerous inconveniences within. How much more decent were it, to see their school-houses and formes strewed with greene boughes and flowers, than with bloudy burchen-twigs? If it lay in me, I would doe as the Philosopher *Spensippus* did, who caused the pictures of Gladnesse and Joy, of *Flora*, and of the Graces, to be set up round about his school-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meates ought to be sugred over, that are healthfull for childrens stomakes, and those made bitter that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how carefull *Plato* sheweth himselfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation & pastime of the youth of his Citie, and how far he extends himselfe about their exercises, sports, songs, leaping, and dancing, wherof he saith, that severe antiquitie gave the conduct and patronage unto the Gods themselves, namely, to *Apollo*, to the Muses, and to *Minerva*. Marke but how far forth he endevoereth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercises both of bodie and mind. As for learned Sciences, he stands not much upon them, and seemeth in particular to commend Poetrie, but for Musickes sake. All strangenesse and selfe-particularitie in our manners and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemie to societie and civill conversation. Who would not be astonied at *Demophons* complexion, chiefe steward of *Alexanders* household, who was wont to sweate in the shadow, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seene some to startle at the smell of an apple, more than at the shot of a peece; some to be frighted with a mouse, some readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, and others to be scared with seeing a fetherbed shaken: as *Germanicus*, who could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing. There may haply be some hidden propertie of nature, which in my judgement might easilie be removed, if it were taken in time. Institution hath gotten this upon me (I must confesse with much adoe) for, except beere, all things else that are mans food agree indifferently with my taste. The bodie being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes; and (alwaies provided, his appetites and desires be kept under) let a yong man boldly be made fit for al Nations and companies; yea, if need be, for al disorders and surfetings; let him acquaint himselfe with al fashions; That he may be able to do al things, and love to do none but those that are commendable. Some strict Philosophers commend not, but rather blame *Calisthenes*, for losing the good favour of his Master *Alexander*, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drunke to him. He shall laugh, jest, dally, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go al his fellowes in vigor and constancie, and that he omit not to doe evill, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will. *Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciat*: There is a great difference, whether one have no will, or no wit to doe amisse. I thought to have honoured a gentleman (as great a stranger, and as far from such riotous disorders as any is in *France*) by enquiring of him in verie good companie, how many times in all his life he had bin drunke in *Germanie*,



*manis*, during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affaires of our King; who tooke it even as I meant it, and answered three times, telling the time and manner how. I know some, who for want of that qualitie, have been much perplexed when they have had occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of *Alcibiades*, to see how easilie he could sute himselfe so so divers fashions, and different humors, without prejudice unto his health; sometimes exceeding the sumptuousnesse and pompe of the Persians, and now and then surpassing the austeritie and frugalitie of the Lacedemonians, as reformed in *Sparta*, as voluptuous in *Ionia*.

Hor. epist. 17. 23.

*Omnis Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res.*

25.

All colours, states, and things are fit

For courtly *Aristippus* wit.

Such a one would I frame my Disciple,

— *quem duplici panno patientia v. lat.*

29.

*Mirabor, vita via si conversa decebit,*

Whom patience clothes with futes of double kind,

I muse, if he another way will find.

*Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque.*

He not unfitly may,

Both parts and persons play.

Loe here my lessons, wherein he that acteth them, profiteth more, than he that but knoweth them, whom if you see, you heare, and if you heare him, you see him. God forbid, saith some bodie in *Plato*, that to Philosophize, be to learne many things, and to exercise the arts.

*Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quam litteris persequuntur.* This discipline of living well, which is the amplest of all other arts, they followed rather in their lives, than in their learning or writing. *Leo* Prince of the *Philistians*, enquiring of *Heraclides Ponticus*, what art he professed, he answered. Sir, I professe neither art nor science; but I am a Philosopher. Some reproved *Diogenes*, that being an ignorant man, he did nevertheless meddle with Philosophie, to whom he replied, so much the more reason have I, and to greater purpose doe I meddle with it. *Hegesius* praid him upon a time to reade some booke unto him; *You are a merry man*, said he: As you chuse naturall and not painted right and not counterfeit figges to eat, why doe you not likewise chuse, not the painted and written, but the true and naturall exercises? He shall not so much repeat, as act his lesson. In his actions shall he make repetition of the same. We must observe, whether there be wisdom in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor, modestie in his gestures, justice in his actions, judgement and grace in his speech, courage in his sicknesse, moderation in his sports, temperance in his pleasures, order in the government of his house; and indifferencie in his taste, whether it be flesh, fish, wine, or water, or whatsoever he feedeth upon. *Qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientia sed legem vite putet: quique obtemperet ipse sibi, & decretis parcat.* Who thinks his learning not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life, and himselfe obeyes himselfe, and doth what is decreed.

Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 4.

Cic. ib. lib. 2.

The true mirror of our discourses, is the course of our lives; *Xenxidamus* answered one that demanded of him, why the Lacedemonians did not draw into a booke, the ordinances of prowesse, that so their yong men might read them; it is, saith he, because they would rather accustome them to deeds and actions, than to bookes and writings. Compare at the end of nineteene or sixteene yeares one of these collegiall Latinizers, who hath imployed all that while onely in learning how to speake, to such a one as I meane. The world is nothing but babling and words, and I never saw man, that doth not rather speake more than he ought, than lesse. Notwithstanding halfe our age is consumed that way. We are kept foure or five yeares learning to understand bare words, and to joine them into clauses, then as long in proportioning a great bodie extended into foure or five parts; and five more at least ere we can succinctly know how to mingle, joine, & interlace them handiome into a subtil fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Let us leave it to those, whose profession is to doe nothing else. Being once on my journey toward *Orleans*, it was my chance to meet upon that plaine that lieth on this side *Clery*, with two Masters of Arts, traveling toward *Burdeaux*, about fiftie paces one from another far off behind them, I descrie a troupe of horsemen, their Master riding foremost, who was the Earle of *Rocheaucourt*; one of my servants enquiring of



of the first of those Masters of arts, what Gentleman he was that followed him; supposing my servant had meant his fellow-scholler, for he had not yet seen the Earles traine, answered pleasantly, *He is no gentleman, Sir, but a Gramarian, and I am a Logitian.* Now, we that contrariwise seek not to frame a Gramarian, nor a Logitian, but a compleat gentleman, let us give them leave to mispend their time; we have else-where, and somewhat else of more import to doe. So that our Disciple be well and sufficiently stored with matter; words will follow apace, and if they will not follow gently, he shall hale them on perforce. I heare some excuse themselves, that they cannot expresse their meaning, and make a semblance that their heads are so full-stuff with many goodly things, but for want of eloquence they can neither utter nor make shew of them. It is a meere fopperie. And will you know what? in my seeming, the cause is, They are shadows and *Chimeraes*, proceeding of some formelesse conceptions, which they cannot distinguish or resolve within, and by consequence are not able to produce them, in as much as they understand not themselves: And if you but marke their earnestnesse, and how they stammer and labour at the point of their deliverie, you would deeme, that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing neere downe-lying; and that they doe but lick that imperfect and shapelesse lump of matter, As for me, I am of opinion, and *Socrates* would have it so; that he who hath a cleare and lively imagination in his mind, may easilie produce and utter the same, although it be in *Bergamask*, or *Welsh*, and if he be dumbe, by signes and tokens.

Hor. art. poet. 311

*Verbaque praevisam rem non invita sequuntur.*

When matter we fore-know,  
Words voluntarie flow.

Sen. centur. lib. 7  
proc.

As one said, as poetically in his prose, *Cum res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt.* When matters have possess the mind, they hunt after words: and another: *Ipsa res verba rapiunt.* Things themselves will catch and carry words: He knowes neither Ablative, Conjunctive, Substantive, nor Gramar, no more doth his Lackey, nor any Oyster-wife about the streets, and yet if you have a mind to it, he will intertaine you your fill, and peradventure stumble as little and as seldom against the rules of his tongue, as the best Master of arts in *France*. He hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can he with a preface fore-stall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to know it. In good sooth, all this garish painting is easilie defaced, by the lustre of an in-bred, and simple truth; for these dainties and quaint devices, serve but to amuse the vulgar sort; unapt and incapable to taste the most solid and firme meat: as *Afer* verie plainly declarcth in *Cornelius Tacitus*. The Ambassadors of *Samos* being come to *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, prepared with a long prolix Oration, to stir him up to war against the tyrant *Polycrates*, after he had listened a good while unto them, his answer was: *Touching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten it; the middle I remember not; and for your conclusion I will do nothing in it.* A fit, and (to my thinking) a verie good answer; and the Orators were put to such a shift, as they knew not what to reply. And what said another? the *Athenians* from out two of their cunning Architects, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame: the one of them more affected and self-presuming, presented himselfe before them, with a smooth fore-premeditated discourse, about the subject of that piece of worke, and thereby drew the judgements of the common people unto his liking; but the other in few words, spake thus: *Lords of Athens, what this man hath said, I will performe.* In the greatest earnestnesse of *Ciceroes* eloquence many were drawn into a kind of admiration; But *Caro* jesting at it, said, *Have we not a pleasant Consult?* A quicke cunning Argument, and a wittie saying, whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of season. If it have no coherence with that which goeth before, nor with what commeth after; it is good and commendable in it selfe. I am none of those that thinke a good Ryme, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short syllable long, it is no great matter: if the invention be rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly played their part. I will say to such a one; he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

Hor. lib. 1. Col. 4.  
8. Lucil.

*Emuncta naris, durum componere versus.*

A man whose sense could finely pierce;  
But harsh and hard to make a verse.

Let a man (saith *Horace*) make his worke loose all seames, measures, and joynts.

98.

*Tempora certa modòsq; & quod prius ordine verbum est,*

*Posterius*



*Posterius facias, praeponens ultima primis :*

*Invenias e iam disiecti membra Poeta.*

Set times and moods, make you the first word last;

The last word first, as if they were new cast :

Yet find th'unjoynted Poets joints stand fast.

He shall for all that, nothing gain: say himselfe, every piece will make a good shew. To this purpose answered *Menander* those that chid him, the day being at hand, in which he had promised a Comedy, and had not begun the same, *Tut-tut*, said he, *it is already finished, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse unto it*: for, having ranged and cast the plot in his mind, he made small account of feet, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small import in regard of the rest. Since great *Ronsarde* and learned *Bellay*, have raised our French Poetrie unto that height of honour, where it now is: I see not one of these petty-ballad-makers, or pretense-dogrell rymers, that doth not bumbast his labours with high-sweeling and heavea-dimboweling words, and that doth not marshall his cadences verie neere as they doe, *Plus sonat quam valet. The sound is more than the weight or worth.* And for the vulgar sort, there were never so many Poets, and so few good: but as it hath been ease for them to represent their rymes, so come they far short in imitating the rich descriptions of the one, and rare inventions of the other. But what shall he doe, if he be urged with sophisticall subtilties about a Sillogisme? A gammon of Bacon makes a mandrink, drinking quencheth a mans thirst, *Ergo*, a gammon of bacon quencheth a mans thirst. Let him mock at it, it is more wittie to be mockt at, than to be answered. Let him borrow this pleasant counter-craft of *Aristippus*; *Why shall I unbind that, which being bound doth so much trouble me?* Some one proposed certaine Logickall quiddities against *Cleanthes*, to whom *Chrissippus* said; use such jingling tricks to play with children, and divert not the serious thoughts of an aged man to such idle matters. If such foolish wiles, *Contorta & aculeata sophismata*, *Intricate and stinged sophismes*, must perswade a lie, it is dangerous; but if they proove void of any effect, and move him but to laughter, I see not why he shall beware of them. Some there are so foolish that will go a quarter of a mile out of the way to hunt after a quaint new word, if they once get in chace; *Aur qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcesunt, quibus verba conveniant.* Or such as fit not words to matter, but fetch matter from abroad, *whereto words be fitted.* And another, *Qui alicuius verbi decore placentis, vocentur ad id quod non proposuerunt scribere.* Who are allured by the grace of some pleasing word, to write that they intended not to write. I doe more willingly winde up a wittie notable sentence, that so I may sew it upon me, than unwind my thread to go fetch it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serve and wait upon the matter, & not for matter to attend upon words, and if the French tongue cannot reach unto it, let the Gaskowic, or any other. I would have the matters to surmount, and so fill the imagination of him that harkneth, that he have no remembrance at all of the words. It is a naturall, simple, and unaffected speech that I love, so written as it is spoken, & such upon the paper, as it is in the mouth, a pithie, sinnowie, full, strong, compendious and materiall speech, not so delicate and affecte as vehement and piercing.

*Sen. epist. 40.*

*Cic. Acad. quili. 4.*

*Sen. epist. 79.*

*Hac demum super dictio, quae feriet.*

*Epitaph. Lucan. 6.*

In fine, that word is wisely fit,

Which strikes the sence, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult than tedious, void of affection, free, loose and bold, that every member of it seeme to make a bodie; not Pedanticall, nor Frier-like, nor Lawyer-like, but rather downe right, Souldie-like. As *Suetonius* calleth that of *Iulius Caesar*, which I see no reason wherefore he calleth it. I have sometimes pleased my selfe in imitating that licentiousnesse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments; as carelesly to let their cloaks hang downe over one shoulder; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrikewise, and their stockings loose hanging about their legs. It represents a kind of disdainfull fiercenesse of these forraigne embellishings, and neglect carelesnesse of art: But I commend it more being employed in the course and forme of speech. All manner of affectation, namely in the livelinesse and libertie of *France*, is unseemely in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every Gentleman ought to addresse himselfe unto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore do we well somewhat to incline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the seames and pieces may be seene: As in a well compact bodie, what need



See. epist. 40. m.  
75. p.

need a man distinguish and number all the bones and veines severally? *Quæ veritati operam dat oratio, in composita sit & simplex. Quis accurate loquitur, nisi qui vult purè loqui?* The speech that intendeth truth must be plaine and unpolished: who speaketh elaborately, but be that meanes to speake unfavourably? That eloquence offereth injurie unto things, which altogether drawes us to observe it. As in apparell, it is a signe of pusillanimitie for one to marke himselfe, in some particular and unusuall fashion: so likewise in common speech, for one to hunt after new phrases, and unaccustomed-quaint words, proceedeth of a scholasticall and childish ambition. Let me use none other than are spoken in the hals of *Paris*. *Aristophanes* the Gramarian was somewhat out of the way, when he reprov'd *Epicurus*, for the simplicitie of his words, and the end of his art oratorie, which was onely perspicuitie in speech. The imitation of speech, by reason of the facilitie of it, followeth presently a whole nation. The imitation of judging and inventing, comes more slow. The greater number of Readers, because they have found one selfe-same kind of gowne, suppose most falsly to holde one like bodie. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the sinews and strength of the bodie. Most of those that converse with me, speake like unto these Essayes; but I know not whether they thinke alike. The Athenians (as *Plato* averreth) have for their part great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speech; The Lacedemonians endeavour to be short and compendious; And those of *Creet* labour more to be plentiful in conceits, than in language. And these are the best. *Zeno* was wont to say, That he had two sorts of disciples; the one he called φιλόλογος, curious to learne things, and those were his darlings, the other he termed λογιστής, who respected nothing more than the language. Yet can no man say, but that to speake well, is most gracious and commendable, but not so excellent as some make it: and I am grieved to see how we imploy most part of our time about that onely. I would first know mine owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours with whom I have most commerce. I must needs acknowledge, that the Greeke and Latine tongues, are great ornaments in a Gentleman, but they are purchased at over-high a rate. Use it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheape, and much sooner than is ordinarily used, which was tried in my selfe. My late father, having by all the meanes and industrie, that is possible for man, sought amongst the wisest, and men of best understanding, to find a most exquisite and readie way of teaching, being advised of the inconveniencies then in use; was given to understand, that the lingring while, and best part of our youth, that we imploy in learning the tongues, which cost them nothing, is the onely cause we can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge, of the Greekes, and Romanes. I doe not beleve that to be the onely cause. But so it is, the expedient my father found out, was this; that being yet at nurse, and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a Germane (who died since, a most excellent Physitian in *France*) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely readie and skilfull in the Latine. This man, whom my Father had sent for of purpose, and to whom he gave verie great entertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine onely overseer. There were also joyned unto him two of his countymen, but not so learned; whose charge was to attend, and now and then, to play with me; and all these together did never entertaine me with other than the Latine tongue. As for others of his household, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himselfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maid-servant, were suffered to speake one word in my companie, except such Latine words, as every one had learned to chat and prattle with me, It were strange to tell how every one in the house profited therein. My Father and my Mother learned so much Latine, that for a need they could understand it, when they heard it spoken, even so did all the household servants, namely such as were neerest and most about me. To be short, we were all so Latinized, that the townes round about us had their share of it; insomuch as even at this day, many Latine names both of workmen and of their tooles, are yet in use among them. And as for my selfe, I was about six yeares old, and could understand no more French or Perigordine, than Arabike, and that without art, without bookes, rules, or grammer, without whipping or whining. I had gotten as pure a Latine tongue as my Master could speake; the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues. If for an Essay they would give me a Theme, whereas the fashion in Colleges is, to give it in French, I had it in bad Latine, to reduce the same into good. And *Nicholas Grucchi*,  
who



who hath written *De comitiis Romanorum*, *William Guarenti*, who hath commented *Aristotle*: *Georg Buchanan*, that famous Scottish Poet, and *Marthe-Amonie Muret*, whom (while he lived) both *Francois* and *Italie* to this day, acknowledge to have been the best Orator: all which have bene my familiar tutors, have often told me, that in mine infancie I had the Latine tongue so readie and so perfect, that themselves feared to take me in hand: And *Buchanan*, who afterward I saw attending on the Marshall of *Brissacke*, told me, he was about to write a treatise of the institution of children, and that he tooke the model and pattern from mine: for, at that time he had the charge and bringing up of the young Earle of *Brissacke*, whom since we have seene prove so worthy and so valiant a Captaine. As for the Greeke, wherein I have but small understanding, my father purposed to make me learne it by art; But by new and uncustomed meanes, that is, by way of recreation and exercise. We did tolle our declinations, and conjugations to and fro, as they doe, who by way of a certaine game at tables learne both Arithmetike and Geometric. For, amongst other things he had especially bene perswaded to make me taste and apprehend the fruits of dutie and science by an unforced kinde of will, and of mine owne choice; and without any compulsion or rigour to bring me up in all mildnesse and libertie: yea with such kinde of superstition, that, whereas some are of opinion, that suddenly to awaken young children, and as it were by violence to startle and fright them out of their dead sleepe in a morning (wherein they are more heaveie and deeper plunged than we) doth greatly trouble and distemper their braines he would every morning cause me to be awakened by the sound of some instrument; and I was never without a servant; Who to that purpose attended upon me. This example may serve to judge of the rest; as also to commend the judgement and tender affection of so carefull and loving a father: who is not to be blamed, though hee reaped not the fruits answerable to his exquisite toyle, and painefull manuring. Two things hindered the same; first the barrennesse and unfit soyle: for howbeit I were of a sound and strong constitution, and of a tractable and yeelding condition, yet was I so heaveie, so sluggish, and so dull, that I could not be roused (yea were it to goe to play) from out mine idle drowziness. What I saw, I saw imperfectly; and under this heaveie, and as it were Lethe-complexion did I breed hardie imaginations, and opinions farre above my yeeres. My spirit was very slow, and would goe no further than it was led by others; my apprehension blockish, my invention popte; and besides, I had a marvelous defect in my weake memorie: it is therefore no wonder, if my father could never bring me to any perfection. Secondly, as those that in some dangerous sicknesse, moved with a kind of hope-full and greedie desire of perfect health againe, give eare to every Leachor or Emperike, and follow all counsels, the good man being exceedingly fearefull to commit any oversight, in a matter he tooke so to heart, suffered himselfe at last to be led away by the common opinion, which like unto the Cranes, followeth ever those that go before, and yeelded to custome: Having those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had brought out of *Italie*. Being but six yeares old I was sent to the College of *Guienne*, then most flourishing and reputed the best in *France*, where it is impossible to adde any thing to the great care he had, both to chuse the best and most sufficient Masters, that could be found, to reade unto me, as also for all other circumstances pertaining to my education; wherein contrary to usuall customes of Colleges, he observed many particular rules. But so it is, it was ever a College. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of use: which new kind of institution, stood me in no other stead, but that at my first admittance, it made me to over-skip some of the lower formes, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteene yeares of age, that I left the College, I had read over the whole courie of Philosophie (as they call it) but with so small profit, that I can now make no account of it. The first taste or feeling I had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of *Ovids Metamorphosies*; for, being but seven or eight yeares old, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, only to reade them: For so much as the tongue wherein they were written was to me naturall; and it was the easiest booke I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained most agreeing with my young age. For of *King Arthur*, of *Lancelot du Lake*, of *Amadis*, of *Huon of Burdeaux*, and such idle time consuming, and wit-befotting trash of bookes wherein youth doth commonly animate it selfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their names, and to this day know not their



their bodies, nor what they containe: So exact was my discipline. Whereby I became more carelesse to studie my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall out for my purpose, that I had to deale with a very discreet Master, who out of his judgement could with such dexteritie winke at, and second my untowardlinesse, and such other faults that were in me. For by that meanes, I read over *Virgils Aeneidos*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and other Italian Comedies, allured thereunto by the pleasantnesse of their severall subjects: Had he beene so foolishly-severe, or so severely froward as to crosse this course of mine, I thinke verily I had never brought any thing from the College, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as doth the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his discretion, and so warily did he behave himselfe, that he saw and would not see: hee would foster and increase my longing: suffering me but by stealth, and by snatches to glut my selfe with those Bookes; holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chiefe thing my father required at their hands (unto whose charge he had committed me) was a kinde of well conditioned mildenesse, and facilitie of complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no other fault, but a certaine dull languishing, and heavie slothfulnesse. The danger was not, I should doe ill, but that I should doe nothing.

No man did ever suspect, I would prove a bad, but an unprofitable man: foreseeing in me rather a kind of idlenesse, than a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so selfe-conceited but I perceive what hath followed. The complaints that are daily buzzed in mine eares are these; that I am idle, cold, and negligent in offices of friendship, and dutie to my parents, and kins-folkes; and touching publike offices, that I am over singular and disdainfull. And those that are most injurious cannot aske, wherefore I have taken, and why I have not paid? but may rather demand, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a favour, they should wish such effects of supererogation in me. But they are unjust and over partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me, which I owe not, with more rigor than they will exact from themselves that which they owe; wherein if they condemne me, they utterly cancell both the gratifying of the action, and the gratitude, which thereby would be due to me. Whereas the active well doing should be of more consequence, proceeding from my hand, in regard I have no passive at all. Wherefore I may so much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my selfe that am most mine owne. Notwithstanding, if I were a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and justly upbraid some, that they are not so much offended, because I doe not enough, as for that I may, and it lies in my power to doe much more than I doe. Yet my minde ceased not at the same time to have peculiar unto it selfe well settled motions, true and open judgements concerning the objects which it knew; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digest. And amongst other things I verily beleeve, it would have proved altogether incapable and unfit to yeeld unto force, or stoop unto violence. Shall I account or relate this qualitie of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldnesse in my lookes, and gentle softnesse in my voice, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexteritie in conforming my selfe to the parts I undertooke? for before the age of the

*Virg. Buc. ecl. 8.*  
39.

*Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus:*  
Yeares had I (to make even.)  
Scarfe two above eleven.

I have under-gone and represented the chiefe parts in the Latin Tragedies of *Euchanan*, *Guerenti*, and of *Murel*; which in great state were acted and plaid in our College of *Guienne*: wherein *Andreas Goveanus* our Rector principall; who as in all other parts belonging to his charge, was without comparision the chiefe Rector of *France*, and my selfe (without ostentation be it spoken) was reputed, if not a chiefe master, yet a principall Actor in them. It is an exercise I rather commend than disallow in young Gentlemen: and have seene some of our Princes (in imitation of some of former ages) both commendably and honestly, in their proper persons act and play some parts in Tragedies. It hath heretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercise, and a tolerable profession in men of honor, namely in *Greece*. *Aristoni tragico auctori rem aperit: huic & genus & fortuna honesta erant: nec ars quia nihil tale apud Gracos pudori est, ea deformabat.* He imparts the matter to *Ariston* a Player

*Liv. dec. 3. lib. 4.*



Player of tragedies, whose progenie and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because no such matter is a disparagement amongst the Grecians.

And I have ever accused them of impertinencie, that condemne and disallow such kindes of recreations, and blamed those of injustice, that refuse good and honest Comedians, or (as we call them) Players, to enter our good townes, and grudge the common people such publicke sports. Politike and wel ordered commonwealths endeavor rather carefully to unite and assemble their Citizens together; as in serious offices of devotion; so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherished and increased. And besides, they cannot have more formall and regular pastimes allowed them, than such as are acted and represented in open view of all, and in the presence of the magistrates themselves: And if I might beare sway, I would thinke it reasonable, that Princes should sometimes, at their proper charges, gratifie the common people with them, as an argument of a fatherly affection, and loving goodnesse towards them: and that in populous and frequented cities, there should be Theatres and places appointed for such spectacles; as a diverting of worke inconveniences, and sicerer actions. But to come to my intended purpose, there is no better way than to allure the affection, and to enice the appetite: otherwise a man shall breed but asses laden with Bookes. With jerkes of rods they have their satchels full of learning given them to keepe. Which to doe well, one must not only harbor in himselfe, but wed and marry the same with his minde.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*It is follie to referre Truth or Falshood to our  
sufficiencie.*

IT is not peradventure without reason, that we ascribe the facilitie of beleeving and easines of perswasion, unto simplicitie and ignorance: For me seemeth to have learnt heretofore, that belife was, as it were an impression conceived in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of lesse resistance, it was easier to imprint any thing therein. *¶ Necesse est laxum m. lib. pandoribus impositis deprimi: sic animum perspicuus cedere.* As it is necessary, that we must ge downe the ballance when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeeld to things that are manifest. Forasmuch therefore, as the minde being most empty and without counterpoise, so much the more easily doth it yeeld under the burthen of the first perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and sick folks, are so subject to be misled, and so easie to swallow gudgeons. Yet on the other side it is a sottish presumption to dislaine and condemne that for false, which unto us seemeth to beare no shew of likelihood or truth: which is an ordinarie fault in those who perswade themselves to be of more sufficiencie than the vulgar sort. So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard any body speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach.

*Cic. Acad. qu. 1. 4.*

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas  
Nocturnos lemures, portentosa, Thessali.  
Dreames, magike terrors, witches, uncouth-wonders,  
Night-walking sprites, Thessalian conjur'd-thunders.*

*Hor. lib. 2. ep. 2.  
108.*

I could not but feele a kinde of compassion to see the poore and feely people abused with such follies. And now I perceive, that I was as much to be moaned myselfe: Not that experience hath since made me to discern any thing beyond my former opinions: yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false, and impossible, is to assume unto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his sleeve: And that there is no greater folly in the world, than to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie, and bounds of our sufficiencie. If we terme those things monsters or miracles to



which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves unto our sight? Let us consider through what clouds, and how blinde-fold we are led to the knowledge of most things, that passe our hands: verily we shall finde, it is rather custome, than sciencethat removeth the strangenesse of them from us:

Laer. lib. 2.

— *jam nemo fessus saturusque videndi,  
Susplicere in cali dignatur lucida templa.*  
Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation,  
Deignes to have heav'ns bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented unto us, wee should doubtesse deeme them, as much, or more unlikely, and incredible, than any other.

1042.

— *si nunc primum mortalibus adsint  
Ex improvise, seu sint objecta repente,  
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,  
Aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes.*  
If now first on a sudden they were here  
Mongst mortall men, object to eie or eare,  
Nothing, than these things, would more wondrous bee,  
Or that, men durst lesse thinke, ever to see.

He who had never seene a river before, the first he saw, he thought it to be the Ocean; and things that are the greatest in our knowledge, we judge them to be the extreme that nature worketh in that kinde.

Lib. 6. 671.

*Scilicet & fluvius qui non est maximus, ei est  
Qui non ante aliquem majorem vidit, & ingens  
Arbor homoque videtur, & omnia de genere omni  
Maxima qua vidit quisque, hac ingentia fingit.*  
A streame none of the greatest, may so seeme  
To him, that never saw a greater streame.  
Trees, men, seeme huge, and all things of all sorts,  
The greatest one hath scene, he huge reports.

Cic. Nat. De. l. 2.

*Consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum, quas semper vident.* Mindes are acquainted by custome of their eyes, nor do they admire, or enquire the reason of those things which they continually behold. The novelty of things doth more incite us to search out the causes, than their greatnesse: we must judge of this infinite power of nature, with more reverence, and with more acknowledgement of our owne ignorance and weaknesse. How many things of small likelihood are there, witnessed by men, worthie of credit, whereof if we cannot be perswaded, we should at least leave them in suspense? For, to deeme them impossible, is by rash presumption to presume and know how farre possibilitie reacheth. If a man did well understand, what difference there is betweene impossibilitie, and that which is unwonted, and betweene that which is against the course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleiving rashly, and in not disbeleiving easily; the rule of *Nothing too-much*, commanded by *Chilon*, should be observed. When we finde in *Froysard*, that the Earle of *Foix*, (being in *Bearne*) had knowledge of the defeature at *Iuberosh*, of King *Iohn* of *Castile*, the morrow next it hapned, and the meanes he alleageth for it, a man may well laugh at it: And of that which our *Annales* report, that Pope *Honorius*, the very same day that King *Philip Augustus* died at *Mannes*, caused his publike funerals to be solemnized, and commanded them to be celebrated throughout all *Italie*. For, the authoritie of the witnesses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to restraine us. But what if *Plutarke*, besides diverse examples which he alleageth of antiquitie, saith to have certainly knowne, that in *Domitians* time, the newes of the battle lost by *Antonius* in *Germany* many daies journeyes thence, was published at *Rome*, and divulged through the world, the very same day it succeeded: And if *Cesar* holds, that it hath many times happened, that report hath foregone the accident: Shall we not say, that those simple people have suffered themselves to be coufened and seduced by the vulgar sort, because they were not as cleare-sighted as we? Is there any thing more daintie, more unsported, and more lively than *Plinies* judgement, whensoever it pleaseth him to make shew of it? Is there any farther from vanity? I omit the excellencie of his learning and knowledge, whereof I make but small reckoning



konig: in which of those two parts doe we exceed him? Yet there is no scholler so meanelly learned, but will convince him of lying, and read a lecture of contradiction against him upon the progresse of natures works. When wee read in *Bonchet* the myracles wrought by the reliques of Saint *Hillarie*, his credit is not sufficient to barre us the libertie of contradicting him: yet at randon to condemne all such like histories, seemeth to me a notable impudencie. That famous man Saint *Augustine* witnesseth to have seene a blinde childe to recover his sight, over the reliques of Saint *Gervase* and *Protase* at *Milane*: and a woman at *Carthage*, to have beene cured of a canker, by the signe of the holy Crosse, which a woman newly baptized made unto her: and *Hesperius* a familiar friend of his, to have expelled certaine spirits, that molested his house, with a little of the earth of our Saviours sepulcher; which earth being afterwards transported into a Church, a Paralitike man was immediately therewith cured: and a woman going in proceffion, having as she past by with a nose-gaie toucht the case wherein Saint *Stevens* bones were, and with the same afterward rubbed her eies, she recovered her sight, which long before she had utterly lost: and divers other examples, where he affirmeth to have beene an assistant himselfe. What shal we accuse him of, and two other holy Bishops, *Aurelius* and *Maximinus*, whom he calleth for his witnesses? Shal it be of ignorance, of simplicity, of malice, of facility, or of imposture? Is any man living so impudent, that thinks he may be compared to them, whether it be in vertue or piety, in knowledge or judgement, in wisdom or sufficiency? *Qui ut rationem nullam afferrent, ipsa autoritate me frangerent: Who though they alleaged no reason, yet might subdue me with their very authority.* It is a dangerous fond hardinesse, and of consequence, besides the absurd temerity it drawes with it, to despise what we conceive not. For, after that according to your best understanding, you have establisht the limits of truth, and bounds of falshood, and that it is found, you must necessarily beleve things, wherein is more strangenesse, than in those you deny; you have already bound your selfe to abandon them. Now that which me thinkes brings as much disorder in our consciences, namely in these troubles of religion wherein we are, is the dispensation Catholikes make of their beleefe. They suppose to shew themselves very moderate and skilfull, when they yeeld their adversaries any of those articles now in question. But besides that, they perceive not what an advantage it is for him that chargeth you, if you but once begin to yeeld and give them ground; and how much that encourageth him to pursue his point: those articles which they chuse for the lightest, are oftentimes most important. Either a man must wholly submit himselfe to the authoritie of our Ecclesiasticall policie, or altogether dispence himselfe from it: It is not for us to determine what part of obedience we owe unto it. And moreover, I may say it, because I have made triall of it, having sometimes used this libertie of my choice, and particular election, not regarding certaine points of the observance of our Church, which seeme to beare a face, either more vaine, or more strange; comming to communicate them with wise men, I have found that those things have a most solid and steadie foundation, and that it is but foolishnesse and ignorance, makes us receive them with lesse respect and reverence than the rest. Why remember we not, what, and how many contradictions we finde and feele even in our owne judgement? How many things served us but yesterday as articles of faith, which to day we deeme but fables? Glory and curiositie are the scourges of our soules. The latter induceth us to have an oare in every ship, and the former forbids us to leave any thing unresolved or undecided.

Cic. Div. lib. i.

## CHAP. XXVII.

## Of friendship.

Considering the proceeding of a Painters worke I have; a desire hath possessed mee to imitate him: He maketh choice of the most convenient place and middle of every wall, there to place a picture, laboured with all his skill and sufficiencie; and all void places about it he filleth up with antike Boscage or Croresko works; which are fantasticall pictures, having no grace, but in the variety and strangenesse of them. And what are these my



compositions in truth, other than antike workes, and monitrous bodies, patched and huddled up together of divers members, without any certaine or well ordered figure, having neither order, dependencie, or proportion, but casuall and framed by chance?

E. u. m. p. 4.

*Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne.*

A woman faire for parts superior,

Ends in a fish for parts inferior.

Touching this second point I goe as farre as my Painter, but for the other and better part I am farre behinde: for my sufficiency reacheth not so farre, as that I dare undertake, a rich, a polished, and according to true skill, and art-like table. I have advised my selfe to borrow one of *Steven de la Boirie*, who with this kinde of worke shall honour all the world. It is a discourse he entitled, *Voluntary Servitude*, but those who have not knowne him, have since very properly rebaptized the same, *The against one*. In his first youth he writ, by way of *Es-faie*, in honour of libertie against Tyrants. It hath long since beene dispersed amongst men of understanding, not without great and well deserved commendations: for it is full of wit, and containeth as much learning as may be: yet doth it differ much from the best he can do. And if in the age I knew him in, he would have undergone my designe, to let his fantasies downe in writing, we should doubtlesse see many rare things, and which would very neerely approach the honour of antiquity: for especially touching that part of natures gifts, I know none may be compared to him. But it was not long of him, that ever this Treatise came to mans view, and I beleeve he never saw it since it first escaped his hands: with certaine other notes concerning the edict of Januarie, famous by reason of our intestine warre, which haply may in other places finde their deserved praise. It is all I could ever recover of his reliques (whom when death seized, he by his last will and testament, left with so kinde remembrance, heire and executor of his librarie and writings) besides the little booke, I since caused to be published: To which his pamphlet I am particularly most bounden, for so much as it was the instrumentall meane of our first acquaintance. For it was shewed me long time before I saw him; and gave me the first knowledge of his name, addressing, and thus nourishing that unspotted friendship, which we (so long as it pleased God) have so sincerely, so entire and inviolably maintained betweene us, that truly a man shall not commonly heare of the like; and amongst our moderne men no signe of any such is scene. So many parts are required to the erecting of such a one, that it may be counted a wonder, if fortune once in three ages contract the like. There is nothing to which Nature hath more addressed us than to societie. And *Aristotle* saith, *that perfect Law-givers have had more regardfull care of friendship than of justice*. And the utmost drift of it's perfection is this. For generally, all those amities which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnesse or profit, publike or private need, are thereby so much the lesse faire and generous, and so much the lesse true amities, in that they intermeddle other causes, scope, and fruit with friendship, than it selfe alone: Nor doe those foure ancient kindes of friendships, *Naturall, sociall, hospitall, and venerian*, either particularly or conjointly besee me the same. That from children to parents may rather be termed respect: Friendship is nourished by communication, which by reason of the over-great disparitie cannot bee found in them, and would happily offend the duties of nature: for neither all the secret thoughts of parents can be communicated unto children, lest it might engender an unbeseeming familiaritie betweene them, nor the admonitions and corrections (which are the chiefe offices of friendship) could be exercised from children to parents. There have nations beene found, where, by custome, children killed their parents, and others, where parents slew their children, thereby to avoid the hindrance of enter-bearing one another in after-times: for naturally one dependeth from the ruine of another. There have Philosophers beene found disdainning this naturall conjunction, witnesse *Aristippus*, who being urged with the affection he ought his children, as proceeding from his loynes, began to spit, saying, *That also that excrement proceeded from him, and that also we engendred wormes and lice*. And that other man, whom *Plutarke* would have perswaded to agree with his brother, answered, *I care not a straw the more for him, though he came out of the same wombe I did*. Verily the name of Brother is a glorious name, and full of loving kindnesse, and therefore did he and I terme one another sworn brother: but this commixture, dividence, and sharing of goods, this joyning wealth to wealth, and that the riches of one shall be the povertie of another, doth exceedingly distemper and distract all brotherly alliance,



alliance, and lovely conjunction: If brothers should conduct the progresse of their advancement and thrife in one same path and course, they must necessarily oftentimes hinder and crosse one another. Moreover, the correspondencie and relation that begetteth these true and mutually perfect amities, why shall it be found in these? The father and the sonne may very well be of a farre differing complexion, and so many brothers: He is my sonne, he is my kinsman; but he may be a foole, a bad, or a peevish-minded man. And then according as they are friendships, which the law and dutie of nature doth command us, so much the lesse of our owne voluntarie choice and libertie is there required unto it: And our genuine libertie hath no production more properly her owne, than that of affection and amitie. Sure I am, that concerning the same I have assayed all that might be, having had the best and most indulgent father that ever was, even to his extremest age, and who from father to sonne was descended of a famous house, and touching this rare-seene vertue of brotherly concord very exemplare:

— & ipse

Hor. l. 2. lib. 2. 6.

*Notus in fratres animi paterni,  
To his brothers knowne so kinde,  
As to beare a fathers minde,*

To compare the affection toward women unto it, although it proceed from our owne free choise, a man cannot, nor may it be placed in this ranke: Her fire, I confesse it

(— *neque enim est dea nescia nostri  
Qua dulcem curis miscet amaritiem.*)

(Nor is that Goddess ignorant of me,  
Whose bitter-sweets with my cares mixed be.)

to be more active, more fervent, and more sharpe. But it is a rash and wavering fire, waving and divers: the fire of an ague subject to fits and stints, and that hath but slender hold-fast of us. In true friendship, it is a generall and universall heat, and equally tempered, a constant and settled heat, all pleasure and smoothnes, that hath no pricking or stinging in it, which the more it is in lustfull love, the more is it but a ranging and mad desire in following that which flies us,

*Come segue la lepre il cacciatore  
Al freddo, al caldo, alla montagna al lito,  
Ne pin l'estima poi che presa veder  
E sol dietro a chi fugge affresta il piede.  
Ev'n as the huntsman doth the hare pursue,  
In cold, in heat, on mountaines, on the shore,  
But cares no more, when he her tan'e espies,  
Speeding his pace, only at that which flies.*

Aris. act. 1. sc. 7.

As soone as it creepeth into the termes of friendship, that is to say, in the agreement of wils, it languisheth and vanisheth away: enjoying doth lose it, as having a corporall end, and subject to facietie. On the other side, friendship is enjoyed according as it is desired, it is neither bred, nor nourished, nor increaseth but in jovissance, as being spirituall, and the minde being refined by use and custome. Under this chiefe amitie, these fading affections have sometimes found place in me, lest I should speake of him, who in his verses speakes but too much of it. So are these two passions entred into me in knowledge one of another, but in comparison never: the first flying a high, and keeping a proud pitch, disdainfully beholding the other to passe her points farre under it. Concerning marriage, besides that it is a covenant which hath nothing free but the entrance, the continuance being forced and constrained, depending else-where than from our will, and a match ordinarily concluded to other ends: A thousand strange knots are therein commonly to be unknit, able to break the web, and trouble the whole course of a lively affection; whereas in friendship, there is no commerce or busines depending on the same, but it selfe. Seeing (to speake truly) that the ordinary sufficiency of women, cannot answer this conference and communication, the nurse of this sacred bond: nor seeme their mindes strong enough to endure the pulling of a knot so hard, so fast, and durable. And truly, if without that, such a genuine and voluntarie acquaintance might be contracted, where not only mindes had this entire jovissance, but also bodies, a share of the alliance, and where a man might wholly be engaged: It is certaine, that friendship would thereby



Cic. Tusc. que. 4.

thereby be more compleat and full : But this sex could never yet by any example attaine unto it, and is by ancient schooles rejected thence. And this other Greeke licence is justly abhorred by our customes, which notwithstanding, because according to use it had so necessarie a disparitie of ages, and difference of offices betweene lovers, did no more sufficiently answer the perfect union and agreement, which here we require : *Quis est enim iste amor amicitia? cur neque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem?* For, what love is this of friendship? why doth no man love either a deformed young man, or a beautifull old man? For even the picture the *Academie* makes of it, will not (as I suppose) disavow mee, to say thus in her behalfe : That the first furie, enspired by the son of *Venus* in the lovers hart, upon the object of tender youths-flower, to which they allow all insolent and passionate violences, an immoderate heat may produce, was simply grounded upon an externall beauty ; a false image of corporall generation: for in the spirit it had no power, the sight whereof was yet concealed, which was but in his infancie, and before the age of budding. For, if this furie did seize upon a base minded courage, the meanes of it's pursuit, where riches, gifts, favour to the advancement of dignities, and such like vile merchandice, which they reprove. If it fell into a most generous minde, the interpositions were likewise generous : Philosophicall instructions, documents to reverence religion, to obey the lawes, to die for the good of his countrie : examples of valor, wisdom and justice. The lover endeavoring and studying to make himselfe acceptable by the good grace and beauty of his minde (that of his body being long since decayed) hoping by this mentall societie to establish a more firme and permanent bargain. When this pursuit attained the effect in due season, (for by not requiring in a lover, he should bring leasure and discretion in his enterprise, they require it exactly in the beloved ; forasmuch as he was to judge of an internall beauty, of a difficile knowledge, and abstruse discovery) than by the interposition of a spiritual beauty was the desire of a spiritual conception engendred in the beloved. The latter was here chiefest ; the corporall, accidentall and second, altogether contrarie to the lover. And therefore doe they preferre the beloved, and verifie that the gods likewise preferre the same : and greatly blame the Poet *Æschylus*, who in the love betweene *Achilles* and *Patroclus* ascribeth the lovers part unto *Achilles*, who was in the first and beardless youth of his adolescence, and the fairest of the *Grecians*. After this generall communitive, the mistis and worthiest part of it, predominant and exercising her offices (they say the most availefull commodity did thereby redound both to the private and publike) That it was the force of countries received the use of it, and the principall defence of equitie and libertie : witness the comfortable loves of *Hermodius* and *Aristogiton*. Therefore name they it sacred and divine, and it concerns not them whether the violence of tyrants, or the deminution of the people be against them : To conclude, all can be alleaged in favour of the Academy, is to say, that it was a love ending in friendship, a thing which hath no bad reference unto the Stoical definition of love: *Amorem conatum esse amicitia facienda ex pulchritudinis specie.* That love is an endeavour of making friendship, by the shew of beautie. I returne to my description in a more equitable and equall manner. *Omnino amicitia corroboratis jam confirmatisque ingeniis & atribus judicanda sunt.* Clearly friendships are to be judged by wits, and ages already strengthened and confirmed. As for the rest, those we ordinarily call friendes and amities, are but acquaintances and familiarities, tied together by some occasion or commodities, by meanes whereof our mindes are entertained. In the amitie I speake of, they entermixe and confound themselves one in the other, with so universall a commixture, that they weare out, and can no more finde the seame that hath conjoynd them together. If a man urge me to tell wherefore I loved him, I feele it cannot be expressed, but by answering; Because it was he, because it was my selfe. There is beyond all my discourse, and besides what I can particularly report of it, I know not what inexplicable and fatall power, a meane and Mediatrix of this indissoluble union. Wee sought one another, before we had scene one another, and by the reports we heard one of another ; which wrought a greater violence in us, than the reason of reports may well beare: I thinke by some secret ordinance of the heavens, we embraced one another by our names. And at our first meeting, which was by chance at a great feast, and solemne meeting of a whole towneship, we found our selves so surprized, so knowne, so acquainted, and so combinedly bound together, that from thence forward, nothing was so neere unto us, as one unto anothers. He writ an excellent Latyne Satyre ; since published ; by which he excuseth and expoundeth the precipitation

Cic. ibid.

Cic. Amic.



pitation of our acquaintance, so suddenly come to her perfection; Since it must continue  
 so short a time, and begun so late (for we were both grown men, and he some yeares older  
 than my selfe) there was no time to be lost. And it was not to be modelled or directed by  
 the paterne of regular and remisse friendship, wherein so many precautions of a long and  
 preallable conversation are required. This hath no other *Idea* than of it selfe, and can have  
 no reference but to it selfe. It is not one especiall consideration, nor two, nor three, nor foure,  
 nor a thousand: It is I wot not what kinde of quintessence, of all this commixture, which  
 having seized all my will, induced the same to plunge and lose it selfe in his, which like-  
 wise having seized all his will, brought it to lose and plunge it selfe in mine, with a mutuall  
 greedinesse, & with a semblable concurrence. I may truly say, lose, reserving nothing unto us,  
 that might properly be called our owne, nor that was either his, or mine. When *Lelius* in  
 the presence of the Romane Consuls, who after the condemnation of *Tiberius Gracchus*,  
 pursued all those that had bene of his acquaintance, came to enquire of *Caius Blossius* (who  
 was one of his chiefeest friends) what he would have done for him, and that he answered,  
*All things. What? All things?* replied he: *And what if he had willed thee to burne our*  
*Temples?* *Blossius* answered, *He would never have commanded such a thing. But what if he*  
*had done it?* replied *Lelius*: The other answered, *I would have obeyed him*: If hee were so  
 perfect a friend to *Gracchus*, as Histories report, he needed not offend the Consuls with this  
 last and bold confession, and should not have departed from the assurance hee had of *Grac-*  
*chus* his minde. But yet those, who accuse this answer as seditious, understand not well this  
 mysterie: and doe not presuppose in what termes he stood, and that he held *Gracchus* his  
 will in his sleeve, both by power and knowledge. They were rather friends than Citizens,  
 rather friends than enemies of their countrey, or friends of ambition and trouble. Having  
 absolutely committed themselves one to another, they perfectly held the reins of one an-  
 others inclination: and let this yoke be guided by vertue and conduct of reason (because  
 without them it is altogether impossible to combine and proportion the same.) The answer  
 of *Blossius* was such as it should be. If their affections miscarried, according to my meaning,  
 they were neither friends one to other, nor friends to themselves. As for the rest, this an-  
 swer sounds no more than mine would doe, to him that would in such sort enquire of me; if  
 your will should command you to kill your daughter, would you doe it? and that I should  
 consent unto it: for, that beareth no witnesse of consent to doe it: because I am not in doubt  
 of my will, and as little of such a friends will. It is not in the power of the worlds discourse  
 to remove me from the certaintie I have of his intentions and judgements of mine: no one  
 of it's actions might be presented unto me, under what shape soever, but I would presently  
 finde the spring and motion of it. Our mindes have jumped so unitedly together, they have  
 with so fervent an affection considered of each other, and with like affection so discovered  
 and founded, even to the very bottome of each others heart and entrails, that I did not only  
 know his, as well as mine owne, but I would (verily) rather have trusted him concerning  
 any matter of mine, than my selfe. Let no man compare any of the other common friend-  
 ships to this. I have as much knowledge of them as another, yea of the perfectest of their  
 kinde: yet wil I not perswade any man to confound their rules, for so a man might be decei-  
 ved. In these other strict friendships a man must march with the bridle of wisdom and pre-  
 caution in his hand: the bond is not so strictly tied, but a man may in some sort distrust the  
 same. *Love him* (saide *Chilon*) *as if you should one day hate him againe. Hate him as if you*  
*should love him againe.* This precept, so abominable in this soveraigne and mistris Amitie,  
 is necessarie and wholesome in the use of vulgar and customarie friendships: toward which  
 a man must employ the saying *Aristotle* was wont so often to repeat, *Oh you my friends,*  
*there is no perfect friend.*

In this noble commerce, offices and benefits (nurses of other amities) deserve not so  
 much as to be accounted of: this confusion so full of our wills is cause of it: for even as  
 the friendship I beare unto my selfe, admits no accrease, by any succour I give my selfe in  
 any time of need, whatsoever the Stoickes alleage; and as I acknowledge no thanks unto  
 my selfe for any service I doe unto my selfe, so the union of such friends, being truly perfect,  
 makes them lose the feeling of such duties, and hate, and expell from one another these  
 words of division, and difference; benefit, good deed, dutie, obligation, acknowledge-  
 ment, prayer, thanks, and such their like. All things being by effect common betweene  
 them;



them; wils, thoughts, judgements, goods, wives, children, honour, and life; and their mutuall agreement, being no other than one soule in two bodies, according to the fit definition of *Aristotle*, they can neither lend or give ought to each other. See here the reason why Law-makers, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine bond, imitate donations between husband and wife; meaning thereby to inferre, that all things should peculiarly bee proper to each of them, and that they have nothing to divide and share together. If in the friendship whereof I speake, one might give unto another, the receiver of the benefit should binde his fellow. For, each seeking more than any other thing, to doe each other good, he who yeelds both matter and occasion, is the man sheweth himselfe liberall, giving his friend that contentment, to effect towards him what he desireth most. When the Philosopher *Diogenes* wanted money, he was wont to say; *That he re-demanded the same of his friends, and not that he demanded it*: And to shew how that is practised by effect, I will relate an ancient singular example. *Eudamidas* the Corinthian had two friends. *Charixenus* a Sycionian, and *Arethens* a Corinthian; being upon his death-bed, and very poore, and his two friends very rich, thus made his last will and testament. *To Arethens, I bequeath the keeping of my mother, and to maintaine her when she shall be old: To Charixenus the marrying of my daughter, and to give her as great a dowry as he may: and in case one of them in chance to die before, I appoint the survivor to substitute his charge, and supply his place.* Those that first saw this testament, laughed and mocked at the same; but his heires being advertised thereof, were very well pleased, and received it with singular contentment. And *Charixenus* one of them, dying five daies after *Eudamidas*, the substitution being declared in favour of *Arethens*, he carefully and very kindly kept and maintained his mother, and of five talents that she was worth, he gave two and a halfe in marriage to one only daughter he had, and the other two and a halfe to the daughter of *Eudamidas*, whom he married both in one day. This example is very ample, if one thing were not, which is the multitude of friends: For, this perfect amity I speake of, is indivisible; each man doth so wholly give himselfe unto his friend, that he hath nothing left him to divide else-where: moreover he is grieved that he is double, triple, or quadruple, and hath not many soules, or sundry wils, that he might conferre them all upon this subject. Common friendships may bee divided; a man may love beauty in one, facility of behaviour in another, liberality in one, and wisdom in another, pater-nity in this, fraternity in that man, and so forth: but this amitie which possesseth the soule, and swaies it in all soveraigntie, it is impossible it should be double. If two at one instant should require helpe, to which would you run? Should they crave contrary offices of you, what order would you follow? Should one commit a matter to your silence, which if the other knew would greatly profit him, what course would you take? Or how would you discharge your selfe? A singular and principall friendship dissolveth all other duties, and freeth all other obligations. The secret I have sworn not to reveale to another, I may without per-jurie impart it unto him, who is no other but my selfe. It is a great and strange wonder for a man to double himselfe; and those that talke of tripling, know not, nor cannot reach unto the height of it. *Nothing is extreme, that hath his like.* And he who shal presuppose, that of two I love the one as well as the other, and that they enter-love one another, and love me as much as I love them: he multiplieth in brother-hood, a thing most singular, and alone one, and than which one alone is also the rarest to be found in the world. The remainder of this history agreeth very well with what I said; for, *Eudamidas* giveth as a grace & favor to his friends to employ them in his need: he leaveth them as his heires of his liberality, which consisteth in putting the meanes into their hands, to doe him good. And doubtlesse, the force of friendship is much more richly shewen in his deed, than in *Arethens*. To conclude, they are imaginable effects, to him that hath not tasted them; and which makes me wonderfully to honor the answer of that young Souldier to *Cyrus*, who enquiring of him, what he would take for a horse, with which he had lately gained the prize of a race, and whether he would change him for a Kingdome? *No surely my Liege* (said he) *yet would I willingly forgoe him to gaine a true friend, could I but finde a man worthy of so precious an alliance.* He said not ill, in saying, *could I but finde.* For, a man shall easily finde men fit for a superficiall acquaintance; but in this, wherein men negotiate from the very centre of their hearts, and make no spare of any thing, it is most requisite, all the wards and springs be sincerely wrought, and perfectly true. In confederacies, which hold but by one end, men have nothing to provide-



vide for, but for the imperfections, which particularly doe interest and concerne that end and respect. It is no great matter what religion my Physician and Lawyer is of: this consideration hath nothing common with the offices of that friendship they owe mee. So doe I in the familiar acquaintances, that those who serve me contract with me. I am nothing inquisitive whether a Lackey be chaste or no, but whether he be diligent: I feare not a gaming Muletier, so much as if he be weake; uor a hot swearing Cooke, as one that is ignorant and unskilfull; I never meddle with saying what a man should doe in the world; there are over many others that doe it; but what my selfe doe in the world.

*Mihi sic usus est: Tibi, ut opus est facto, face.*

So is it requisite for me;

Doe thou as needfull is for thee.

*Ter. Heau. act. 1.  
scen. 1. 28.*

Concerning familiar table-talk, I rather acquaint my selfe with, and follow a merry conceited humour, than a wise man: And in bed I rather prefer beauty, than goodnesse; and in society or conversation of familiar discourse, I respect rather sufficiency, though without *Preud' hommie*, and so of all things else. Even as he that was found riding upon an hobby-horse, playing with his children, besought him, who thus surprized him, not to speake of it, untill he were a father himselfe, supposing the tender fondnesse, and fatherly passion, which then would possesse his minde, should make him an impartiall judge of such an action. So would I wish to speake to such as had tried what I speake of: but knowing how far such an amitie is from the common use, and how seld scene and rarely found, I looke not to finde a competent judge. For, even the discourses, which sterne antiquitie hath left us concerning this subject, seeme to me but faint and forcelesse in respect of the feeling I have of it: And in that point the effects exceed the very precepts of Philosophie.

*Ni lego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.*

For me, be I well in my wit,

Nought, as a merry friend, so fit.

*Hor. li. 1. Sat. 1.  
44.*

Ancient *Menander* accounted him happy, that had but met the shadow of a true friend: verily he had reason to say so, especially if he had tasted of any: for truly, if I compare all the rest of my forepassed life, which although I have by the meere mercy of God, past at rest and ease, and except the losse of so deare a friend, free from all grievous affliction, with an ever-quietnesse of minde, as one that have taken my naturall and originall commodities in good payment, without searching any others: if, as I say, I compare it all unto the foure yeares, I so happily enjoied the sweet company, and deare-deare society of that worthy man, it is nought but a vapour, nought but a darke and yrkesome light. Since the time I lost him,

*quem semper acerbum,*

*Semper honoratum (sic Dii voluistis) habebo.*

Which I shall ever hold a bitter day,

Yet ever honor'd (so my God t'obey)

*Virg. Aen. 5. 49.*

I doe but languish, I doe but sorrow: and even those pleasures, all things present me with, instead of yeelding me comfort, doe but redouble the griefe of his losse. We were copartners in all things. All things were with us at halfe; me thinkes I have stolne his part from him.

*— Nec fas esse ulla me voluptate hic frui*

*Decrevi, tantisper dum ille abest meus particeps.*

I have set downe, no joy enjoy I may,

As long as he my partner is away.

*Ter. Heau. act. 1.  
scen. 1. 97.*

I was so accustomed to be ever two, and so enured to be never single, that me thinks I am but halfe my selfe.

*Illam mea si partem anima tulit,*

*Maturior vis, quid moror altera,*

*Nec charus aequè nec superstes,*

*Integer? Ille dies utramque*

*Duxit ruinam.*

*Hor. li. 2. od. 17. 5.*

Since that part of my soule riper fate rest me,

Why stay I heere the other part he left me?

Nor



Nor so deere, nor entire, while heere I rest :  
That day hath in one ruine both opprest.

There is no action can betide me, or imagination possesse me, but I heare him saying, as indeed he would have done to me : for even as he did excell me by an infinite distance in all other sufficiencies and vertues, so did he in all offices and duties of friendship.

Lib. 1. od. 24. 1.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus,  
Tam chari capitis ?*

What modesty or measure may I beare,  
In want and wish of him that was so deare ?

Catul. ele. 4. 20.  
93. 23. 95.

*O misero frater adempte mihi !  
Omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,*

*Qua tuus in vita dulcis alebas amor.*

21

*Tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda frater,*

94

*Tecum una tota est nostra sepulta anima,  
Cujus ego interitu rota de mente fugavi*

25

*Hac studia, atque omnes delicias animi.*

*Alloquar ? audiero nunquam tua verba loquentem ?*

*Nunquam ego te vita frater amabilior,*

El. 1. 9.

*Aspiciam posthac ? at certe semper amabo.*

O brother rest from miserable me,  
All our delight's are perished with thee,  
Which thy sweet love did nourish in my breath.  
Thou all my good hast spoiled in thy death :  
With thee my soule is all and whole enshrine,  
At whose death I have cast out of minde  
All my mindes sweet-meats, studies of this kinde ;  
Never shall I, heare thee speake, speake with thee ?  
Thet brother, than life dearer, never see ?

Yet shalt thou ever be belov'd of mee.

but let us a little heare this yong man speake, being but sixteen years of age.

Because I have found this worke to have since beene published (and to an ill end) by such as seeke to trouble and subvert the state of our common-wealth, nor caring whether they shall reforme it or no ; which they have fondly inserted among other writings of their invention, I have revoked my intent, which was to place it here. And lest the Authors memory should any way be interested with those that could not thoroughly know his opinions and actions, they shall understand, that this subject was by him treated of in his infancie, only by way of exercise, as a subject, common, bare-worne, and wyer-drawne in a thousand bookes. I will never doubt but he beleev'd what he writ, and writ as he thought : for hee was so conscientious, that no lie did ever passe his lips, yea were it but in matters of sport or play : and I know, that had it beene in his choyce, he would rather have beene borne at Venice, than at Sarlac ; and good reason why : But he had another maxime deeply imprinted in his minde, which was, carefully to obey, and religiously to submit himselfe to the lawes, under which he was borne. There was never a better Citizen, nor more affected to the welfare and quietnesse of his countrie, nor a sharper enemy of the changes, innovations, newfangles, and hurly-burles of his time : He would more willingly have imployed the utmost of his endeavours to extinguish and suppress, than to favour or further them : His minde was modelled to the patterne of other best ages. But yet in exchange of his serious treatise, I will here set you downe another, more pithie, materiall, and of more consequence, by him likewise produced in that tender age.



## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Nine and twentie Sonnets of Steven de la Boetie, to the Lady  
of Grammont, Countesse of Guissen.*

**M** Adame, I present you with nothing that is mine, either because it is already yours, or because I finde nothing therein worthy of you. But wheresoever these verses shall be scene, for the honour which thereby shall redound to them, by having this glorious *Corisanda* of *Andoins* for their guide, I thought it good to adorne them with your worthy name. I have deemed this present fit for your Ladiship, forsomuch as there are few Ladies in *France*, that either can better judge of Poesie, or fitter apply the use of it, than your worthy selfe: and since in these her drooping daies, none can give it more life, or vigorous spirit, than you, by those rich and high-tuned accords, wherewith amongst a million of other rare beauties, nature hath richly graced you. Madame, these verses deserve to be cherished by you: and I am perswaded you will be of mine opinion, which is, that none have come out of *Gaskonie*, that either had more wit, or better invention, and that witnesse to have proceeded from a richer veine. And let no jealousie possesse you, inasmuch as you have but the remainder of that, which whilome I caused to be printed under the name of my Lord of *Foix*, your worthy, noble and deare kinsman: For truly, these have a kinde of liveness, and more piercing Emphasis than any other, and which I cannot well expresse: as hee that made them in his Aprils youth, and when he was enflamed with a noble glorious flame, as I will one day tell your honour in your eare. The other were afterward made by him in favour of his wife, at what time he wooed and solicited her for marriage, and began to feele I wot not what martiall-chilnesse, and husbands-coldnesse. And I am one of those, whose opinion is, that divine Poesie doth no where sadge so well, and so effectually applaudeth, as in a youthfull, wanton, and unbridled subject. The above mentioned nine and twentie Sonnets of *Boetie*, and that in the former impressions of this booke were here set downe, have since beene printed with his other works.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Of Moderation.*

**A**S if our sense of feeling were infected, wee corrupt by our touching, things that in themselves are faire and good. We may so seize on vertue, that if we embrace it with an over-greedy and violent desire, it may become vicious. Those who say, *There is never excessse in vertue, because it is no longer vertue if any excessse be in it*, doe but jest at words.

*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequi iniqui,*

*Vltra quam satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam.*

A wise man mad, just unjust, may I name,

More than is meet, ev'n vertue if he claime.

*Hor. lib. 1. epi. 6.*

15A

Philosophy is a subtile consideration. A man may love vertue too much, and excessively demean himselfe in a good action. Gods holy word doth apply it selfe to this by a *safer*: *Be not wiser than you should, and be soberly wise*. I have scene some great men, blemish the reputation of their religion, by shewing themselves religious beyond the example of men of their qualitie. I love temperate and indifferent natures. Immoderation towards good, if it offend me not, it amazeth, and troubleth me how I should call it. Neither *Panjanas* his mother, who gave the first instruction, and for her sonnes death brought the first stone: Nor *Posthumus* the Dictator, that brought his owne soune to his end, whom the heat and forwardnesse



wardnesse of youth, had haply before his ranke made to charge his enemies, seeme so iust as strange unto me. And neither love to perswade or follow so savage and so deare a vertue. The Archer that overshoots his marke, doth no otherwise than he that shooteth short. Mine eies trouble me as much in climbing up toward a great light, as to goe downe in the darke. *Calicles* in *Plato* saith, *The extremitie of Philosophy to bee hurtfull: and perswades no man to wade further into it, than the bounds of profit: And that taken with moderation, it is pleasant and commodious, but in the end it makes a man wilde and vicious, disordered full of religion and of common lawes: an enemy of civill conversation: a foe to humane sensuality, and worldly pleasures: incapable of all politike administration; and unfit to assist others or to helpe himselfe: apt to be without revenge buffeted, and bafflea.* He saith true: for in her excessie, she enthralleth our naturall libertie, and by an importunate wile, diverts us from the faire and plaine path, which nature traceth out for us. The love we beare to women, is very lawfull; yet doth Divinitie bridle and restraine the same. I remember to have read in *Saint Thomas*, in a place where he condemneth marriages of kinsfolkes in forbidden degrees, this one reason amongst others: that the love a man beareth to such a woman may be immoderate; for, if the wedlocke, or husband-like affection be found and perfect, as it ought to be, and also surcharged with that a man oweth to alliance and kindred, there is no doubt but that ferrethead may easily transport a husband beyond the bounds of reason. Those Sciences that direct the manners of men, as Divinitie and Philosophy, medleth with all things. There is no action so private and secret may be concealed from their knowledge and jurisdiction. Well doe they learne that search and censure their libertie. It is women communicate their parts as much as a man list to wantonize with them: but to phisicke them bashfulness forbids them. I will then in their behalfe teach husbands this, if there be any too much flesht upon them: which is, that the verie pleasures they have by the familiaritie of their wives, except moderately used; they are reprov'd: and not only in that, but in any other unlawfull subjects, a man may trespasse in licentiousnesse, and offend in excessie. Those shamelesse endearings, which the first heat suggests unto us in that sportfull delight, are not only undecently, but hurtfully employed towards our wives. Let them at least learne impudencie from another hand. They are ever broad-waking when wee need them. I have used no meanes but naturall and simple instruction. Marriage is a religious and devout bond: and that is the reason the pleasure a man hath of it, should be a moderate, staied and serious pleasure, and mixed with severitie, it ought to bee a voluptuousnesse somewhat circumspect and conscientious. And because it is the chiefe of generation, there are that make a question, whether it be lawfull to require them of copulation, as well when we have no hope of children, as when they are over-aged, or big with childe. *It is an homicide*, according to *Plato*. Certaine nations (and amongst others, the *Mahometane*) abhorre Conjunction with women great with childe. Many also with those that have their monethly disease. *Zenobia* received her husband but for one charge; which done, all the time of her conception, she let him goe at randon, and that past, she gave him leave to begin againe: a notable and generous example of marriage.

*Plato* borroweth the narration (of some needy and hunger-starven Poet) of this sport. That *Jupiter* one day gave his wife so hot a charge, impatient to stay till she came to bed, hee laid her along upon the floore, and by the vehemence of his pleasure forgot the urgent and weighty resolutions lately concluded upon with the other gods of his caelestiall court; boasting he found it as sweet at that time, as he had done, when first he spoiled her of her virginity, by stealth and unknowne to their parents. The Kings of *Persia*, called for their wives, when they went to any solemne feast, but when much drinking and wine began to heat them in good earnest, they sent them to their chambers, seeing they could no longer refrain, but must needs yeeld to sensuality, lest they should be partakers of their immoderate lust; and in their stead sent for other women, whom this duty of respect might not concerne. *All pleasures and gratifications are not well placed in all sorts of people.* *Epaminondas* had caused a dissolute young man to be imprisoned: *Pelopidas* intreated him, that for his sake he would set him at libertie, but he refused him, and yeelded to free him at the request of an harlot of his, which likewise sued for his enlargement; saying, *it was a gratification due unto a Courtizan, and not to a Captaine.* *Sophocles* being partner with *Pericles* in the Pretorship, seeing by chance a faire boy to passe by: *Oh what a beauteous boy goeth yonder!* said he to *Pericles*: *That*

speech



speech were more fitting another than a Pretor, answered Pericles, who ought not only to have chaste hands, but also unpolluted eies. *Ælius Verus* the Emperour, his wife complaining that he followed the love of other women, answered he did it for conscience sake. for so much as marriage was a name of honour, and dignity, and not of foolish and lascivious lust. And our Ecclesiasticall Historie, hath with honour preserved the memorie of that wife, which sued to be divorced from her husband, because she would not second and consent to his over-insolent and lewde embracements. To conclude, there is no voluptuousness so just, wherein excess and intemperance is not reprochfull unto us. But to speake in good sooth, is not a man a miserable creature? He is scarce come to his owne strength by his naturall condition, to taste one only compleate, entire and pure pleasure, but he laboreth by discourse to cut it off: he is not wretched enough, except by art and study he augment his miserie.

*Fortuna miseris auxilium arte vias.*

Fortunes unhappie ill,  
We amplifie by skill.

Proper. lib. 3. cl.  
6. 32.

Humane wisdom doth foolishly seeke to be ingenious in exercising her selfe to abate the number, and diminish the pleasure of sensualities, that pertaine to us: as it doth favorably and industriously in employing her devises, to paint and set a luster on evils, before our eies, and therewith to recreate our sense. Had I bene chiefe of a faction, I would have followed a more naturall course, which to say true, is both commodious and sacred, and should peradventure have made my selfe strong enough to limite the same. Although our spirituall and corporall Physicians: as by covenant agreed upon betweene them, finde no way of recovery, nor remedies for diseases of body and minde, but by torment, griefe and paine, watching, fasting, haire-shirts, farre and solitarie exile, perpetuall prison, rodde and other afflictions, have therefore bene invented: But so, that they be truly afflictions, and that there be some stinging sharpnesse in them: And that the successe be not as *Gallios* was, who having bene continued to the ile of *Lesbos*, newes came to *Rome*, that there he lived a merry life; and what the Senate had laid upon him for a punishment, redounded to his commodity: whereupon they agreed to revoke him home to his owne house and wife, strictly enjoying him to keepe the same, thereby to accommodate their punishment to his sense and feeling. For he to whom fasting should procure health and a merrie heart, or he to whom poison should be more healthy than meat, it would be no longer a wholesome receipt, no more than drugs in other medicines, are of no effect to him that takes them with appetite and pleasure. Bitternesse and difficultie are circumstances fitting their operation. That nature which should take *Reubarbe* as familiar, should no doubt corrupt the use of it; it must be a thing that hurts the stomacke, if it shal cure it: and here the common rule failes, that infirmities are cured by their contraries: for one ill cureth another. This impression hath some reference to this other so ancient, where some thinke they gratifie both heaven and earth by killing and massacring themselves, which was universally embraced in all religions. Even in our fathers age, *Amurath* at the taking of *Isthmus*, sacrificed six hundred young Græcians to his fathers soule: to the end their blood might serve as a propitiation to expiate the sinnes of the deceased. And in the new countries discovered in our daies yet uncorrupted, and virgins, in regard of ours, it is a custome well nigh received everie where. All their idoles are sprinkled with humane blood, not without divers examples of horrible crueltie. Some are burnt alive, and halfe roasted drawne from the fire, that so they may pull out their hearts and entrails; other some, yea women are sleade quicke, and with their yet-bleeding skins, they invest and cover others. And no lesse of examples of constant resolution. For these wretched sacrificable people, old men, women and children, some daies before, goe themselves begging their almes, for the offering of their sacrifice, and all of full glee, singing, and dancing with the rest, they present themselves to the slaughter. The Ambassadors of the Kings of *Mexico*, in declaring and magnifying the greatnesse of their Master to *Fernando Cortez*, after they had told him, that he had thirtie vassals, whereof each one was able to levie a hundred thousand combatants, and that he had his residence in the fairest and strongest Citie under heaven, added moreover, that he had fiftie thousand to sacrifice for every yeare: verily some affirme that they maintaine continuall warres with certaine mightie neighbouring Nations, not so much for the exercise and training of their youth, as that they may have store of prisoners taken in warre to supply their sacrifices. In another province, to welcome the said *Cortez* they



they sacrificed fiftie men at one clap. I will tell this one storie more : Some of those people having beene beaten by him, sent to know him, and to intreat him of friendship. The messengers presented him with three kinds of presents, in this manner : *Lord, if thou be a fierce God, that lov'st to feed on flesh and bloud, here are five slaves, eat them, and we will bring thee more: if thou be a gently mild God, here is incense and feathers; but if thou be a man, take these birds and fruits, that here we present and offer unto thee.*

## CHAP. XXX.

## Of the Caniballes.

AT what time King *Pirrhus* came into *Italie*, after he had survaid the marshalling of the Armie, which the Romans sent against him : *I wot not*, said he, *what barbarous men these are* (for so were the *Gracians* wont to call all strange nations) *but the disposition of this Armie, which I see, is nothing barbarous*. So said the *Gracians* of that which *Flaminus* sent into their countrie : And *Philip* viewing from a Tower the order and distribution of the Romane camp, in his kingdome under *Publius Sulpitius Galba*. Loe how a man ought to take heed, lest he over-weeningly follow vulgar opinions, which should be measured by the rule of reason, and not by the common report. I have had long time dwelling with me a man, who for the space often or twelve yeares had dwelt in that other world, which in our age was lately discovered in those parts where *Villegaignon* first landed, and surnamed *Antariske France*. This discoverie of so infinit and vast a countrie, seemeth worthy great consideration. I wot not whether I can warrant my selfe, that some other be not discovered hereafter, sithence so many worthy men, and better learned than we are, have so many ages beene deceived in this. I feare me our eyes be greater than our bellies, and that we have more curiositie than capacitie. We embrace all, but we fasten nothing but wind. *Plato* maketh *Solon* to report, that he had learn't of the Priests of the citie of *Sais* in *Egypt*, that whilom, and before the generall Deluge, there was a great Iland called *Atlantis*, situated at the mouth of the strait of *Gibraltar*, which contained more firme land than *Affrike* and *Asia* together. And that the Kings of that countrie, who did not only possesse that Iland, but had so farre entred into the maine land, that of the bredth of *Affrike*, they held as farre as *Egypt*; and of *Europes* length, as farre as *Tuscanie* : and that they undertooke to invade *Asia*, and to subdue all the nations that compassed the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulfes of *Mare-Magiore*, and to that end they traversed all *Spaine*, *France* and *Italie*, so farre as *Greece*, where the Athenians made head against them; but that a while after, both the Athenians themselves, and that great Iland, were swallowed up by the Deluge. It is verie likely this extreme ruine of waters wrought strange alterations in the habitations of the earth : as some hold that the Sea hath divided *Sicilie* from *Italie*,

Plat. Time.

Virg. Aen. lib. 3.  
414. 416.

*Hac loca vi quondam, & vasta convulsa ruina  
Diffiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus  
Vna foret.*

Men say, sometimes this land by that forsaken,  
And that by this, were split, and ruine-shaken,  
Whereas till then both lands as one were taken.

*Cypres* from *Soria*, the Iland of *Negroponte* from the maine land of *Beotia*, and in other places joyned lands that were sundred by the Sea, filling with mud and sand the chanelis betwene them.

Hor. art. Poet. 65

*sterilisque diu palus apraque remis  
Vicinas urbes alit, & grave semit aratrum.*

The fenne long barren, to be row'd in, now  
Both feeds the neighbour townes, and fees the plow.

But there is no great apparence, the said Iland should be the new world we have lately discovered; for, it well-nigh touched *Spaine*, and it were an incredible effect of inundation,



to have removed the same more than twelve hundred leagues, as we see it is. Besides, our moderne Navigations have now almost discovered, that it is not an Iland, but rather firme land, and a continent, with the East *Indias* on one side, and the countries lying under the two Poles on the other; from which if it be divided, it is with so narrow a strait, and interval that it no way deserveth to be named an Iland: For, it seemeth there are certaine motions in these vast bodies, some naturall, and other some febricitant, as well as in ours. When I consider the impression my river of *Dordogne* worketh in my time, toward the right shoare of her descent, and how much it hath gained in twentie yeares, and how many foundations of divers houses it hath overwhelmed and violently caried away; I confesse it to be an extraordinary agitation; for, should it alwaies keepe one course, or had it ever kept the same, the figure of the world had ere this bene overthrowne: But they are subject to changes and alterations. Sometimes they overflow and spread themselves on one side, sometimes on another; and other times they containe themselves in their naturall beds or chanelles. I speak not of sudden inundations, whereof we have great causes. In *Medoc* alongst the Sea-coast, my brother the Lord of *Asficks*, may see a towne of his build under the sands, which the Sea casteth up before it: The tops of some buildings are yet to be discerned. His Rents and Domaines have bene changed into barren pastures. The inhabitants thereabouts affirme, that foure yeares since, the Sea encroached so much upon them, that they have lost foure leagues of firme land: These sands are her severall owners. And we see great hillocks of gravel moving, which march half a league further, and then are on the firme land. The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in *Aristotle* (if at least that little booke of unheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the *Atlantike* Sea, without the strait of *Gibraltar*, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland; all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from all land, and that both they and others, allured by the goodness and fertility of the soile, went thither with their wives, children, and household, and there began to inhabit, and settle themselves. The Lords of *Carthage* seeing their countrie by little and little to be dispeopled, made a law and expresse inhibition, that upon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne estate. This narration of *Aristotle* hath no reference unto our new found countries. This servant I had, was a simple and rough-hewn fellow: a condition fit to yeeld a true testimonie. For, simple people may indeed marke more curiously, and observe things more exactly, but they may misse and glose them: and the better to perswade, and make their interpretations of more veriditie, they cannot chuse but somewhat alter the storie. They never represent things truly, but fashion and maske them according to the visage they saw them in; and to purchase credit to their judgement, and draw you on to beleieve them, they commonly adorne, enlarge, yea, and Hyperbolize the matter. Wherein is required either a most sincere Reporter, or a man so simple, that he may have no invention to build upon, and to give a true likeness unto false devices, and be not wedded to his owne will. Such a one was my man; who besides his owne report, hath many times shewed me divers Mariners, and Merchants, whom hee had knowne in that voyage. So am I pleased with his information, that I never enquire what Geinographers say of it. We had need of Topographers to make us particular narrations of the places they have bene in. For some of them, if they have the advantage of us, that they have bene in *Palestine*, will challenge a privilege, to tell us newes of all the world besides. I would have everie man write what he knowes, and no more: not only in that, but in all other subjects. For one may have particular knowledge of the nature of one river, and experience of the qualitie of one fountaine, that in other things knowes no more than another man: who nevertheless to publish this little scantling, will undertake to write of all the *Phisicks*. From which vice proceed divers great inconveniences. Now (to returne to my purpose) I finde (as farre as I have bene informed) there is nothing in that nation, that is either barbarous or savage, unless men call that barbarisme which is not common to them. As indeed, we have no other ayne of truth and reason, than the example and *Idea* of the opinions and customs of the countrie we live in. There is ever perfect religion, perfect policie, perfect and compleat use of all things. They are even savage, as we call those fruits wilde,



which nature of her selfe, and of her ordinarie progresse hath produced : whereas indeed, they are those which our selves have altered by our artificiall devices, and diverted from their common order, we should rather terme savage. In those are the true and most profitable vertues, and naturall properties most lively and vigorous, which in these we have bastardized, applying them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And if notwithstanding, in divers fruits of those countries that were never tilled, we shall finde, that in respect of ours they are most excellent, and as delicate unto our taste; there is no reason, art should gaine the point of honour of our great and puissant mother Nature. We have so much by our inventions surcharged the beauties and riches of her workes, that we have altogether overchoaked her: yet where ever her puritie shineth, she makes our vaine and frivolous enterprises wonderfully ashamed.

Propert. l. 1. el. 2.  
10.

*Et veniunt hedera sponte sua melius,  
Surgit & in solis formosior arbutus antris,  
Et volucres nulla dulcius arte canunt.*  
Ivies spring better of their owne accord,  
Unhanted plots much fairer trees afford.  
Birds by no art much sweeter notes record.

All our endeavour or wit, cannot so much as reach to represent the nest of the least bird-let, it's contexture, beautie, profit and use, no nor the web of a scely spider. *All things* (saith *Plato*) *are produced, either by nature, by fortune, or by art. The greatest and fairest by one or other of the two first, the least and imperfect by the last.* Those nations seeme therefore so barbarous unto me, because they have received very little fashion from humane wit, and are yet neere their originall naturalitie. The lawes of nature doe yet command them, which are but little bastardized by ours, And that with such puritie, as I am sometimes grieved the knowledge of it came no sooner to light, at what time there were men, that better than we could have judged of it. I am sorie, *Lycurgus* and *Plato* had it not: for me seemeth that what in those nations we see by experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures wherewith licentious Poesie hath proudly imbellished the golden age, and all her quaint inventions to faine a happy condition of man, but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. They could not imagine a genuitie so pure and simple, as we see it by experience; nor ever beleieve our societie might be maintained with so little art and humane combination. It is a nation, would I answer *Plato*, that hath no kinde of traffike, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superioritie; no use of service, of riches or of povertie; no contracts, no successions, no partitions, no occupation but idle; no respect of kinred, but common, no apparell but naturall, no manuring of lands, no use of wine, corne, or mettle. The very words that import lying, falshood, treason, dissimulations, covetousnes, envie, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of amongst them. How dissonant would hee finde his imaginarie common-wealth from this perfection?

*Hos natura modos primum dedit.*  
Nature at first uprise,  
These manners did devise.

Furthermore, they live in a country of so exceeding pleasant and temperate situation, that as my testimonies have told me, it is verie rare to see a sicke body amongst them; and they have further assured me, they never saw any man there, either shaking with the palsie, toothlesse, with eies dropping, or crooked and stooping through age. They are seated alongst the sea-coast, encompassed toward the land with huge and steepe mountaines, having betweene both, a hundred leagues or thereabout of open and champaigne ground. They have great abundance of fish and flesh, that have no resemblance at all with ours, and eat them without any sawces, or skill of Cookerie, but plaine boiled or broiled. The first man that brought a horse thither, although he had in many other voyages conversed with them, bred so great a horror in the land, that before they could take notice of him, they slew him with arrowes. Their buildings are very long, and able to containe two or three hundred soules, covered with barks of great trees, fastned in the ground at one end, enterlaced and joyned close together by the tops, after the manner of some of our Granges; the covering whereof hangs downe to the ground, and steadeth them as a flank. They have a kinde of wood so hard, that rying & cleaving the same, they make blades, swords, and grid-irons to broile their



their meat with. Their beds are of a kinde of cotten cloth, fastned to the house-roofe, as our ship-cabbanes: everie one hath his severall cowch; for the women lie from their husbands. They rise with the Sunne, and feed for all day, as soone as they are up: and make no more meales after that. They drinke not at meat, as *Suidas* reporteth of some other people of the East, which dranke after meales, but drinke many times a day, and are much given to pledge carowles. Their drinke is made of a certaine root, and of the colour of our Claret wines, which lasteth but two or three daies; they drinke it warme: It hath somewhat a sharpe taste, wholsome for the stomack, nothing heady, but laxative for such as are not used unto it, yet verie pleasing to such as are accustomed unto it. In stead of bread, they use a certaine white composition, like unto Corianders confected. I have eaten some, the taste wherof is somewhat sweet and wallowish. They spend the whole day in dancing. Their young men goe a hunting after wilde beasts with bowes and arrowes. Their women busie themselves therewith with warming of their drinke, which is their chiefest office. Some of their old men, in the morning before they goe to eating, preach in common to all the household, walking from one end of the house to the other, repeating one selfe-same sentence many times, till he have ended his turne (for their buildings are a hundred paces in length) he commends but two things unto his auditors, *First, valour against their enemies, then lovingnesse unto their wives.* They never misse (for their restraint) to put men in minde of this dutie, that it is their wives which keepe their drinke luke-warme and well-seasoned. The forme of their beds, cords, swords, blades, and wooden bracelets, wherewith they cover their hand wrists, when they fight, and great Canes open at one end, by the sound of which they keepe time and cadence in their dancing, are in many places to be seene, and namely in mine owne house. They are shaven all over, much more close and cleaner than wee are, with no other Razors than of wood or stone. They beleeeve their soules to be eternall, and those that have deserved well of their Gods, to be placed in that part of heaven where the Sunne riseth, and the cursed toward the West in opposition. They have certaine Prophets and Priests, which commonly abide in the mountaines, and very seldome shew themselves unto the people; but when they come downe, there is a great feast prepared, and a solemne assembly of manie townships together (each Grange as I have described maketh a village, and they are about a French league one from another.) The Prophet speakes to the people in publike, exhorting them to embrace vertue, and follow their dutie. All their morall discipline containeth but these two articles; first an undismayed resolution to warre, then an inviolable affection to their wives. Hee doth also Prognosticate of things to come, and what successe they shall hope for in their enterprises: hee either perswadeth or disswadeth them from warre; but if he chance to misse of his divination, and that it succeed otherwise than hee foretold them, if hee be taken, he is hewen in a thousand peeces, and condemned for a false Prophet. And therefore he that hath once misreckoned himselfe is never seene againe. Divination is the gift of God; the abusing whereof should be a punishable imposture. When the Divines amongst the Scythians had foretold an untruth, they were couched along upon hurdles full of heath or brushwood, drawne by oxen, and so manicled hand and foot, burned to death. Those which manage matters subject to the conduct of mans sufficiency, are excusable, although they shew the utmost of their skill. But those that gull and coniecatch us with the assurance of an extraordinarie facultie, and which is beyond our knowledge, ought to be double punished; first because they performe not the effect of their promise, then for the rashnesse of their imposture and unadvisednesse of their fraud. They warre against the nations, that lie beyond their mountaines, to which they go naked, having no other weapons than bowes, or wooden swords, sharpe at one end, as our broaches are. It is an admirable thing to see the constant resolution of their combats, which never end but by effusion of bloud and murther: for they know not what feare or rowts are. Every Victor brings home the head of the enemy he hath slaine as a Trophie of his victorie, and fastneth the same at the entrance of his dwelling place. After they have long time used and entreated their prisoners well, and with all commodities they can devise, he that is the Master of them; summoning a great assembly of his acquaintance; tieth a corde to one of the prisoners armes, by the end whereof he holds him fast, with some distance from him, for feare he might offend him, and giveth the other arme, bound in like manner, to the dearest friend he hath, and both in the presence of all the assembly kill him with swords: which done, they roast, and then eat him



him in common, and send some slices of him to such of their friends as are absent. It is not as some imagine, to nourish themselves with it, (as anciently the Scythians wont to doe,) but to represent an extreme, and inextinguishable revenge. Which we prove thus; some of them perceiving the Portugales, who had confederated themselves with their adversaries, to use another kinde of death, when they took them prisoners; which was, to burie them up to the middle, and against the upper part of the body to shoot arrowes, and then being almost dead, to hang them up; they supposed, that their people of the other world (as they who had sowed the knowledge of many vices amongst their neighbours, and were much more cunning in all kinds of evils and mischief than they) under-tooke not this manner of revenge without cause, and that consequently it was more smartfull, and cruell than theirs, and thereupon began to leave their old fashion to follow this. I am not sorie we note the barbarous horror of such an action, but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults we are so blinded in ours. I thinke there is more barbarisme in eating men alive, than to feed upon them being dead; to mangle by tortures and torments a body full of lively sense, to roast him in peeces, to make dogges and swine to gnaw and teare him in mammoeces (as wee have not only read, but seene very lately, yea and in our owne memorie, not amongst ancient enemies, but our neighbours and fellow-citizens; and which is worse, under pretence of pietie and religion) than to roast and eat him after he is dead. *Chrysippus* and *Zeno*, arch-pillers of the Stoicke sect, have supposed that it was no hurt at all, in time of need, and to what end soever, to make use of our carrion bodies, and to feed upon them, as did our forefathers, who being besieged by *Cesar* in the Citie of *Alexia*, resolved to sustaine the famine of the siege, with the bodies of old men, women, and other persons unserviceable and unfit to fight.

1476. fol. 15. 93.

*Vascones (fama est) alimentis talibus usi*

*Produxere animas.*

*Gascones (as fame reports)*

Liv'd with meats of such sorts.

And Physitians feare not, in all kinds of compositions availefull to our health, to make use of it, be it for outward or inward applications: But there was never any opinion found so unnaturall and immodest, that would excuse treason, treacherie, disloyaltie, tyrannie, cruelty, and such like, which are our ordinarie faults. We may then well call them barbarous, in regard of reasons rules, but not in respect of us that exceed them in all kinde of barbarisme. Their warres are noble and generous, and have as much excuse and beautie, as this humane infirmitie may admit: they ayme at nought so much, and have no other foundation amongst them, but the meere jealousie of vertue. They contend not for the gaining of new lands; for to this day they yet enjoy that naturall libertie and fruitfulness, which without labouring toyle, doth in such plenteous abundance furnish them with all necessary things, that they need not enlarge their limits. They are yet in that happy estate, as they desire no more, than what their naturall necessities direct them: whatsoever is beyond it, is to them superfluous. Those that are much about one age, doe generally enter-call one another brethren, and such as are younger, they call children, and the aged are esteemed as fathers to all the rest. These leave this full possession of goods in common, and without division to their heires, without other claime or title, but that which nature doth plainly impart unto all creatures, even as shee brings them into the world. If their neighbours chance to come over the mountaines to assaile or invade them, and that they get the victorie over them, the Victors conquest is glorie, and the advantage to be and remaine superior in valour and vertue: else have they nothing to doe with the goods and spoyles of the vanquished, and so returne into their countrie, where they neither want any necessarie thing, nor lacke this great portion, to know how to enjoy their condition happily, and are contented with what nature affoordeth them. So doe these when their turne commeth. They require no other ransom of their prisoners, but an acknowledgement and confession that they are vanquished. And in a whole age, a man shall not finde one, that doth not rather embrace death, than either by word or countenance remissely to yeeld one jot of an invincible courage. There is none seene that would not rather be slaine and devoured, than sue for life, or shew any feare: They use their prisoners with all libertie, that they may so much the more hold their lives deare and precious, and commonly entertaine them with threats of future death, with the torments they shall endure, with the preparations intended for that



that purpose, with mangling and slicing of their members, and with the feast that shall be kept at their charge. All which is done, to wrest some remitte, and exact some faint-yeelding speech of submission from them, or to possesse them with a desire to escape or run away; that so they may have the advantage to have danted and made them afraid, and to have forced their constancie. For certainly true victorie consisteth in that only point.

— *Victoria nulla est*

*Quam qua confessos animo quoque subjugat hostes.*

No conquest such, as to suppress

Foes hearts, the conquest to confesse.

*Clau. 6. conf.*  
*Hon. pam. 245.*

The Hungarians, a most warre-like nation, were whilome wont to pursue their prey no longer than they had forced their enemy to yeeld unto their mercie. For, having wrested this confession from him, they set him at libertie without offence or ranfome, except it were to make him sweare, never after to beare armes against them. Wee get many advantages of our enemies, that are but borrowed and not ours: It is the qualitie of portedly-rasall, and not of vertue, to have stronger armes, and sturdier legs: Disposition is a dead and corporall qualitie. It is a trick of fortune to make our enemy stoop, and to beare his eyes with the Sunnes-light: It is a pranke of skill and knowledge to be cunning in the art of fencing, and which may happen unto a base and worthlesse man. The reputation and worth of a man consisteth in his heart and will: therein consists true honour: Constancie is valour, not of armes and legs, but of minde and courage? it consisteth not in the spirit and courage of our horse, nor of our armes, but in ours. He that obstinately faileth in his courage, *Si succiderit, de genu pugnare*, If hee slip or fall, he fights upon his knee. He that in danger of imminent death, is no whit danted in his assurednesse; he that in yeelding up his ghost beholding his enemy with a scornfull and fierce looke, he is vanquished, not by us, but by fortune: he is slaine, but not conquered. The most valiant, are often the most unfortunate. So are there triumphant losses in envie of victories. Not those foure sister victories, the fairest that ever the Sunne beheld with his all-seeing eye, of *Salamis*, of *Platæa*, of *Micalæ*, and of *Sicilia*, durst ever dare to oppose all their glorie together, to the glorie of the King *Leonidas* his discomfiture and of his men, at the passage of *Thermopyla*: what man did ever run with so glorious an envie, or more ambitious desire to the goale of a combat, than Captaine *Ischolas* to an evident losse and overthrow? who so ingeniously or more politikelly did ever assure himselfe of his welfare, than he of his ruine? He was appointed to defend a certaine passage of *Peloponessus* against the *Arcadians*, which finding himselfe altogether unable to performe, seeing the nature of the place, and inequality of the forces, and resolving, that whatsoever should present it selfe unto his enemy, must necessarily be utterly defeated: On the other side, deeming it unworthy both his vertue and magnanimitie, and the Lacedemonian name, to faile or faint in his charge, betwene these two extremities he resolved upon a meane and indifferent course, which was this. The youngest and best disposed of his troupe, he reserved for the service and defence of their countrey, to which hee sent them backe; and with those whose losse was least, and who might best be spared, hee determined to maintaine that passage, and by their death to force the enemy, to purchase the entrance of it as deare as possibly he could; as indeed it followed. For being suddenly environed round by the *Arcadians*: After a great slaughter made of them, both himselfe and all his were put to the sword. Is any Trophy assigned for conquerours, that is not more duly due unto these conquered? A true conquest respecteth rather an undanted resolution, and honourable end, than a faire escape; and the honour of vertue doth more consist in combating than in bearing. But to returne to our historie, these prisoners, howsoever they are dealt withall, are so farre from yeelding, that contrariwise during two or three moneths that they are kept, they ever carry a cheerefull countenance, and urge their keepers to hasten their triall, they outrageously desie, and injure them. They upbraide them with their cowardlinesse, and with the number of battels, they have lost againe theirs. I have a song made by a prisoner, wherein is this clause, Let them boldly come altogether, and flocke in multitudes, to feed on him; for with him they shall feed upon their fathers, and grandfathers, that heretofore have served his body for food and nourishment: These muscles, (saith he) this flesh, and these veines, are your owne; fond men as you are, know you not that the substance of your forefathers limbes is yet tied unto ours? Taste them well, for in them



them shall you finde the relish of your owne flesh : An invention, that hath no shew of barbarisme, Those that paint them dying, and that represent this action, when they are put to execution, delineate the prisoners spitting in their executioners faces, and making mowes at them. Verily, so long as breath is in their body, they never cease to brave and defie them, both in speech and countenance. Surely, in respect of us these are very savage men : for either they must be so in good sooth, or we must be so indeed : There is a wondrous distance betwene their forme and ours. Their men have many wives, and by how much more they are reputed valiant, so much the greater is their number. The manner and beautie in their marriages is wondrous strange and remarkable : For, the same jealousie our wives have to keepe us from the love and affection of other women, the same have theirs to procure it. Being more carefull for their husbands honour and content, than of any thing else: They endeavour and apply all their industrie, to have as many rivals as possibly, they can, forasmuch as it is a testimonie of their husbands vertue. Our women would count it a wonder, but it is not so : It is vertue properly Matrimoniall ; but of the highest kinde. And in the Bible, *Lea*, *Rachell*, *Sara*, and *Jacobs* wives, brought their fairest maiden servants unto their husbands beds. And *Livia* seconded the lustfull appetites of *Augustus* to her great prejudice. And *Stratonica* the wife of King *Dejotarus* did not only bring a most beauteous chamber-maide, that served her, to her husbands bed, but very carefully brought up the children he begot on her, and by all possible meanes aided and furthered them to succeed in their fathers roialtie. And least a man should thinke, that all this is done by a simple, and servile, or awefull dutie unto their custome, and by the impression of their ancient customes authoritie, without discourse or judgement, and because they are so blockish, and dull spirited, that they can take no other resolution, it is not amisse, wee alleage some evidence of their sufficiencie. Besides what I have said of one of their warlike songs, I have another amorous canzonet, which beginneth in this sence : *Adder stay, stay good adder, that my sister may by the patterne of thy partie-coloured coat drawe the fashion and worke of a rich lace, for me to give unto my love ; so may thy beautie, thy nimblenesse or disposition be ever preferred before all other serpents.* The first couplet is the burthen of the song. I am so conversant with Poesie, that I may judge, this invention hath no barbarisme at all in it, but is altogether Anacreontike. Their language is a kinde of pleasant speech, and hath a pleasing sound, and some affinitie with the Greeke terminations. Three of that nation, ignorant how deare the knowledge of our corruptions will one day cost their repose, securitie, and happinesse, and how their ruine shall proceed from this commerce, which I imagine is already well advanced, (miserable as they are to have suffered themselves to be so coloned by a desire of new-fangled novelties, and to have quit the calmnesse of their climate, to come and see ours) were at *Roane* in the time of our late King *Charles* the ninth, who talked with them a great while. They were shewed our fashions, our pompe, and the forme of a faire Citie ; afterward some demanded their advise, and would needs know of them what things of more and admirable they had observed amongst us : they answered three things, the last of which I have forgotten, and am very sorie for it, the other two I yet remember. They said, *First, they found it very strange, that so many tall*  
*men with long beards, strong and well armed, as were about the Kings person (it is very likely*  
*they meant the Switzers of his guard) would submit themselves to obey a beardless childe,*  
*and that we did not rather chuse one amongst them to command the rest.* Secondly (they have  
a manner of phraze whereby they call men but a moytie one of another.) *They had perceived,*  
*there were men amongst us full gorged with all sortes of commodities, and others which*  
*hunger-starved, and bare with need and povertie, begged at their gates : and found it strange,*  
*these moyties so needy could endure such an injustice, and that theyooke not the others by the*  
*throte, or set fire on their houses.* I talked a good while with one of them, but I had so bad an  
interpreter, and who did so ill apprehend my meaning, and who through his foolishnesse  
was so troubled to conceive my imaginations, that I could draw no great matter from him.  
Touching that point, wherein I demanded of him, what good he received by the superio-  
ritie he had amongst his countriemen ( for he was a Captaine and our Marriners called him  
King) he told me, it was to march formost in any charge of warre : further, I asked him, how  
many men did follow him, hee shewed me a distance of place, to signifie they were as many  
as might be contained in so much ground, which I guessed to be about 4. or 5. thousand  
men : moreover I demanded, if when warres were ended, all his authoritie expired ; he an-  
swered,



answered, that hee had only this left him, which was, that when he went on progresse, and visited the villages depending of him, the inhabitants prepared paths and high-waies athwart the hedges of their woods, for him to passe through at ease. All that is not verie ill; but what of that? They weare no kinde of breeches nor hose.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*That a man ought soberly to meddle with judging of  
divine lawes.*

Things unknowne are the true scope of imposture, and subject of Legerdemaine: forasmuch as strange esse it selfe doth first give credit unto matters, and not being subject to our ordinarie discourses, they deprive us of meanes to withstand them. To this purpose, said *Plato*, it is an easie matter to please, speaking of the nature of the Gods, than of mens: For the Auditors ignorance lends a faire and large carriere, and free libertie, to the handling of secret hidden matters. Whence it followeth, that nothing is so firmly beleaved, as that which a man knoweth least; nor are there people more assured in their reports, than such as tell us fables, as Alchumists, Prognosticators, Fortune-tellers, Palmesters, Physitians, *id genus omne, and such like*. To which, if I durst, I would joyne a rable of men, that are ordinarie interpreters and controulers of Gods secret designs, presuming to finde out the causes of every accident, and to pry into the secrets of Gods divine will, the incomprehensible motives of his works. And howbeit, the continuall varietie and discordance of events drive them from one corner to another, and from East to West, they will not leave to follow their bowle, and with one small penill drawe both white and blacke. There is this commendable observance in a certaine Indian nation, who if they chance to be discomfited in any skirmish or battel, they publickly beg pardon of the Sunne, who is their God, as for an unjust action, referring their good or ill fortune to divine reason, submitting their judgement and discourses unto it. It sufficeth a Christian to beleave, that all things come from God, to receive them from his divine and inscrutable wisdom with thanksgiving, and in what manner soever they are sent him, to take them in good part. But I utterly disallow a common custome amongst us, which is to ground and establish our religion upon the prosperitie of our enterprises. Our beleefe hath other sufficient foundations, and need not be authorized by events. For the people accustomed to these plausible arguments, and agreeing with his taste, when events fort contrarie and disadvantageous to their expectation, they are in hazard to waver in their faith: As in the civil warres, wherein we are now for religions sake, those which got the advantage, at the conflict of *Rochelabeille*, making great joy and bone-fires for that accident, and using that fortune, as an assured approbation of their faction: when afterward they come to excuse their disaster of *Mont-contour* and *Larnac*, which are scourges and fatherly chastisements: if they have not a people wholly at their mercy, they will easily make him perceive, what it is to take two kinds of come out of one sacke: and from one and the same mouth to blow both hot & cold. It were better to entertaine it with the true foundations of veritie. It was a notable Sea-battel, which was lately gained against the Turkes, under the conduct of *Don John of Austria*. But it hath pleased God to make us at other times both see and feele other such, to our no small losse and detriment. To conclude, it is no easie matter to reduce divine things unto our ballance, so they suffer no impeachment: And he that would yeeld a reason, why *Arrius* and *Leo* his Pope, chiefe Principals, and maine supporters of this heresie, died both at severall times, of so semblable and so strange deaths (for being forced through a violent belly-ach to goe from their disputations to their close-stoole, both suddenly yeelded up their ghosts on them) and exaggerate that divine vengeance by the circumstance of the place, might also adde the death of *Heliogabalus* unto it, who likewise was slaine upon a privie. But what? *Ireneus* is found to be engaged in like fortune: Gods intent being to teach us, that the good have some thing else to hope for, and the wicked somewhat else to feare, than the good



or bad fortune of this world: He manageth and applieth them according to his secret disposition: and depriveth us of the meanes, thereby foolishly to make our profit. And those, that according to humane reason will thereby prevaile, doe but mocke themselves. They never give one touch of it, that they receive not two for it. *S. Augustine* giveth a notable triall of it upon his adversaries. It is a conflict, no more decided by the armes of memorie, than by the weapons of reason. A man should be satisfied with the light, which it pleaseth the Sunne to communicate unto us by vertue of his beames; and he that shall lift up his eies to take a greater within his body, let him not thinke it strange, if for a reward of his over-weening and arrogancie he loseth his sight. *Quis hominum potest scire consilium Dei? aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit dominus? Who amongst men can know Gods counsell, or who can thinke what God will doe?*

Wise 9. 13.

“ vit cogitare, quid velit dominus? Who amongst men can know Gods counsell, or who can thinke  
“ what God will doe?

## CHAP. XXXII.

### To avoid voluptuousnesse in regard of life.

I Have noted the greatest part of ancient opinions to agree in this: That *when our life affords more evill than good, it is then time to die: and to preserve our life to our torment and incommoditie, is to spurre and shooke the very rules of nature: as say the old rules.*

Enchiridion, Grac. 8.

ἢ ζῆν ἀλύτως, ἢ θάνατον ἐν δαμνύματι.

Or live without distresse,

Or die with happinesse.

16.

Καὶ ὅτι θάνατον οἷς ὕβρει τοῦ ζῆν φέρει.

Tis good for them to die,

Whom life brings infamie.

Soph. Soph. 118.

Κρεῖσσον τὸ μὴ ζῆν ἔσθιν, ἢ ζῆν ἀθλῆσιν.

Tis better not to live,

Than wretchedly not thrive.

But to drive off the contempt of death to such a degree, as to imploy it to distract, and remove himselfe from honours, riches, greatnesse, and other goods and favours, which wee call the goods of fortune: as if reason had not enough to doe, to perswade us to forgoe and leave them, without adding this new surcharge unto it, I had neither seene the same commanded nor practised untill such time as one place of *Seneca* came to my hands, wherein counselling *Lucilius* (a man mightie and in great authoritie about the Emperour) to change this voluptuous and pompous life, and to withdraw himselfe from this ambition of the world, to some solitarie, quiet and philosophicall life: about which *Lucilius* alleaged some difficulties: *My advice is* (saith he) *that either thou leave and quit that life, or thy life altogether: But I perswade thee to follow the gentler way, and rather to untie than breake what thou hast so ill knitt: alwaies provided thou breake it, if thou canst not otherwise untie the same.* There is no man so base minded, that loveth not rather to fall once, than ever to remaine in feare of falling. I should have deemed this counsell agreeing with the Stoickes rudenes: But it is more strange it should be borrowed of *Epicurus*, who to that purpose writeth this consonant unto *Idomeneus*. Yet thinke I to have noted some such like thing amongst our owne people, but with Christian moderation. *Saint Hilarie* Bishop of *Poitiers*, a famous enemy of the *Arrian* heresie, being in *Syria*, was advertised that *Abra* his only daughter whom hee had left at home with her mother, was by the greatest Lords of the countrie solicited and sued unto for marriage, as a damosell very well brought up, faire, rich, and in the prime of her age: he writ unto her (as we see) that she should remove her affections, from all the pleasures and advantages might be presented her: for, in his voyage he had found a greater and worthier match or husband of far higher power and magnificence, who should present and endow her with robes and jewels of unvaluable price. His purpose was to make her lose the appetite and use of worldly pleasures, and wholly to wed her unto God. To which, deeming his daughters death, the shortest and most assured way, he never ceased by vowes, prayers, and



and orisons, humbly to beseech God to take her out of this world, and to call her to his mercie, as it came to passe; for shee deceased soone after his returne: whereof he shewed manifest tokens of singular gladnesse. This man seemeth to endeere himselfe above others, in that at first sight he addresseth himselfe to this meane, which they never embrace but subsidiarily, and sithence it is towards his only daughter. But I will omit the successe of this storie, although it be not to my purpose. Saint *Hilaries* wife, having understood by him, how her daughters death succeeded with his intent and will, and how much more happy it was for her to be dislodged from out this world, than still to abide therein, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternall and heavenly blessednesse, that with importunate instancie she solicited her husband, to doe as much for her. And God, at their earnest entreatie, and joynt-common prayers, having soone after taken her unto himselfe: it was a death embraced with singular and mutuall contentment to both.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

*That fortune is oftentimes met withall in pursuit of reason.*

**T**He inconstancie of Fortunes diverse wavering, is the cause shee should present us with all sorts of visages. Is there any action of justice more manifest than this? *Cesar Borgia* Duke of *Valentinois*, having resolved to poison *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornetto*, with whom Pope *Alexander* the sixth, his father and he were to sup that night in *Vaticane*, sent certaine bottles of empoyned wine before, and gave his Butler great charge to have a speciall care of it. The Pope comming thither before his sonne, and calling for some drinke; the butler supposing the Wine had beene so carefully commended unto him for the goodnesse of it, immediately presented some unto the Pope, who whilest he was drinking, his sonne came in and never imagining his bottles had beene toucht, tooke the cup and pledged his father, so that the Pope died presently; and the sonne, after he had long time beene tormented with sicknesse, recovered to another worse fortune. It sometimes seemeth, that when we least think on her, shee is pleased to sport with us. The Lord of *Estree*, then guidon to the Lord of *Vandosme*, and the Lord of *Liques*, Lievtenant to the Duke of *Ascor*, both servants to the Lord of *Foungueselles* sister, albeit of contrarie factions (as it hapneth among neighbouring borderers) the Lord of *Liques* got her to wife: But even upon his wedding day, and which is worse, before his going to bed, the bridegroome desiring to breake a staffe in favour of his new Bride and Mistris, went out to skirmish neere to Saint *Omer*, where the Lord of *Estree* being the stronger tooke him prisoner, and to endear his advantage, the Lady her selfe was faine,

*Conjugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum,  
Quam veniens una atque altera rursus hyems  
Noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem,  
Her new seeres necke for't was she to forgoe,  
Ere winters one and two returning floe,  
In long nights had ful-fil'd  
Her love so eager wil'd.*

*Caule. 4. 81.*

in courtesie, to sue unto him for the deliverie of his prisoner, which he granted; the French Nobilitie never refusing Ladies any kindnesse. Seemeth she not to be a right artist? *Constantine* the sonne of *Helen* founded the Empire of *Constantinople*, and so, many ages after, *Constantine* the sonne of *Heleu* ended the same. She is sometimes pleased to envie our miracles: we hold an opinion, that King *Clovis* besieging *Angoulesme*, the wals by a divine favour fell of themselves. And *Bouchet* borroweth of some author, that King *Robert* beleagring a Citie, and having secretly stolne away from the siege to *Orleans*, there to solemnize the feasts of Saint *Aignan*, as he was in his earnest devotion, upon a certaine passage of the Masse, the walles of the towne besieged, without any batterie, fell flat to the ground. She did altogether contrarie in our warres of *Millane*: For, Captaine *Rense*, beleagring the Citie of



*Eronna* for us, and having caused a forcible mine to be wrought under a great curtine of the walles, by force whereof, it being violently flowne up from out the ground, did not withstanding, whole and unbroken, fall so right into his foundation againe, that the besieged found no inconvenience at all by it. She sometimes playeth the Physitian. *Iason Pheretus* being utterly forsaken of all Physitians, by reason of an impostume he had in his breast, and desirous to be rid of it, though it were by death, as one of the forlorne hope, rusht into a battel amongst the thickest throng of his enemies, where he was so rightly wounded acrosse the body, that his impostume brake, and he was cured. Did shee not exceed the Painter *Protagoras* in the skill of his trade? who having perfected the image of a wearie and panting dog, and in all parts over-tired, to his content, but being unable, as he desired, lively to represent the drivel or flaver of his mouth, vexed against his owne worke, took his sponge, and moist as it was with divers colours, threw it at the picture, with purpose to blot and deface all hee had done: fortune did so fitly and rightly carrie the same toward the dogs chaps, that there it perfectly finished, what his art could never attaine unto. Doth shee not sometimes addresse and correct our counsels? *Isabell* Queene of *England*, being to repulse from *Zeland* into her Kingdome with an armie, in favour of her sonne against her husband, had utterly beene cast away, had she come unto the Port intended, being there expected by her enemies: But fortune against her will, brought her to another place, where shee safely landed. And that ancient fellow, who hurling a stone at a dog, mist him, and therewithall hit and slew his stepdame, had she not reason to pronounce this verse,

Ταυτήματις ἡμῶν ἔγγιστος βλάπτει.

Chance of it selfe, than wee,

Doth better say and see?

Fortune hath better advice than wee. *Icetes* had practised and suborned two souldiers to kill *Timoleon*, then residing at *Adrane* in *Sicily*. They appointed a time to doe, as he should be assisting at some sacrifice; and scattering themselves amongst the multitude, as they were winking one upon another, to shew how they had a verie fit opportunitie to doe the deed: Loe here a third man, that with a huge blow of a sword, striketh one of them over the head, and fells him dead to the ground and so runs away. His fellow supposing himselfe discovered and undone, runsto the altar, suing for sanctuarie, with promise to confesse the truth; Even as he was declaring the conspiracie, behold the third man, who had likewise beene taken, whom as a murderer the people tugged and haled through the throng toward *Timoleon* and the chieft of the assembly, where he humbly calleth for mercy, alleaging that he had justly murdered the murderer of his father, whom his good chance was to finde there, averring by good witnesses, before them all, that in the Citie of the *Leontines*, his father had beene proditoriously slaine by him, on whom he had now revenged himselfe. In meede whereof, because he had beene so fortunate (in seeking to right his fathers untimely death) to save the common father of the *Sicilians* from so imminent a changer, he had ten Attike mines awarded him. This fortune in her directions exceedeth all the rules of humane wisdom. But to conclude, is not an expresse application of her favour, goodnesse, and singular pietie manifestly discovered in this action? *Ignatius* the Father and the Sonne, both banished by proscription by the *Triumvirs* of *Rome*, resolved on this generous act, to yeeld their lives one into anothers hands, and thereby frustrate the Tyrants cruelty. They furiously with their keene rapiers drawne, ran one against another: Fortune so directed their points, that each received his mortall stroke; adding to the honour of feld-seene an amity, that they had just so much strength left them, to draw their armed and bloody hands from out their goared wounds, in that plight, so fast to embrace, and so hard to claspe one another, that the hangmen were forced, at one stroke, and together, to cut off both their heads; leaving their bodies for ever tied in so honourable a knot, and their wounds so joyned, that they lovingly drew and sucked each others blood, breath, and life.



## CHAP. XXXIV.

*Of a defect in our policies.*

**M**Y whilome-father, a man who had no helpe but from experience, and his owne nature, yet of an unspotted judgement, hath heretofore told me, that he much desired to bring in this custome, which is, that in all cities there should be a certaine appointed place, to which, whosoever should have need of any thing, might come and cause his businesse to be registred by some officer appointed for that purpose: As for example, if one have pearles to sell, he should say, I seeke to sell some pearles: and another, I seeke to buy some pearles: Such a man would faine have companie to travell to *Paris*; Such a one enquireth for a servant of this or that qualitie; Such a one seeketh for a Master; another a workman; Some this; some that; every man as he needed. And it seemeth that this meanes of enter-warning one another would bring no small commoditie unto common commerce and societie; For there are ever conditions that enter-seeke one another, and because they understand not one another, they leave men in great necessitie. I understand, to the infamous reproach of our age, that even in our sight, two most excellent men in knowledge, have miserably perished for want of food and other necessities: *Lilius Gregorius Giraldus* in *Italy*, and *Sebastianus Castilio* in *Germanie*: And I verily beleve there are many thousands, who had they knowne or understood their wants, would either have sent for them, and with large stipends entertained them, or would have conveyed them succour, where ever they had beene. The world is not so generally corrupted, but I know some, that would earnestly wish, and with hartie affections desire, the goods which their forefathers have left them, might, so long as it shall please fortune they may enjoy them, be employed for the reliefe of rare, and supply of excellent mens necessitie, and such as for any kind of worth and vertue are remarkable; many of which are daily seene to be pursued by ill fortune even to the utmost extremitie, and that would take such order for them, as had they not their ease and content, it might only be imputed to their want of reason or lacke of discretion. In this Oeconomick or household order my father had this order, which I can commend, but no way follow: which was, that besides the day-booke of household affaires, wherein are registred at least expences, paiments, gifts, bargains and sales, that require not a Notaries hand to them, which booke a receiver had the keeping of: he appointed another journall-booke to one of his servants, who was his clerke, wherein he should insert and orderly set downe all accidents worthy the noting, and day by day register the memories of the historie of his house: A thing very pleasant to read, when time began to weare out the remembrance of them, and fit for us to passe the time withall, and to resolve some doubts: when such a worke was begun, when ended, what way or course was taken, what accidents hapned, how long it continued; all our voyages, where, & how long we were from home; our marriages, who died, and when; the receiving of good or bad tidings, who came, who went, changing or removing of household officers, taking of new, or discharging of old servants, and such like matters. An ancient custome, and which I would have all men use and bring into fashion againe in their severall homes: and I repent my selfe, I have so foolishly neglected the same.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Of the use of Apparell.*

**W**Hatsoever I ayme at, I must needs force some of customes contradictions, so carefully hath she barred all our entrances. I was devising in this chill-cold season, when



ther the fashion of these late discovered Nations to go naked, be a custome forced by the hot temperature of the ayre, as we say of the Indians and Moores, or whether it be an originall manner of mankind. Men of understanding, foras much as whatsoever is contained under heaven (as saith the holy Writ) is subject to the same lawes, are wont in such like considerations, where naturall lawes are to be distinguished from those invented by man, to have recourse to the generall policie of the world, where nothing that is counterfet can be admitted. Now all things being exactly furnished elsewhence with all necessaries to maintaine this being, it is not to be imagined that we alone should be produced in a defective and indigent estate, yea, and in such a one, as cannot be maintained without forraign helpe. My opinion is, that even as all plants, trees, living creatures, and whatsoever hath life, is naturally seene furnished with sufficient furniture to defend it selfe from the injurie of all wethers:

*Lut. libr. 4. 932.*

*Propter eaque feri res omnes, aut corio sunt,  
Aut seta, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice tecta.  
Therefore all things almost we cover'd make,  
With hide, or haire, or shels, or brawne, or barke.*

Even so were we: But as those who by an artificiall light extinguish the brightnesse of the day, we have quenched our proper meanes, by such as wee have borrowed. And wee may easily discern, that only custome makes that seeme impossible unto us, which is not so: For of those nations that have no knowledge of cloaths, some are found situated under the same heaven, and climate, or paralell, that we are in, and more cold and sharper than ours. Moreover, the tenderest parts of us are ever bare and naked, as our eyes, face, mouth, nose, and eares; and our countrie-swaines (as our forefathers wont) most of them at this day goe bare-breasted downe to the navill. Had we bene borne needing petti-coats and breeches, there is no doubt, but nature would have armed that which she hath left to the batterie of seasons, and furie of wethers, with some thicker skin or hide, as shee hath done our fingers ends, and the soales of our feet. Why seemest this hard to be believed? Betweene my fashion of appa-  
 “How many men (especially in *Turkie*,) go ever naked for devotions sake? A certaine man  
 “demanded of one of our loytring rogues, whom in the deep of frosty Winter, he saw wan-  
 “dring up and downe with nothing but his shirt about him, and yet as blithe and lusty as an  
 “other that keepes himselfe muffled and wrapt in warme furies up to the eares; how he could  
 “have patience to go so. And have not you, good Sir, (answered he) your face all bare? Imagine  
 “I am all face. The Italians report (as far as I remember) of the Duke of *Florence* his foole,  
 “who when his Lord asked him, how being so ill clad, he could endure the cold, which he  
 “hardly was able to doe himselfe; To whom the foole replied; Master, use but my receipt,  
 “and put all the cloaths you have upon you, as I doe all mine; you shall feele no more cold than I  
 “doe. King *Massinissa*, even in his eldest daies, were it never so cold, so frosty, so stormie, or  
 “sharpe wether, could never be induced, to put something on his head, but went alwaies bare-  
 “headed. The like is reported of the Emperor *Severus*. In the battels that past betweene the  
 “Egyptians, and the Persians, *Herodotus* saith, that both himselfe and divers others tooke  
 “speciall notice, that of such as lay flaine on the ground, the Egyptians sculs were without  
 “comparison much harder than the Persians: by reason that these go ever with their heads  
 “covered with coifs and turbants, and those from their infancie ever shaven and bare-headed.  
 “And King *Agessilaus*, even in his decrepit age, was ever wont to weare his cloaths both  
 “Winter and Summer alike. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Cesar* did ever march for most before  
 “his troupes, and most commonly bare-headed, and on foot, whether the sunne shone, or it  
 “rained. The like is reported of *Hannibal*,

*Syl. Ital. 250.*

*— cum vertice nudo,  
Excipere insanos imbres, cœlique ruinam.  
Bare-headed then he did endure,  
Heav'ns ruine and mad-raging showre.*

A Venetian that hath long dwelt amongst them, and who is but lately returned thence, writeth, that in the Kingdome of *Pegn*, both men and women, having all other parts clad, goe ever bare-footed, yea, and on horse-backe also. And *Plato* for the better health and pre-  
 ser-



servation of the body doth earnestly perswade, that no man should ever give the feet and the head other cover, than Nature hath allotted them. He whom the Polonians chuse for their King next to ours, who may worthily be esteemed one of the greatest Princes of our age, doth never weare gloves, nor what wether soever it be, winter or summer, other bonnet a-broad than in the warme house. As I cannot endure to goe unbuttoned or untrussed, so the husband-men neighbouring about me, would be, and feele themselves as fettered or hand-bound, with going so. *Karro* is of opinion, that when we were appointed to stand bare headed before the gods, or in presence of the Magistrates, it was rather done for our health, and to enure and arme us against injuries of the wether, than in respect of reverence. And since we are speaking of cold, and are French-men, accustomed so strangely to array our selves in party-coloured sutes (not I, because I seldome weare any other then blacke or white, in imitation of my father) let us adde this one thing more, which Captaine *Martyn du Bellay* relateth in the voyage of *Luxemburg*, where hee saith to have seene so hard frosts, that their munition-wines were faine to be cut and broken with hatchets and wedges, and shared unto the Souldiers by weight, which they caried away in baskets; and *Ovid*.

*Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testa*

*Vina, nec hausta meri, sed data frustra bibunt.*

Bare wines, still keeping forme of caske, stand fast,  
Not gulps, but gobbets of their wine they taste.

*Ovid. Trist. l. 3.  
el. 19. 23.*

The frosts are so hard and sharpe in the emboguing of the Meotisfennes, that in the very place where *Mybridates* Lieutenant had delivered a battel to his enemies, on hard ground, and drie-footed, and there defeated them; the next summer, he there obtained another sea-battel against them. The Romanes suffered a great disadvantage in the fight they had with the Carthaginians neere unto *Placentia*, for so much as they went to their charge with their bloud congealed, and limbes benumbed, through extreme cold: whereas *Hanniball* had caused many fires to be made through-out his campe, to warme his souldiers by, and a quantitie of oile to be distributed amongst them, that therewith anointing themselves, they might make their sinewes more supple and nimble, and harden their pores against the bitter blasts of cold wind, which then blew, and nipping piercing of the ayre. The Grecians retreat from *Babylon* into their countrie, is renowned, by reason of the many difficulties and encombrances they encountered withall, and were to surmount: whereof this was one, that in the mountaines of *Armenia*, being surprised and encircled with so horrible and great quantitie of snow, that they lost both the knowledge of the countrie, and the wayes: wherewith they were so straitly beset, that they continued a day and a night without eating or drinking; and most of their horses and cattell died: of their men a great number also deceased; many with the glittering and whitenesse of the snow, were stricken blinde: divers through the extremitie were lamed, and their limbes shrunk up, many starke stiffe, and frozen with colde, although their senses were yet whole. *Alexander* saw a nation, where in winter they burie their fruit-bearing trees under the ground, to defend them from the frost: a thing also used amongst some of our neighbours. Touching the subject of apparell: the King of *Mexico* was wont to change and shift his clothes foure times a day, and never wore them againe, employing his leavings and cast-sutes for his continuall liberalities and rewards; as also neither pot nor dish, nor any implement of his kitchin or table were twice brought before him.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

### Of Cato the younger.

I Am not possessed with this common errour, to judge of others according to what I am my selfe. I am easie to beleeve things differing from my selfe. Though I be engaged to one forme, I doe not tie the world unto it, as every man doth? And I beleeve and conceive a thousand manners of life, contrarie to the common sort: I more easily admit and receive dif-



ference, than resemblance in us. I discharge as much as a man will, another being of my conditions and principles, and simply consider of it in my selfe without relation, framing it upon it's owne modell. Though my selfe be not continent, yet doe I sincerely commend and allow the continencie of the Capuchins and Theatines, and highly praise their course of life. I doe by imagination insinuate my selfe into their place: and by how much more they bee other than my selfe, so much the more doe I love and honour them. I would gladly have every man judged apart, and not be drawne my selfe in consequence by others examples. My weaknesse doth no way alter the opinions I should have of the force and vigor of those that deserve it. *Sunt, qui nihil suadent, quam quod se imitari posse confidunt. There be such as advise to nothing, but what they trust themselves can imitate.* Crawling on the face of the earth, I cease not to marke, even into the clouds, the inimitable height of some heroicke minds. It is much for me to have a formall and prescript judgement, if the effects bee not so, and at least to maintaine the chiefe part exempted from corruption. It is something to have a good minde, when my forces faile me. The age we live in (at least our climate) is so dull and leaden, that not only the execution, but the very imagination of vertue is farre to seeke, and seemes to be no other thing than a College supposition, and a gibbish word.

Cic. Orat. ad Br.

Hor. ep. 6. l. 1. 31.

—virtutem verba putant, ut

Lucum ligna:

Vertue seemes words to these,

Astrees are wood, or woods are trees.

*Quam vereri deberent, etiam si percipere non possent. Which yet they should reverence, though they could not reach unto.* It is an eare-ring or pendent to hang in a cabinet, or at the tongues end, as well as at an eare for an ornament. There are no more vertuous actions knowne; those that beare a shew of vertue, have no essence of it: for profit, glorie, custome, feare, and other like strange causes direct us to produce them. Justice, valour, integritie, which we then exercise, may by others consideration, and by the countenance they publickly beare, be termed so: but with the true workman, it is no vertue at all. There is another end proposed; another efficient cause. Vertue alloweth of nothing, but what is done by her, and for her alone. In that great battell at Potidæa which the Grecians under *Pausanias* gained of *Mardonius* and the Persians, the victors following their custome, comming to share the glorie and prise of the victorie betwene them, ascribed the pre-excellencie of valor in that conflict to the *Spartane* nation. The Spartanes impartiall Judges of vertue, when they came to decide, to what particular man of their countrie, the honour to have done best in that day, should of right belong, they found that *Aristodemus* had most couragiously engaged and hazarded himselfe: Yet gave him not the prise of honour of it, because his vertue had beene therunto incited, by an earnest desire to purge himselfe from the reproch and infamie, which hee had incurred in the action at *Thermopyles*, and from all daring ambition to die couragiously, thereby to warrant his former imputation. Our judgements are yet sicke, and follow the depravations of our customes. I see the greatest part of our spirits to affect wit, and to shew themselves ingenious, by obscuring and detracting from the glorie of famous and generall ancient actions, giving them some base and malicious interpretation, fondly and enviously charging them with vaine causes, and frivolous occasions. A subtil invention no doubt. Let any man present me, with the most excellent and blamelesse action, and I will oppose it with fiftie vicious and bad intentions, all which shall carrie a face of likeli-hood. God knowes (to him that will extend them) what diversitie of images our internal will doth suffer: They doe not so maliciously as grosely and rudely endeavour to be ingenious with all their railing and detraction. The same paine a man taketh to detract from these noble and famous names, and the verie same libertie, would I as willingly take to lend them my shoulders to extoll and magnifie them. I would endeavour to charge these rare and choise figures, selected by the consent of wise men, for the world's example, as much, and as high, as my invention would give me leave with honour, in a plausible interpretation, and favourable circumstance. And a man must thinke, that the diligent labours of our invention, are farre beyond their merit. It is the part of honest minded men to pourtray vertue, as faire as possible faire may be. A thing which would no whit be mis-seeming or undecent, if passion should transport us to the favour and pursuit of so sacred formes, what these doe contrarie, they either doe it through malice or knaverie, with purpose to reduce and sute their beleefts to their capa-



capacitie, whereof I lately spake : or rather as I thinke, because their sight is not of sufficient power or clearnes, nor addrest to conceive or apprehend the farre-shining brightnes of vertue in naturall and genuine puritie : As *Plutarke* saith, that in his time, some imputed the cause of *Cato* the youngers death to the feare he had conceived of *Cesar* : whereat he hath some reason to be moved : by which a man may judge, how much more he would have beene offended with those that have ascribed the same unto ambition. Oh foolish people ! Hee would no doubt have performed a faire action, so generious and so just, rather with ignominie, than for glorie. This man was truly a patterne, whom nature chose to shew how farre humane vertue may reach, and mans constancie attaine unto. But my purpose is not here to treat this rich argument : I will only confront together the sayings of five Latin Poets upon *Catoes* commendations, and for the interest of *Cato*, and by incidencie for theirs also. Now ought a gentleman well-bred, in respect of others, finde the two former somewhat languishing. The third more vigorous, but suppressed by the extravagancie of force. He will judge there were yet place for one or two degrees of invention, to reach unto the fourth, in consideration of which he will through admiration joyne hands for the last (yet first in some degree and space, but which space he will sweare can by no humane spirit be filled up) he will be much amazed, he will be much amated. Loe here are wonders, we have more Poets than judges and interpreters of poesie. It is an easier matter to frame it, than to know it : Being base and humble, it may be judged by the precepts and art of it : But the good and loffie, the supreme and divine, is beyond rules, and above reason. Whosoever discerneth her beautie, with a constant, quicke-seeing, and settled looke, he can no more see and comprehend the same than the splendor of a lightning flash. It hath no communie with our judgement ; but ransacketh and ravisheth the same. The furie which pricketh and moves him that can penetrate her, doth also stricke and wound a third man, if he heare it either handled or recited, as the *Adamant stone* drawes, not only a needle, but infuseth some of her facultie in the same to draw others : And it is more apparently scene in theaters, that the sacred inspiration of the *Muses*, having first stirred up the Poet with a kinde of agitation unto choler, unto griefe, unto hatred, yea and beyond himselfe, whither and howsoever they please, doth also by the Poet strike and enter into the Actor, and consequently by the Actor, a whole audiorie or multitude. It is the ligament of our senses depending one of another. Even from my infancie, Poesie hath had the vertue to transpierce and transport me. But that lively and feeling-moving that is naturally in me, hath diversly beene handled, by the diversitie of formes, not so much higher or lower (for they were ever the highest in every kind) as different in colour. First a blithe and ingenious fluiditie, then a quaint-wittie, and loffie conceit. To conclude, a ripe and constant force. *Ovid*, *Lucan*, and *Virgil*, will better declare it. But here our Gallants are in their full carriere.

*Sic Cato dum vivit sanè vel Cesare major.*

Let *Cato Junior*, while he  
doth live, greater than *Cesar* be.

*Mart. lib. epig.*  
32. 5.

Saith one.

*Invictum de vieta morie Catonem :*  
*Cato* unconquered, death being vanquished.

*M. mil. astr. lib.*  
4. 87.

Saith another : And the third speaking of the civill warres betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*.

*Vidrix causa Diis placuit, sed vieta Catoni.*  
The cause that overcame with Gods was greater ;  
But the cause overcome pleased *Cato* better.

*Lucan. bel. civ.*  
lib. 1. 127.

And the fourth upon *Cesars* commendations :

*Et cuncta terrarum subacta ;*  
*Præter atrocem animum Catonis.*  
Of all the earth all parts inthrall'd,  
*Catoes* minde only unappall'd.

*Hor. l. 2. od. 1. 23*

And the harts-master, after he hath enstalled the names of the greatest Romanes in his picture, endeth thus :

*his dantem jura Catonem.*  
Chiefe justice *Cato* doe decree  
Lawes that for righteous soules should be

*V. Act. lib. 2.*  
670.

CHAP.



## CHAP. XXXVII.

*How we weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing.*

Plut. vit.  
Pyrrh. f.

**W**hen we read in Histories, that *Antigonus* was highly displeased with his sonne, at what time he presented unto him the head of King *Pirrhus* his enemy, slaine but a little before in fight against him; which he no sooner saw, but hee burst forth a weeping. And that *Renate* Duke of *Lorraine*, wept for the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie*, whom hee had erstwhiles discomfited, and was as an assistant mourner at his funeralls: And that in the battell of *Auroy* (which the Earle of *Monfort* had gained against the faction of *Charles de Blois*, for the Dutchy of *Britanie*) the victorious conqueror met with the body of his enemy deceased, mourned very grievously for him; a man must not suddenly exclaim.

*E cose avvien, che l'animo ciascuna  
Sua passion, sotto contrario manto  
Ricupre, con la vista hor chiara, hor bruna.  
So happens it, the minde covers each passion  
Under a cloake of colours opposite,  
To fight now cleare, now darke, in divers fashion.*

When *Caesar* was presented with *Pompey's* head, Histories report that he turn'd his looks aside, as from a ghastly and unpleasing spectacle. There hath beene so long a correspondencie and societie in the managing of publike affaires, mutually betweene them, such a communitie of fortunes, so many reciprocall offices and bonds of alliance, that a man cannot thinke his countenance to have beene forced, false, and wily, as this other supposeth.

Lucan. l. 9. 1040.

*Iam bonus esse focer, lacrymas non sponte cadentes  
Effudit gemensque expressit pectore lato.  
Now to be kinde indeed he did not doubt  
Father in law, teares, which came hardly out  
He shed, and grones exprest  
From inward pleased brest.*

For certainly, howbeit the greatest number of our actions bee but masked and painted over with dissimulation, and that it may sometimes be true;

Anl. Gell. noct.  
Att. li. 17. 624.

*Hæc dis fletus sub persona risus est.*  
The weeping of an heire, is laughing under a visard or disguise.

Yet must a man consider by judging of his accidents, how our mindes are often agitated by divers passions; For (as they say) there is a certaine assembly of divers humors in our bodies, whereof she is soveraigne mistris, who most ordinarily; according to our complexions doth command us: so in our minde, although it containe severall motions that agitate the same, yet must one chiefly be predominant. But it is not with so full an advantage, but for the volubilitie and suppleness of our minde, the weakest may by occasion reobtaine the place againe, and when their turne cometh, make a new charge, whence we see, not only children, who simply and naturally follow nature, often to weepe and laugh at one selfe-same thing; but none of us all can vaunt himselfe, what wished for, or pleasant voyage soever he undertake, but that taking leave of his family and friends, he shall feele a chilling and panning of the heart, and if he shed not teares, at least he puts his foot in the stirrop with a sad and heavie cheere. And what gentle flame soever doth warme the heart of young virgins, yet are they hardly drawne to leave and forgoe their mothers, to betake them to their husbands: what soever this good fellow say,

Caesul. eleg. 2. 15.

*Est ne novis nuptis odio Venus, anne parentum  
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrymulis  
Vberim thalami quas intra limina fundant  
Non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, juverint.*



Doe young Birds hate indeed fresh *Venus* toyes,  
 Or with false teares delude their parents joyes,  
 Which in their chambers they powre out amaine?  
 So helpe me God, they doe not true complaine.

”  
 ”  
 ”  
 ”

So is it not strange to mourne for him dead, whom a man by no meanes would have alive againe. When I chide my boy, I doe it with the best heart I have: They are true and not fained imprecations: but that fit past over, let him have need of me, I will gladly doe him all the good I can, and by and by I turne over another leafe. If I chance to call one knave or asse, my purpose is not for ever to enfeeble him with those nick-names; nor doe I thinke to say, thou liest, if immediately after I call him an honest man. No qualitie doth embrace us purely and universally. If it were not the countenance of a foole to speake alone, or to him selfe, there would scarce be day, or houre, wherein some body should not heare me mutter and grumble to my selfe, and against my selfe. A( ) in the fooles teeth, yet doe not I thinke it to be my definition. He that seeth me sometimes to cast a frowning looke upon my wife, or sometimes a loving countenance, and thinkes, that either of them is but fained, he is a foole. *Nero* taking leave of his mother, whom hee sent to be drowned, felt notwithstanding the emotion of that motherly farewell, and at one instant was stricken with horror and pittie. It is said, that the Sunnes-light is not of one continued peece, but that it so uncessantly, and without intermission doth cast so thicke new raies, one in the necke of another upon us, that wee cannot perceive the space betweene them.

*Largus enim liquidi-fons luminis atherem sol*

*Lucr. l. 1. 281.*

*Inrigat assidue calum candore recenti,*

*Suppeditatque novo confestim lumine lumen.*

Heav'ns Sunne the plenteous spring of liquid light

Still heav'n bedewes with splendor fresh and bright,

Still light supplies with light of fresher sight.

So doth our minde cast her points diversly and imperceptibly. *Artabannus* surprised *Xerxes* his nephew, and chid him for the sudden changing of his countenance. He was to consider the unmeasurable greatnesse of his forces at the passage of *Hellepont*, for the enterprise of *Greece*. First he was suddenly assailed by an excessive joy, to see so many thousands of men at his service, and witnessed the same by the alacritie and cheerefulness of his countenance: And immediately at that verie moment, his thoughts suggesting, how so many lives were to be consumed, and should come to nothing (at the furthest, within one age) he gan to frowne his browes, and grew so pensive, that he wept. We have with a resolute and inexorable minde pursued the revenge of an injurie, and felt a singular content for the victorie; yet upon better advice doe we weepe: it is not that we weepe for: the thing is as it was, there is nothing changed: But that our minde beholds the thing with another eie, and under an other shape it presents it selfe unto us. For every thing hath divers faces, sundry byases, and severall lustres. Alliance, kindred, old acquaintances, and long friendship seize on our imagination, and at that instant, passionate the same according to their qualitie, but the turne or change of it, is so violent, that it escapes us.

*Nil adeo fieri celeri ratione videtur,*

*L. 3. 183.*

*Quam si mens fieri proponit & inchoat ipsa.*

*Oculus ergo animus quam res se periet ulla,*

*Ante oculos quam in promptu natura videtur.*

Nothing in so quicke sort seemes to be done,

As minde set on a thing, and once begun,

The minde that swifter stirres before our eies,

Than any thing, whose forme we soone comprize.

And therefore, intending to continue one body of all this pursuit, we deceive our selves; When *Timoleon* weepeth the murther he hath perpetrated with so mature and generous a determination, he weepeth not for the libertie restored to his countrie, nor the tyrant, but he weepeth for his brother. One part of his dutie is acted, let us permit him to play the other.



## CHAP. XXXVIII.

## Of Solitarinesse.

Let us leave apart this outworne comparison, betweene a solitarie and an active life: And touching that goodly saying under which ambition and avarice shroud themselves; that we are not borne for our particular, but for the publike good: Let us boldly refer our selves to those that are engaged; and let them beat their conscience, if on the contrary, the states, the charges, and this trash of the world, are not rather sought and sued for to draw a private commoditie from the publike. The bad and indirect meanes wherethrough in our age men canvaſe and toyle to attaine the same, doe manifestly declare the end thereof to be of no great consequence. Let us answer ambition, that herselfe gives us the taste of solitarinesse. For what doth she shun so much as company? What seeketh shee more than elbow-rooms? There is no place, but there are meanes and waies to doe well or ill. Nevertheless if the saying of *Bias* be true; *That the worst part is the greatest*: Or that which *Ecclesiastes* saith, *That of a thousand there is not one good.*

Iuv. sat. 13. 16.

*Rari quippe boni numero vix sunt totidem, quot**Thebarum porta, vel divitis ostia Nilii:*

Good men are rare, so many scarce (I feare)

As gates of *Thebes*, mouths of rich *Nilus* were.

Contagion is very dangerous in a throng. A man must imitate the vicious, or hate them: both are dangerous: for to resemble them is perilous, because they are many, and to hate many is hazzardous, because they are dissemblable, and Merchants that travell by sea, have reason to take heed, that those which goe in the same ship, be not dissolute, blasphemers, and wicked, judging such company unfortunate. Therefore *Bias* said pleasantly to those, that together with him paſt the danger of a great storme, and called to the Gods for helpe: *Peace my masters, lest they should heare, that you are here with me.* And of a more militarie example, *Albuquerque*, Viceroy in *India* for *Emanuel* King of *Portugall*, in an extreme danger of a sea-tempest, tooke a young boy upon his shouldiers, for this only end, that in the common perill his innocencie might be his warrant, and recommending to Gods favour, to set him on shore: yet may a wise man live every where contented, yea and alone, in the throng of a Pallace: but if he may chuse, he will (saith he) *Avoid the sight of it.* If need require, he will endure the first: but if he may have his choice, he will chuse the latter. He thinks he hath not sufficiently rid himselfe from vices, if he must also contest with other mens faults. *Charondas* punished those for wicked, that were convicted to have frequented lewd companies. There is nothing so dissociable and sociable as man, the one for his vice, the other for his nature. And I think *Aristhenes* did not satisfie him that upbraided him with his conversation with the wicked, saying, *That Physicians live amongst the sicke.* Who if they stead sicke-mens healths, they empaire their owne, by the infection, continuall visiting, touching and frequenting of diseases. Now (as I suppose) the end is both one, thereby to live more at leisure, and better at ease. But man doth not alwaies seeke the best way to come unto it, who often supposeth to have quit affaires, when he hath but changed them. There is not much lesse vexation in the government of a private family, than in the managing of an entire state: wheresoever the minde is busied, there it is all. And though domesticall occupations be lesse important, they are as importunate. Moreover, though we have freed our selves from the court, and from the market, we are not free from the principall torments of our life.

Hor. lib. 1. ep. 11.  
35.— *rara & prudentia curas,**Non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert.*

Reason and wisdom may set cares aside,

Nor place the Arbiter of seas so wide.

Shift we, or change we places never so often, ambition, avarice, irresolution, feare and concupiscences never leave us.

Et



*Exposit equitem sedet atra cura.*

Care looking grim and blacke, doth sit  
Behinde his backe that rides from it;

*Ho. l. 3. od. 1. 39.*

They often follow us, even into immured cloisters, and into schooles of Philosophy; nor doe hollow rocks, nor wearing of haire-shirts, nor continuall fastings rid us from them.

*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*

The shaft that death implide  
Sticks by the flying side.

*Vir. Aen. l. 4. 73.*

It was told *Socrates*, that one was no whit amended by his travell: *I beleeve it well* (said he) *for he carried himselfe with him.*

*Quid terras alio calentes*

*Sole mutamus? patriâ quis exul*

*Se quoque fugit?*

Why change we soyles warm'd with another Sunne?

Who from whom banisht hath himselfe out-runne?

*Hor. li. 2. od. 16.  
18.*

If a man doe not first discharge both himselfe and his minde from the burthen that presseth her, removing from place to place will stirre and presse her the more; as in a ship, wares well stowed, and closely piled, take up least roome, you doe a sicke-man more hurt than good, to make him change place, you settle an evill in removing the same; as stakes or poles, the more they are stirred and shaken, the faster they sticke, and sinke deeper into the ground. Therefore is it not enough, for a man to have sequestred himselfe from the course of people: it is not sufficient to shift place, a man must also sever himselfe from the popular conditions, that are in us. A man must sequester and recover himselfe from himselfe.

*—rupi jam vincula, dicas,*

*Nam luctata canis nodum arripit, attamen illa*

*Cum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catena.*

You will say haply I my bonds have quit,

Why so the striving dog the knot hath bit;

Yet when he flies, much chaine doth follow it.

*Pers. sat. 5. 158.*

We carry our fetters with us: is it not an absolute libertie, we still cast backe our looks towards that we have left behinde: our minde doth still run on it; our fantasie is full of it.

*—nisi purgatum est pectus, qua praelia nobis*

*Atque pericula tunc ingravis insinandum?*

*Quanta conscindunt hominem cupidinis acres*

*Sollicitum cura, quanti que perinde timores?*

*Quidve superbia, spurcitia, ac perulancia, quantas*

*Efficiunt clades, quid luxus desidesque?*

Unlessse our breast be purg'd, what warres must wee

What perils then, though much displeased, see?

How great feares, how great cares of sharpe desire

Doe carefull man distract, torment, enfire?

Uncleanesse, wantonnesse, sloth, riot, pride,

How great calamities have these implide?

*L. nec. lib. 5. 44.*

Oursevill is rooted in our minde: and it cannot scape from it selfe.

*In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam,*

The minde in greatest fault must lie,

Which from it selfe can never flie,

*Hor. l. 1. ep. 24.  
13.*

Therefore must it be reduced and brought into it selfe: It is the true solitarinesse, and which may be enjoyed even in the frequencie of peopled Cities, and Kings courts: but it is more commodiously enjoyed apart. Now sithence wee undertake to live solitarie, and without companie, let us cause our contentment to depend of our selves: Let us shake off all bonds that tie us unto others: Gaine we that victorie over us, that in good earnest we may live solitarie, and therein live at our ease. *Stilphon* having escaped the combustion of his Citie, wherein he had lost, both wife, and children, and all his goods; *Demetrius Poliorcetes* seeing him in so great a ruine of his Countrie, with an unaffrighted countenance, de-

man-



manded of him, whether he had received any losse; *He answered, No: and that (thanks given to God) he had lost nothing of his owne.* It is that, which *Aristhenes* the Philosopher said very pleasantly, *That man ought to provide himselfe with munitions, that might float upon the water, and by swimming escape the danger of shipwracke with him.* Verily, a man of understanding hath lost nothing, if he yet have himselfe. When the Citie of *Nola* was over-run by the Barbarians, *Paulinus* Bishop thereof, having lost all he had there, and being their prisoner, prayed thus unto God: *Oh Lord deliver me from feeling of this losse: for thou knowest as yet they have toucht nothing that is mine.* The riches that made him rich, and the goods which made him good, were yet absolutely whole. Behold what it is to chuse treasures well, that may be freed from injurie; and to hide them in a place, where no man may enter, and which cannot be betrayed but by our selves. A man that is able, may have wives, children, goods, and chiefly health, but not so tie himselfe unto them, that his felicitie depend on them. We should reserve a store-house for our selves, what need soever chance; altogether ours, and wholly free, wherein we may board up and establish our true libertie, and principall retreat and solitarinesse, wherein we must go alone to our selves, take out ordinarie entertainment, and so privately, that no acquaintance or communication of any strange thing may therein find place: there to discourse, to meditate and laugh, as, without wife, without children, and goods, without traine, or servants; that if by any occasion they be lost, it seeme not strange to us to passe it over; we have a mind moving and turning in it selfe; it may keep it selfe companie; it hath wherewith to offend and defend, wherewith to receive, and wherewith to give. Let us not feare that we shall faint and droop through tedious and mind-tyring idleness in this solitarinesse.

*In solis fistibi turba locis.*

Be thou, when with thee is not any,  
As good unto thy selfe as many.

Vertue is contented with it selfe, without discipline, without words, and without effects. In our accustomed actions, of a thousand there is not one found that regards us: he whom thou seeest so furiously, and as it were besides himselfe, to clamber or crawl up the citie wals, or breach, as a point-blank to a whole voly of shot, and another all wounded and skarred, crazed and faint, and wel-nie hunger-starven, resolved rather to die, than to open his enemy the gate, and give him entrance; dost thou think he is there for himselfe? No verily, It is peradventure for such a one, whom neither he, nor so many of his fellowes ever saw, and who haply takes no care at all for them; but is there-whilst wallowing up to the cares in sensualitie, slouth, and all manner of carnal delights. This man whom about mid-night, when others take their rest, thou seeest come out of his study meagre-looking, with eyes-trilling, flegmatike, squalide, and spauling, dost thou thinke, that plodding on his books he doth seek how he shall become an honest man; or more wise, or more content? There is no such matter. He wil either die in his pursuit, or teach posteritie the measure of *Plautus* verses, and the true Orthography of a Latine word. Who doth not willingly chop and counter-change his health, his ease, yea, and his life for glorie, and for reputation? The most unprofitable, vaine, and counterfet coine, that is in use with us. Our death is not sufficient to make us afraid, let us also charge our selves with that of our wives, of our children, and of our friends, and people. Our owne affaires doe not sufficiently trouble and vex us; Let us also drudge, toile, vex, and torment our selves with our neighbours and friends matters.

*Vah quemquamne hominem in animum instinere, aut*

*Parare, quod sit charius, quam ipse est sibi?*

Fie, that a man should cast, that ought, than he  
Himselfe of himselfe more belov'd should be.

Solitarinesse mee seemeth hath more apparance and reason in those which have given their most active and flourishing age unto the world, in imitation of *Thales*. We have lived long enough for others, live we the remainder of our life unto our selves: let us bring home our cogitations and inventions unto our selves, and unto our ease. It is no easie matter to make a safe retreat: it doth over-much trouble us with joyning other enterprises unto it. Since God gives us leasure to dispose of our dislodging. Let us prepare our selves unto it, packe wee up our baggage. Let us betimes bid our companie farewell. Shake we off these violent hold-fasts, which else-where engage us, and estrange us from our selves. These so strong bonds

*Ter. Adel. act. 1.  
scen. 3. 23.*



bonds must be untied, and a man may oft-soones love this or that, but wed nothing but himselfe; That is to say, let the rest be our owne: yet not so combined and glued together; that it may not be sundred, without sleaing us, and therewithall, pull away some peece of our owne. The greatest thing of the world, is for a man to know how to be his owne. It is high time to shake off societie, since we can bring nothing to it. And he that cannot lend, let him take heed of borrowing. Our forces faile us: retire we them, and shut them up into our selves. He that can suppress and confound in himselfe the offices of so many amities, and of the company, let him doe it. In this fall, which makes us inutile, irksome, and importunate to others, let him take heed he be not importunate, irksome, and unprofitable to himselfe. Let him flatter, court, and cherish himselfe, and above all let him governe himselfe, respecting his reason and fearing his conscience, so that he may not without shame stumble or trip in their presence. *Rarum est enim, ut satis se quisque vereatur.* For it is a rare matter, that every man sufficiently should stand in awe and reverence of himselfe. Socrates saith, That young men ought to be instructed, and men exercised in well doing; and old men withdraw themselves from all civill and military negotiations, living at their owne discretion, without obligation to any certaine office. There are some complexions, more proper for these precepts of retreat than others. Those which have a tender and demisse apprehension, a squeamish affection, a delicate will, and which cannot easily subject or imploy it selfe (of which both by naturall condition and propense discourse I am one) wil better apply themselves unto this counsell than active minds, and busie spirits; which embrace all, every where engage, and in all things passionate themselves; that offer, that present, and yeeld themselves to all occasions. A man must make use of all these accidentall commodities, and which are without us, so long as they be pleasing to us; but not make them our principall foundation: It is not so, nor reason, nor nature permit it. Why should we against their lawes subject our contentment to the power of others? Moreover, to anticipate the accidents of fortune; for a man to deprime himselfe of the commodities he hath in possession, as many have done for devotion, and some Philosophers by discourse; to serve themselves, to lie upon the hard ground, to pull out their own eyes, to cast their riches into the Sea, to seeke for paine and smart (some by tormenting this life, for the happinesse of another; other some placing themselves on the lowest step, thereby to warrant themselves from a new fall) is the action of an excessive vertue. Let sterner and more vigorous complexions make their lurking glorious and exemplar.

— *cura & parvula laudo,*

*Cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:*

*Verum ubi quid melius contingit & utilius, idem*

*Hos sapere, & solos atq; bene vivere, quorum*

*Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia vilis.*

When riches faile, I praise the safe estate,

Though small; base things doe not high thoughts abate,

But when tis better, finer with me, I

They only live well, and are wise, doe cite,

Whose coine in faire farmes doth well-grounded lie.

There is worke enough for me to doe without going so far. It sufficeth me under fortunes favour, to prepare my selfe for her disfavour; and being at ease, as far as imagination may attaine unto, to represent the evill to come unto my selfe: Even as we enure our selves to Tilts and Tourneyes, and counterfeite warre in time of peace. I esteeme not *Arcefilan* the Philosopher lesse reformed, because I know him to have used household implements of gold and silver, according as the condition of his fortune gave him leave, I rather value him the more, than if he had not done it, for so much as he both moderately and liberally made use of them. I know unto what limits naturall necessitie goeth; and I consider the poore almes-man begging at my doore, to be often more plumb-checkt, in better health and liking than I am: Then doe I enter into his estate, and assay to frame and sute my mind unto his byase. And so over-running other examples, albeit I imagine death, povertie, contempt, and sickness to be at my heeles, I easily resolve my selfe, not to apprehend any feare of that, which one of lesse worth than my selfe doth tolerate and undergoe with such patience: And I cannot beleieve, that the basenesse or shallownesse of understanding, can doe more than vigor and far-seeing, or that the effects and reason of discretion, cannot reach to the effects of cu-



stone and use. And knowing what slender hold-fast these accessorie commodities have, I omit not in full joyssance of them, humbly to beseech God of his mercie (as a soveraigne request) to make me contented with my selfe, and with the goods proceeding from me. I see some gallantly-disposed young men, who notwithstanding their faire-seeming shew, have many boxes full of pills in their coffers at home, to take when the rhume shall assaile them; which so much the lesse they feare, when they thinke the remedy to be at hand. So must a man doe: as also if he feeles himselfe subject to some greater infirmitie, to store himselfe with medicaments that may assuage, supple, and stupifie the part grieved. The occupation a man should chuse for such a life, must neither be painfull nor tedious, otherwise, in vaine should we accompt to have fought our abiding there, which depends from the particular taste of every man. Mine doth no way accommodate it selfe to husbandrie. Those that love it, must with moderation apply themselves unto it.

*Epiſt.* 1. 19.

*Contentur sibi res, non se submittere rebus.*  
Endevour they things to them to submit,  
Not them to things (if they have *Horace* wit)

Husbandrie is otherwise a servile office, as *Salust* termeth it: It hath more excusable parts, as the care of gardening, which *Xenophon* ascribeth to *Cyrus*: A meane or mediocritie may be found, betweene this base and vile carking care, extended and full of toiling labor, which we see in men that wholly plunge themselves therein, and that profound and extreme retchlesnesse to let all things goe at six and seven, which is seen in others.

*Epiſt.* 12. 12.

*Democritus pecus edit agellos*  
*Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox.*  
Cattle destroyd *Democritus* his fets,  
While his mind bodilesse vagaries fets.

But let us heare the counsell, which *Plinie* the younger giveth to his friend *Cornelius Rufus*, touching this point of Solitarinesse: *I perswade thee in this full-gorged and fat retreat, wherein thou art, to remit this base and abject care of husbandrie unto thy servants, and give thy selfe to the study of letters, whence thou maist gather something, that may altogether be thine owne*; He meaneth reputatton: like unto *Ciceroes* humor, who saith, *That he will employ his solitarinesse and residence from publike affaires, to purchase unto himselfe by his writings an immortal life.*

*Persſat.* 1. 27.

*— usque adeone*  
*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter?*  
Is it then nothing worth that thou doost know,  
Unless what thou doost know, thou others show?

It seemeth to be reason, when a man speaketh to withdraw himselfe from the world, that one should looke beyond him. These doe it but by halves. Indeed they set their match against the time they shall be no more: but pretend to reap the fruit of their designs, when they shall be absent from the world, by a ridiculous contradiction. The imagination of those, who through devotion seeke solitarinesse, filling their minds with the certaintie of heavenly promises, in the other life, is much more soundly consoled. They propose God as an object infinit in goodnesse, and incomprehensible in power, unto themselves. The soule hath therein, in all free libertie, wherewith to glut her selfe. Afflictions and sorrowes redound to their profit, being employed for the purchase and attaining of health, and eternall gladnesse. Death, according to ones wish, is a passage to so perfect an estate. The sharpnesse of their rules, is presently made smooth and easie by custome; and carnall concupiscences, rejected, abated, and lulled asleep by refusing them; for nothing entertaineth them but use and exercise. *This only end of another life, blessedly immortal, doth rightly merit we should abandon the pleasures and commodities of this our life. And he that can enlighten his soule with the flame of a lively faith and hope, really and constantly, in his solitarinesse, doth build unto himselfe a voluptuous and delicious life, far surmounting all other lives.* Therefore doth neither the end nor middle of this counsell please me. We are ever falling into a relaps, from an ague to a burning fever. This plodding occupation of bookes, is as painfull as any other, and as great an enemy unto health, which ought principally to be considered. And a man should not suffer himselfe to be inveigled by the pleasure he takes in them: It is the same pleasure, that loseth the thriving husband-man, the greedy-covetous, the sinning-voluptuous, and the puff-up



puff-up ambitious. The wisest men teach us sufficiently to beware and shield us from the treasons of our appetites, and to discern true and perfect pleasures, from delights blended and entermingled with more paine. For, most pleasures (say they) tickle, fawne upon, and embrace us, with purpose to strangle us, as did the thieves whom the Egyptians termed *Philistas*: And if the head-ach would seize upon us before drunkenesse, we would then beware of too much drinking: but sensuality the better to entrap us, marcheth before, and hideth her tracke from us. Bookes are delightfull; but if by continuall frequenting them, we in the end lose both health and cheerefulness (our best parts) let us leave them. I am one of those who thinke their fruit can no way countervail this losse. As men that have long time felt themselves enfeebled through some indisposition, doe in the end yeeld to the mercie of Physicke, and by art have certaine rules of life prescribed them, which they will not transgresse: So he that with-drawes himselfe, as distasted and over-tired with the common life, ought likewise to frame and prescribe this unto the rules of reason; direct and range the same by premeditation, and discourt. He must bid all manner of travell farewell, what thewsoever it beare; and in generall shun all passions that any way impeach the tranquillitie of mind and body, and follow the course best agreeing with his humour.

*Vnusquisque sua noverit ire via.*

His owne way every man

Tread-out directly can.

Propert. lib. 2.  
el. 25. 38.

A man must give to thriving husbandrie, to laborious study, to toilsome hunting, and to every other exercise, the utmost bounds of pleasure; and beware he engage himselfe no further, if once paine begin to intermeddle itselfe with her; we should reserve businesse and negotiations, only for so much as is behoovefull to keepe us in breath, and to warrant us from the inconveniences which the other extremitie of a base, faint-hearted idlenesse drawes after it. There are certaine barren and thornie sciences, which for the most part are forged for the multitude: they should be left for those, who are for the service of the world. As for my selfe, I love no books, but such as are pleasant, and easie, and which tickle me, or such as comfort and counsell me, to direct my life and death.

— *tacitum sylvas interceptas salubres*

*Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est.*

Silently creeping midst the wholesome wood

With care what's for a wise man and a good.

Hor. l. 1. epist. 44.

The wiser sort of men, having a strong and vigorous mind, may frame unto themselves an altogether spirituall life. But mine being common, I must help to uphold my selfe by corporall commodities: And age having estranged me of those that were most suitable to my fantasie, I instruct & sharpen my appetite to those remaining most sortable this other season. We must tooth and naile retaine the use of this lives pleasures, which our yeares snatch from us, one after another:

*Carpanus dulcia, nostrum est,*

*Quod vivis: canis & manes & fabula fies.*

Plucke we sweet pleasures: we thy life give thee.

Thou shalt a tale, a ghost, and ashes be.

Pers. sat. 3. 155.

Now concerning the end of glorie, which *Plinie*, and *Cicero* propose unto us, it is far from my discourt: The most opposite humour to solitarie retiring, is ambition. *Glorie and rest, are things that cannot squat in one same forme*: as far as I see, these have nought but their armes and legs out of the throng, their mind and intent is farther and more engaged in them than ever it was.

*Tur verule auriculis alienis colligis esca?*

Gatherst thou dotard at these yeares,

Fresh baits, fine food, for others cares?

Pers. sat. 1. 22.

They have gone backe that they might leap the better, and with a stronger motion make a nimble offer amidst the multitude. Will you see how they shoot-short by a comes breadth? let us but counterpoise the advice of two Philosophers, and of two most different sects: The one writing to *Idomenem*, the other to *Lucilius* their friends, to divert them from the managing of affaires and greatnesse, unto a solitarie kind of life. *You have* (say they) *lived hitherto swimming and floating adrift, come and die in the haven; you have given the past of*



your life unto light, give the remainder unto darknesse. It is impossible to give over occupations, if you doe not also give over the fruits of them: Therefore cleare your selfe from all care and glorie. There is great danger, lest the glittering of your fore-passed attains should over-much dazzle you, yea, and follow you even to your den. Together with other concupiscences, shake off that which cometh from the approbation of others. And touching your knowledge and sufficiencie, take you no care of them, they will lose no whit of their effect; if your selfe be any thing the better for them. Remember but him, who being demanded, to what purpose he toyed so much about an Art, which could by no meanes come to the knowledge of many. Few are enow for me; one will suffice, yea, lesse than one will content me, answered he. He said true: you and another are a sufficient theatre one for another; or you to your selfe alone. Let the people be one unto you, and one be all the people to you: It is a base ambition to goe about to draw glorie from ones idlenesse, and from ones lurking hole. A man must doe as some wilde beasts, which at the entrance of their caves, will have no manner of footing scene. You must no longer seeke, what the world saith of you, but how you must speake unto your selfe: withdraw your selfe into your selfe; but first prepare your selfe to receive your selfe; it were folly to trust to your selfe, if you cannot governe your selfe. A man may as well faile in solitarinesse, as in companie, there are waies for it, untill such time as you have framed your selfe such, that you dare not halt before your selfe, and that you shall be ashamed of, and beare a kind of respect unto your selfe, *Obversetur species honesta animo: Let honest Ideaes still represent themselves before your mind*: Ever present Cato, Phocion, and Aristides unto your imagination, in whose presence even fooles would hide their faults, and establish them as controulers of all your intentions. If they be disordered and untuned, their reverence will order and tune them againe: they will containe you in a way, to be contented with your selfe; to borrow nothing but from your selfe, to settle and stay your mind in assured and limited cogitations, wherein it may best please it selfe, and having gotten knowledge of true felicities, which according to the measure a man understands them, he shall accordingly injoy, and with them rest satisfied, without wishing a further continuance, either of life or name. Loe heere the counsell of truly-pure, and purely-true philosophie, not of a vaine-glorious, boasting, and prating philosophie, as is that of the two first.

Cic. *in sc. qu. li. 2.*

Senec. *epist. 11.*

## CHAP. XXXIX.

### A consideration upon Cicero.

ONE word more in comparison of these two. There are gathered out of Ciceroes writings and from Plinies, (in mine opinion little agreeing with his unckle) infinite testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious. Amongst others, that they openly solicit the Historians of their times, not to forget them in their writings: and fortune, as it were in spight, hath made the vanitie of their request to continue even to our daies, and long since the histories were lost. But this exceedeth all hearts-basenesse in persons of that stampe, to have gone about to draw some principall glorie from prating and speaking, even to imploy their private Epistles written to their friends; in such sort, as some missing the opportunitie to be sent, they notwithstanding cause them to be published, with this worthy excuse, that they would not lose their travell and lucubrations. Is it not a seemly thing in two *Romane Consuls*, chiefe magistrates of the common-wealth, Emperres of the world, to spend their time in wittily devising, and closely hudling up of a quaint missive or wittie epistle, therby to attaine the reputation, that they perfectly understand their mother tongue? What could a seely School-master, who gets his living by such trash, doe worse? If the acts of *Xenophon*, or of *Caesar* had not by much exceeded their eloquence, I cannot beleieve, they would ever have written them. They have endeavored to recommend unto posterity, not their sayings, but their doings. And if the perfection of well-speaking might bring any glorie futable unto a great personage, *Scipio* and *Lelius* would never have resigned the honour of their Comedies, and the elegancies, and smooth-sportfull conceits of the Latine tongue, unto an Affrican servant: For, to prove this labour to be theirs, the exquisit eloquence, and excellent invention thereof



doth sufficiently declare it: and Terence himselfe doth avouch it: And I could hardly be removed from this opinion. It is a kind of mockerie and injurie, to raise a man to worth, by qualities mis-seeming his place, and unfitting his calling, although for some other respects praise-worthy; and also by qualities that ought not to be his principall object. As he that would commend a King to be a cunning Painter, or a skilfull Architect, or an excellent Harquibuzier, or a never missing runner at the Ring. These commendations acquire a man no honour, if they be not presented altogether with those that are proper and convenient unto him, that is to say, justice, and the skill to governe, and knowledge to direct his people both in peace and warre. In this sort doth Agriculture honour Cyrus, and Eloquence Charlemaine, together with his knowledge in good letters. I have in my time seen some, who by writing did earnestly get both their titles and living, to disavow their apprenticeship, mar their pen, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a qualitie; and which our people holds, to be seldom found amongst wise men, endeavouring to be commended for better qualities. Demosthenes his companions in their ambassage to Philip, praised their Prince to be faire, eloquent, and a good quaffer. Demosthenes said, they were commendations rather fitting a woman, an advocate, and a sponge, than a King.

*Imperet bellante prior, jacentem*

*Lenis in hostem.*

Better he rule, who mercifull will rue  
His foe subdued, than he that can subdue.

It is not his profession to know, either how to hunt cunningly, or to dance nimbly:

*Orabunt causas altis, cœlique meatus*

*Describunt rad'os, et fulgentia sidera dicent;*

*Hic regere imperio populos sciat. —*

Others shall causes plead, describe the skies

Motion by instrument, say how Stars rise:

But let him know to rule (just, valiant, wise.)

Plutarke saith moreover, That to appeare so absolutely excellent in these lesse-necessary parts, is to produce a witness against himselfe, to have ill spent his houres, and fondly bestowed his study, which might better have beene employed to more behoovefull and profitable use. So that Philip King of Macedon, having heard great Alexander his sonne sing at a featt a vie with the best Musicians: Art thou not ashamed (said he unto him) to sing so well? And to the same Philip, said a Musitian, gainst whom he contended about his Art, God forbid, my Sovereigne, that ever so much hurt should befall you, that you should understand these things better than my selfe. A King ought to be able to answer, as Ipicrates did the Orator who in his invective urged him in this manner: And what art thou thou shouldst so brave it? Art thou a man at Armes? Art thou an Archer? Art thou a Pike-man? I am none of all those, but I am he who command all those. And Antisthenes made it as an argument of little valour in Ismenias, when some commended him to be an excellent Flutist. Well I wot, that when I heare some give themselves to imitate the phrase of my Esayes, I would rather have them hold their peace: They doe not so much raise the words, as de Presse the sense; so much the more sharply, by how much more obliquely. Yet am I deceived if some others take not more hold on the matter; and how well or ill soever, if any writer hath scattered the same, either more materiall, or at least thicker on his paper: That I may collect the more, I doe but huddle up the arguments or chiefe heads. Let me but adde what followes them, I shall daily increase this volume. And how many stories have I glanced at therein, that speake not a word, which whosoever shal unfold, may from them draw infinite Esayes? Nor they, nor my allegations doe ever serve simply for examples, authoritic, or ornament. I doe not only respect them for the use I draw from them. They often (beyond my purpose) produce the seed of a richer subject, and bolder matter, and often collaterally, a more harmonious tune, both for me, that will expresse no more in this place, and for them that shall hit upon my tune.

But returning to vertue, I find no great choice, betweene him that can speake nothing but evil, and one that can't like nothing but to talke well. *Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas. Finesse is no great grace for a man.* Wise men say, that in respect of knowledge, there is nothing but Philosophie, and in regard of effects, but Vertue; which is generally fit for all degrees, and for all orders. Something there is alike in these two other Philosophers; for they also promise



eternitie to the Epistles, they write to their friends. But after another fashion, and to a good purpose, accommodating themselves to others vanitie; For they send them word, that if care to make themselves knowen unto future ages, and respect of renowne, doth yet retaine them in the managing of affaires, and makes them feare solitarinesse, and a retired life, to which they would call them, that they take no more paines for it: forasmuch as they have sufficient credit with posteritie, by answering them; and were it but by the Epistles they write unto them, they will make their name as famous, and as farre knowen, as all their publike actions might doe. Besides this difference, they are not frivolous, idle, and trivall Epistles, and only compact and held together with exquisite choise words, huddled-up and ranged to a just smoothe cadence, but stufft and full of notable sayings, and wise sentences; by which a man doth not only become more eloquent, but more wise, and that teach us, not to say well, but to doe well. Fie on that eloquence, which leaves us with a desire of it, and not of things: unlesse a man will say, that *Ciceroes* being so exceedingly perfect, doth frame it selfe a body of perfection. I will further alleage a storie, which to this purpose we reade of him, to make us palpably feele his naturall condition. He was to make an Oration in publike, and being urged betimes to prepare himselfe for it, *Eros* one of his servants came to tel him, the Auditorie was deferred till the morrow next; he was so glad of it, that for so good newes he gave him his libertie. Touching this subject of Epistles, thus much I will say; It is a worke wherein my friends are of opinion I can doe something: And should more willingly have undertaken to publish my gifts, had I had who to speake unto. It had beene requisite (as I have had other times) to have had a certaine comerce to draw me on, to encourage me, and to uphold me. For, to goe about to catch the winde in a net, as others doe, I cannot; and it is but a dreame. I am a sworne enimie to all falsifications. I should have beene more attentive, and more assured, having a friendly and strong direction, than to behold the divers images of a whole multitude: and I am deceived, if it had not better succeeded with me. I have naturally a comical and familiar stile: But after a maner peculiar unto my self, inept to all publike Negotiations, answering my speech, which is altogether close, broken, and particular: I have no skill in ceremonious letters, which have no other substance, but a faire contexture of complemental phrases and curteous words. I have no taste nor faculty of these tedious offers of service and affection. I believe not so much as is said, and am nothing pleased to say more than I believe. It is farre from that which is used now adades: For, there was never so abject and servile a prostitution of presentations; life, soule, devotion, adoration, servant, slave; all these words are so generally used, that when they would expresse a more emphaticall intent and respective will, they have no meanes left them to expresse it. I deadly hate to heare a flatterer: which is the cause I naturally affect a pithy, sinnowie, drie, round, and harsh kind of speech; which, of such as have no further acquaintance with me, is judged to encline to dissidaine. I honor them most, whom I seeme to regard least: And where my mind marcheth most cheerefully, I often forget the steps of gravitie: And I offer my selfe but faintly and rudely to those whose I am indeed, and present my selfe least, to such as I have most given my selfe. Me thinkes they should read it in my heart, and that the expression of my words, wrongeth my conception. To welcome, to take leave, to bid farewell, to give thanks, to salute, to present my service, and such verball complements of the ceremoniall lawes of our civilitie, I know no man so sottishly-barren of speech, as my selfe. And I was never employed to indite Letters of favour or commendatorie, but he for whom they were, judged them drie, barren, and faint. The Italians are great Printers of Epistles, whereof I thinke I have a hundred severall Volumes. I deeme those of *Hanniball Caro* to be the best. If all the paper I have heretofore scribled for Ladies were extant, at what time my hand was truly transported by my passion, a man should haply find some page worthy to be communicated unto idle and fond-doting youth, imbabuinized with this furie. I ever write my letters in post-hast, and so rashly-head long, that howbeit I write intolerably ill, I had rather write with mine owne hand, than imploy another: for I find none that can follow me, and I never copy them over againe. I have accustomed those great persons that know me, to endure blots, blurs, dashes, and botches, in my letters, and a sheete without folding or margine. Those that cost me, either most labour or studie, are they that are least worth. When I once begin to traile them, it is a signe my mind is not upon them. I commonly begin without project: the first word begets the second. Our moderne letters are more fraught with borders,



ders, and prefaces, than with matter, as I had rather write two, than fold and make up one, which charge I commonly resigne to others: So likewise when the matter is ended, I would willingly give another the charge, to adde their long orations, offers, prayers, and imprecations, which we place at the end of them, and with hartily, some new fashion would discharge us of them. As also to superscribe them with a legend of qualities, titles, and callings, wherein, lest I might have tripped, I have often times omitted writing, especially to men of Justice, Lawyers, and Financiers. So in my innovations of offices, so difficult a dispensation and ordinance of divers names and titles of honour, which being so dearely bought, can neither be exchanged or forgotten without offence. I likewise find it gracelesse and idly-fond, to charge the front and inscription of the many bookes and pamphlets, which we daily cause to be imprinted with them.

## CHAP. XL.

*That the taste of goods or evils doth greatly depend on the opinion we have of them.*

**M**EN (saith an ancient Greeke sentence) are tormented by the opinions they have of things, and not by things themselves. It were a great conquest for the ease of our miserable humane condition, if any man could establish every where this true proposition. For if evils have no entrance into us, but by our judgement, it seemeth that it lieth in our power, either to contemne or turne them to our good. If things yeeld themselves unto our mercie, why should we not have the fruition of them, or apply them to our advantage? If that which we call evill and torment, be neither torment, nor evill, but that our fancie only gives it that quality, it is in us to change it: and having the choice of it, if none compell us, we are very fooles, to bandy for that paine, which is irkelesse unto us: and to give infirmities, indigence, and contempt, a sharpe and ill taste, if we may give them a good: And if fortune simply affoord us the matter, it lieth in us to give it the forme. Now that that which we terme evill, is not so of it selfe, or at least, such as it is, that it depends of us to give it another taste, and another countenance (for all comes to one) let us see whether it can be maintained. If the originall being of those things we feare, had the credit of it's owne authoritie to lodge it selfe in us, alike and semblable would it lodge in all: For men be all of one kind, and except the most or least, they are furnished with like meanes to judge, and instruments to conceive. But the diversitie of opinions, which we have of those things, doth evidently shew, that but by composition they never enter into us. Some one peradventure doth lodge them in himselfe, as they are in essence, but a thousand others give them a new being, and a contrarie. We account of death, of povertie, and of sorrow, as of our chiefest parts. Now death, which some of all horrible things call the most horrible, who knowes not, how others call it, the only haven of this lives-torments? the soveraigne good of nature? the only staie of our libertie? and the ready and common receipt of our evils? And as some doe fearefully-trembling, and senselessly-affrighted, expect her coming, others endure it more easily than life: And one complaineth of her facilitie;

*Mors utinam pavidos vita subducere nollas,*

*Sed virtute sola daret!*

O death! I would thou would'st let cowards live,

That resolv'd valour might thee only give!

But let us leave these glorious minds: *Theodorus* answered *Lysimachus*, who threatned to kill him: *Thou shalt doe a great exploit to come to the strength of a Cantharides*. The greatest number of Philosophers are found to have either by designe prevented, or hastned and furthered their deaths. How many popular persons are seen brought unto death, and not to a simple death, but entermixt with shame, & sometimes with grievous torments, to embrace it with such an undaunted assurance; some through stubborne wilfulness, other some through a naturall simplicitie, in whom is nothing scene changed from their ordinarie condition; set-

*Lucan. li. 4. 580.*

ling



ling their domesticall affaires, recommending themselves unto their friends, preaching, singing, and entertaining the people: yea, and sometimes uttering words of jesting and laughter, and drinking to their acquaintance, as well as *Socrates*? One who was led to the gallows, desired it might not be thorow such a street, for feare a Merchant should set a Serjant on his backe, for an old debt. Another wished the hang-man not to touch his throat, lest hee should make him sworne with laughing, because hee was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him he should sup that night with our Saviour in heaven, Goe thither your selfe to supper, for I use to fast a nights. Another upon the Gibbet calling for drinke, and the hang-man drinking first, said, hee would not drinke after him, for feare hee should take the pox of him. Everie man hath heard the tale of the Piccard, who being upon the ladder ready to be throwen downe, there was a wench presented unto him, with this offer (as in some cases our law doth sometimes tolerate) that if hee would marrie her, his life should be saved, who after he had a while beheld her, and perceiving that she halted, said hastily, *Away, away, good hang-man, make an end of thy business, she limps.* The like is reported of a man in *Dermarke*, who being adjudged to have his head cut off, and being upon the scaffold, had the like condition offered him, but refused it, because the wench offered him was jaw-falne, long cheek, and sharpe-nosed. A young lad at *Tholous*, being accused of heresie, in all points touching his belcefe, referred himselfe wholly to his Masters faith, (a young scholar that was in prison with him) and rather chose to die, than hee would be perswaded his Master could erre. We reade of those of the Towne of *Arras*, at what time King *Lewis* the eleventh tooke it, that amongst the common people many were found, who rather than they would say, *God save the King*, suffered themselves to be hanged. And of those base-minded jesters or buffons, some have beene scene, that even at the point of death, would never leave their jesting and scoffing. He whom the headf-man threw off from the Gallows, cried out, Row the Gally, which was his ordinarie by-word. Another, who being at his last gaspe, his friends had laid him upon a paller alongst the fire-side, there to breathe his last, the Physician demanding where his griefe pained him? answered, betweene the bench and the fire: And the Priest to give him the last unction, seeking for his feet, which by reason of his sicknesse were shrunk up, he told him, My good friend you shal finde them at my legges ends, if you looke well. To another that exhorted him to recommend himselfe to God, he asked, who is going to him? And the fellow answering, your selfe shortly: If it be his good pleasure, I would to God it might be to morrow night, replied he: Recommend but your selfe to him, said the other, and you shall quickly be there: It is best then, answered he, that my selfe carry mine owne commendations to him. In the kingdome of *Narsinga*, even at this day their Priests wives are buried alive with the bodies of their dead husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, not only constantly, but cheerfully. When their King dieth, his wives, his concubines, his minions, together with al his officers and servants, which make a whole people, present themselves so merrily unto the fire, wherein his body is burned, that they manifestly seeme to esteeme it as a great honour, to accompanie their deceased master to his ashes. During our last warres of *Millaine*, and so many takings, losses, miseries, and calamities of that Citie, the people impatient of so many changes of fortune, tooke such a resolution unto death, that I have heard my father say, he kept accompt of five and twentie chiefe householders, that in one weeke made them-selves away: An accident which hath some affinitie with that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by *Brutus*, did pell-mell-headlong, men, women, and children precipitate them-selves into so furious a desire of death, that nothing can be performed to avoid death, which thes did not accomplish to avoid life: So that *Brutus* had much adoe, to save a veie small number of them. Every opinion is of sufficient power to take hold of a man in respect of life. The first Article of that couragious oath, which the Countrie of *Greece* did sweare, and keepe, in the Median warre, was, that every particular man should rather change his life unto death, than the Persian lawes for theirs. What a world of people are daily scene in the Turkish warres, and the Gracians, more willing to embrace a sharpe, a bitter, and violent death, than to be uncircumcized and baptized? An example whereof no religion is incapable. The Kings of *Castile* having banished the Jewes out of their Countrie, King *Iohn* of *Portugall* for eight crownes a man, sold them a retreat in his dominion, for a certaine time, upon condition (the time expired) they should avoid, and he find them ships to transport them into *Affrike*. The day of their departure

come,



come, which past, it was expressed, that such as had not obeyed, should for ever remaine bond-slaves; ships were provided them, but very scarce and sparingly: And those which were imbarcked, were so rudely, churlishly, and villainously used, by the passengers and mariners; who besides infinite other indignities, loitred so long on the seas, now forward, now backward, that in the end, they had consumed all their victuals, and were forced, if they would keepe themselves alive, to purchase some of them, at so excessive a rate, and so long, that they were never set a shore, till they had brought them so bare, that they had nothing left them but their shirts. The newes of this barbarous inhumanitie being reported to those that were yet on land, most of them resolved to yeeld and continue bond-slaves: whereof some made a semblance to change their religion. *Emanuel* that immediately succceded *Iohn*, being come to the Crowne, first set them at libertie, then changing his minde, commanded them to depart out of his dominions, and for their passages assigned them three ports. He hoped, as Bishop *Oforius* reporteth, (a Latine Historian of our ages, not to be despised) that the favor of the libertie, to which he had restored them, having failed to convert them unto Christianitie, the difficultie to commit themselves unto mariners and pyrates robberies, to leave a Countrey where they were settled with great riches, for to goe seeke unknown and strange regions, would bring them into *Portugall* againe. But seeing all his hopes frustrate, and that they purposed to passe away, hee cut off two of the three ports he had promised them, that so the tedious distance and incommoditie of the passage might retaine some, or rather that he might have the meane to assemble them all together in one place, for a fitter opportunitie of the execution he intended, which was this. Hee appointed that all their children under fourteene yeares of age, should be taken from out the hands of their parents, and removed from their sight and conversation, to some place where they might be brought up, and instructed in our religion. He saith that this effect caused an horrible spectacle: The naturall affection betweene the fathers and the children; moreover the zeale unto their ancient faith, striving against this violent ordinance. Divers fathers and mothers were ordinarily seene to kill themselves, and with a more cruell example through compassion and love, to throw their young children into pitts and wells, thereby to shun the Law. The terme which he had prefixed them being expired, for want of other meanes, they yeelded unto thraldome. Some became Christians, from whose faith and race, even at this day (for it is an hundred yeares since) few *Portugalls* assure themselves; although custome, and length of time be much more forcible counsellors unto such mutations, than any other compulsion. In the Towne of *Castelnaw Darry*, more than fifty *Albigensis*, all heretikes, at one time, with a determined courage, suffered themselves to be burned alive, all in one same fire, before they would recant and disavow their opinions. *Quintus non modo duces nostros, sed universi etiam exercitus, ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt? How often have, not only our Leader* (saith *Tully*) *but also our whole armies run roundly together to an undoubted death?* I have seene one of my familiar friends runne furiously on death, with such, and so deeply in his heart rooted affection, by divers visages of discourse, which I could never suppress in him, and to the first that offered it selfe masked with a lustre of honour, without apprehending any sharpe or violent end, therein to precipitate himselfe. We have many examples in our daies, yea in very children, of such as for feare of some slight incommoditie have yeelded unto death. And to this purpose saith an ancient Writer, what shall we not feare, if we feare that, which cowardise it selfe hath choisen for her retreat? Heere to huddle up a long bea- rowle of those of all sexes, conditions, sects, in most happy ages, which either have expected death most constantly, or sought for it voluntarily, and not only sought to avoid the evils of this life, but some, only to shun the facietie of living any longer: and some, for the hope of a better condition elsewhere. I should never have done. The number is so infinite, that verily it would be an easier matter for me to reckon up those that have feared the same. Only this more. *Pirro* the Philosopher, finding himselfe upon a very tempestuous day in a boat, shewed them whom he perceived to be most affrighted through feare, and encouraged them by the example of an hog, that was amongst them, and seemed to take no care at all for the storme: Shall wee then dare to say, that the advantage of reason, whereat we seeme so much to rejoyce, and for whose respect we account our selves Lords and Emperours of all other creatures, hath beene infused into us for our torment? *What availeth the knowledge of things, if through them we become more demisse?* If thereby wee loie the rest and tranquillitie wherein

Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 1.



we should be without them? and if it makes us of worse condition than was *Pirrhos* hog? Shall we employ the intelligence, heaven hath bestowed upon us for our greatest good, to our ruine? repugning natures desseigne and the universall order and vicissitude of things, which implicth that every man should use his instruments and meanes for his owne commoditie? Wel (will some tell me) let your rule fit you against death; but what will you say of indigence and necessitie? what will you also say of minde-grieving sorrow, which *Aristippus*, *Hieronymus*, and most of the wisest have judged the last evill? and those which denied the same in words, confessed the same in effect? *Possidonius* being extremely tormented with a sharpe and painfull sicknesse, *Pompey* came to see him, and excused himselfe he had chosen so unfit an houre to heare him discourse of Philosophy: God forbid (answered *Possidonius*) that ever paine should so farre ussrpe upon me, as to hinder me from discoursing of so worthy a subject. And thereupon began to speake of the contempt of paine. But there whilst she played her part, and uncessantly pinched and urged him; gainst whom hee exclaimed: *Paine, doe what thou list, I shall never be drawne to say, that thou art an evill.* That saying, which they would make of such consequence, what doth it inferre against the contempt of paine? it contends but for the word. And if the pangs thereof move him not there-whilst, why breakes he off his discourse for it? Why thinks he to worke a great exploit, not to call it an evill? All doth not consist in imagination. Heere we judge of the rest. It is assured learning that here doth play her part, our owne senses are Judges of it.

*Luc. l. 4. 487.*

*Quinisi sunt veri; ratio quoque falsa sit omnis.*

Which senses if they be not true,

All reason's false, it must ensue.

Shall we make our skin beleeve, the stripes of a whip doe tickle it? and perswade our taste, that Aloes be wine of Graves? *Pirrhos* hog is here in our predicament. He is nothing danted at death, but if you beat him, he will grunt, crie and torment himselfe. Shall wee force the generall law of nature, which in all living creatures under heaven is seene to tremble at paine? The very trees seeme to groane at offences. Death is but felt by discourse, because it is the motion of an instant.

*Aur fuit, aut veniet, nobile est praesentis in illa,*

Death hath come, or it will not misse;

But in it nothing present is.

*Morsque minus poena, quam mora mortis habet.*

Deaths pain's lesse, roundly acted,

Than when death is protracted.

*Ovid. epist. Ari-  
ad. 82.*

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead than threatened. Besides, what wee principally call feare in death, it is paine her customarie fore-runner. Nevertheless if we must give credit to an ancient fether, *Malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem.* Nothing, but what follows death, makes death to be evill. And I might more truly say, that neither that which goeth before, nor that which commeth after, is no appurtenance of death, we falsely excuse our selves. And I find by experience, that it is rather the impatience of the imagination of death, that makes us impatient of the paine, and that we feele it two-fold grievous, forasmuch as it threatens us to die. But reason accusing our weaknesse, to feare so sudden a thing, so unavoidable, so insensible; we take this other more excusable pretence. All evils that have no other danger, but of the evill, we count them dangerlesse. The tooth-ach, the paine of the gowt, how grievous soever, because they kill not, who reckoneth them in the number of maladies? Well, suppose that in death wee especially regard the paine: As also povertie hath nothing to be feared for, but what she casteth upon us through famine, thirst, cold, heat, and other miseries, it makes us feele and endure. So have we nothing to doe but with paine. I will willingly grant them, that it is the worst accident of our being. For, I am the man that hate and shun it as much as possible may be; because hitherto (thanks be unto God) I have no commerce or dealing with her: But it is in our power, if not to disannull, at least to diminish the same, through patience: And though the body should be moved thereat, yet to keepe the minde and reason in good temper. And if it were not so, who then hath brought vertue, valour, force, magnanimitie, and resolution into credit? Where shall they play their part, if there be no more paine defied? *Avida est periculi virtus, Virtue is desirous of danger.* If a man must not lie on the hard ground, armed at all assaies, to endure

*Sen. quat. ven.  
cap. 4.*



endure the heat of the scorching Sunne, to feed hungerly upon a horse, or an asse, to see himselfe mangled and cut in peeces, to have a bullet pluckt out of his bones, to suffer incisions, his flesh to be sticht up, cauterized, and searched, all incident to a martiall man; how shall we purchase the advantage and preheminence, which we so greedily seek after, over the vulgar sort? It is far from avoiding the evill and paines of it, as wise men say, that of actions equally good, one should most be wished to be done, wherein is most paine and griefe. *Non enim balneare nec lascivia risu aut joco comite levitatis, sed saepe etiam tristis firmitate et constantia sibi beati.* For men are not happy by mirthfulnesse, or wantonnesse, or laughing, or jesting, which is the companion of lightnesse; but often, even those that are sorrowfull, through their strong heart and constancie. And therefore was it impossible to perswade our fathers, that conquests atchieved, by maine-force, in the hazard of warre, were not more available and advantageous, than those obtained in all securitie by practises and stratagems.

Cic. de fin. lib. 2.

*Letius est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum.*

Luca. li. 9. 404.

Honesty makes chiefest cheare,

When it doth cost it selfe most deare.

Moreover, this ought to comfort us, that naturally, if paine be violent, it is also short; if long, it is easie: *Si gravis, brevis; si longus, levis.* If it be grievous, it is short; if it be long, it is light. Thou shalt not feele it over long; if thou feele it over much, it will either end it selfe, or end thee: All comes to one: If thou beare not it, it will beare thee away. *Memineris maximos morte summi, parvos multa habere intervalla quietis; mediocrium nos esse dominos: ut sit tolerabiles sint, feramus: sin minus, è vita, quum ea non placeat, tanquam è theatro exeamus.* Remember the greatest are ended with death, the lesser have many pauses of rest; we are masters of the meane ones: so as if they be tolerable, we may beare them; if not, we may make an Exit from our life which doth not please, as from a stage. That which makes us endure paine with such impatience, is, that we are not accustomed to take our chiefe contentment in the soule, and that we doe not sufficiently rely on her; who is the only, and soveraigne mistress of our condition. The body hath (except the least or most) but one course, and one byasse. The soule is variable in all manner of formes, and rangeth to her selfe, and to her estate, whatsoever it be, the senses of the body, and all other accidents. Therefore must she be studied, enquired, and sought-after: and her powerfull springs and wards should be rowzed up. There is neither reason, nor prescription, nor force can availe against her inclination and choise. Of so infinit byasses, that she hath in her disposition, let us allow her one iutable and sit to our rest and preservation: Then shall we not only be sheltered from all offence, but if it please her, also gratified and flattered of all grievances and evils. She indifferently makes profit of all; even errors and dreames, doe profitably bestead her, as a loyall matter, to bring us unto safetie and contentment. It may easily be seen, that the point of our spirit, is that which sharpneth both paine and pleasure in us. Beasts wanting the same, leave their free and naturall senses unto their bodies: and by consequence, single well-nigh in every kind, as they shew by the semblable application of their movings. If in our members we did not trouble the jurisdiction, which in that belongs unto them; it may be thought, we should be the better for it, and that nature hath given them a just and moderate temperature toward pleasure and toward paine. And it cannot chuse but be good and just, being equall and common. But since we have freed and alienated our selves from her rules, to abandon our selves unto the vagabond libertie of our fantasies: let us at least help to bend them to the most agreeing side. Plato feareth our sharp engaging unto paine and voluptuousnesse, forsomuch as he over-strictly tieth and bindeth the soule unto the body: I am rather opposit unto him, because it is lundred and loosed from it. Even as an enemy becometh more furious when we flie from him, so doth paine grow more proud if it see us tremble under it. It will stoope and yeeld upon better compositions to him that shall make head against it. A man must oppose and bandy against it. In recoyling and giving ground, we call and draw on, the ruine threatening us. Even as the body is more steady and strong to a charge, if it stand stiffely to it, so is the soule. But let us come to examples properly belonging unto weak-backed men, as I am, where we shall find, that it is with paine, as with stones, which take either a higher or deeper colour, according to the foyle that is laid under them, and holdeth no other place in us than we give it. *Tantum doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inferuerunt.* So much they grieved, as they intressed themselves in griefes. We feele a dash

Cic. de fin. lib. 2.  
Epic.

Lib. 1.

August.



dash of a chirurgions razor more than ten blows with a sword in the heat of fight. The painfull throwes of childbearing, deemed both by Physitians, and by the word of God to be verie great, and which our women passe with so many ceremonies, there are whole Nations that make no reckoning of them. I omit to speake of the *Lacedemonian* women; but come we to the *Swizzers* of our Infanterie, what change doe you perceive in them? But that trudging and trotting after their husbands, to day you see them carrie the child about their necke, which but yesterday they bare in their wombe. And those counterfeit roguing *Gyptians*, whereof so many are daily seene amongst us, doe they not wash their children so soone as they are borne? and in the next River that comes to hand? Besides so many harlots, which daily steale their children in the delivery as in the conception. The beauteous and noble Lady of *Sabinus*, a Roman Patritian, for the interest of others, did alone, without any bodies helpe or assistance, and without noise or groning endure the bearing and deliverie of two twins. A simple lad of *Lacedemon*, having stolne a Fox (for they more feared the shame of their foolishnesse in stealing, than we feare the paine or punishment of mis-deeds) and hiding the same under his cloake, endured rather to have his guts gnawne out by her, than to discover himselfe. Another who offering incense at a sacrifice, suffered his flesh to burne to the bone by a coale false into his sleeve, rather than he would trouble that sacred myllerie. And a great number have bene seene, for the only essay of vertue, following their institution, that at the age of seven yeares, without so much as changing their countenance, have endured to be whipped to death. And *Cicero* hath seene whole troupes, to beat one another so long with their fists, with their feet, and with their teeth, till they have fainted and fallen downe halfe dead, before ever they would confesse to be overcome. *Nunquam naturam nos vinceret, est enim ea semper invicta, sed nos umbris, deliriis, otio, Linguore, desidia, animum infecimus: opinionibus maloque more delinunt mollescimus.* *Customs* should never overcome nature, for she is still invincible: but we have infected our minde with shadowes, daintinesse, idlenesse, faint-heartednesse, slothfulnesse, and have effeminated it, we eagled with opinions and evill custome. Every man knows the story of *Scevolus*, who being entred the enemies campe, with a full resolution to kill their Chieftaine, and having missed of his purpose, to checke his effect with a stranger invention, and to cleare his country, confessed unto *Proserpina*, (who was the King he intended to kill) not only his deligne, but added moreover, that in his campe there were a great many Romanes, who had undertaken and sworne the verie same enterprize, and were confederates with him. And to make shew of his dread-lesse magnanimitie, having caused a pan of burning coales to be brought, he saw and suffied his right arme (in penance that it had not effected his project) to be parched and wel-nigh roasted-off: untill such time as his enemy himselfe, feeling a kind of remorse-full horror, commanded the fire to be carried away. What shall we say of him, that would not vouchsafe to leave, or so much as to interrupt the reading of his booke, whil't he had an incision made into him? And of him who resolved to skoffe and laugh, even in spight and contempt of the tortures which were inflicted upon him, so that the raging crueltie of the hangmen, that held him, and all the inventions of torments that could be devised, being redoubled upon him, one in the necke of another, gave him over? But he was a Philosopher. What? of one of *Casars* gladiators, who with a cheerefull and smiling countenance endured his wounds to be slit and sounded? *Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit? Quis vultum mutavit unquam? Quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? Quis cum decubisset, ferrum recipere iussus, colulum contraxit?* What meane Fencer hath once groned? Which of them hath once changed his countenance? Which of them not only hath stood up, but even fulne with shame? Which of them when he was downe, and was willed to take his death, did once shrinke in his necke? But let us joynesome women unto them. Who hath not heard of her at *Paris*, which only to get a fresher heiv of a new skin, endured to have her face flead all over? There are some, who being sound, and in perfit health, have had some teeth puld-out, thereby to frame a daintier and more pleasing voyce, or to set them in better order. How many examples of contempt of paine or smart have we of that kind and sex? What can they not doe? What will they not doe? What feare they to doe? So they may but hope for some amendment of their beautie?

*Cic. Tus. quest.*  
*lib. 5.*

*Cic. Tus. quest.*  
*lib. 2.*

*Tibul. lib. 1. al.*  
*8. 47.*

*Vultus quoque cur a est albos a stirpe capillos,  
Et faciem dempta pelle referre novam.*

Who



Who take great care to root out their gray haire,  
And skin head-off a new face to repaire.

I have seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the-nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones, and other such trash, that their very skin, and quick flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones; Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death. It is common to divers nations of our times, to hurt and gash themselves in good earnest, to give credite to their words. And our King reporteth sundrie examples, of what himselfe saw in *Polonia*, and towards himselfe, But besides what I know to have by some beene imitated in *France*; when I came from the famous Parliament of *Blois*; I had a little before seene a wench in *Picardie* to witnes the vehemencie of her promises, and also her constancie, with the bodkin she wore in her haire, to give her selfe foure or five thrusts in her arme, which made her skin to crack and gush out bloud. The *Turkes* are wont to wound and scarre themselves for their Ladies sakes, and that the marke may the better appeare, and continue the longer, they will presently lay fire upon the cuttes; and to stanch the bloud, and better to forme the cicatrice, they will keepe it on, an incredible while. Honest men that have seene it, have written the same, and sworne it unto me. And for ten Aspers you shall daily finde some amongst them, that will give themselves a deepe gash with a Scimitarie, either in their armes or thighs. I am very glad witnesses are so ready at hand, where we have most need of them: For, Chritendome affordeth many. And after the example of our holy guide, there have beene divers, who for devotion would needs beare the crosse. We learne by a worthy testimonie of religion, that Saint *Lewes* the King wore a haire-shirt, untill such time as he was so aged, that his confessor gave him a dispensation for it; and that every friday he caused his priests to beat his shoulders with five little yron chames, which to that purpose were ever caried with his nightgeare. *William* our last Duke of *Guienne*, father to that *Eleonore*, who transferred that Dutchy unto the houses of *France* and *England*, the last ten or twelve yeares of his life, for penance-sake wore continually a corselet, under a religious habit. *Foulkes* Earle of *Anjou* went to *Jerusalem*, there with a rope about his necke, to be whipped by two of his servants, before our Saviours sepulchre. Doe we not upon every good-friday, in sundrie places, see a great number of men and women, scourge and beat themselves so long, till they bruse and teare their flesh, even to the bones? I have often seene it my selfe, and that without enchantment; And some say (for they are masked) there were some amongst them, who for monie would undertake thereby to warrant other mens religion, by a contempt of smart-full paine, so much the greater, by how much the things of devotion are of more force, than those of covetousnes. *Q. Maximus* buried his son who had beene Consul: *Marcus Cato* his, being elected Pretor; and *L. Paulus* both his, within few daies, with so cheerefull and settled a countenance, and without any shew of sorrow. I have sometimes by way of jesting told one, that he had confronted divine justice: For, the violent death of three tall children of his, coming unto his eares all upon one day, and sent him, as it may be imagined, as a great scourge: he was so farre from mourning, that he rather tooke it as a favour and singular gratification at Gods hand. I doe not follow these monstrous humors. Yet have I lost two or three my selfe, whilst they were young and at nurse, if not without apprehension of sorrow; yet without continuance of griefe. And there is no accident woundeth men deeper, or goeth soneere the heart, as the losse of children. I see divers other common occasions of affliction, which were I assailed by them, I should scarcely feele. And I have contemned and neglected some, when it hath pleased God to visite me with them, on which the world setteth so ugly and balefull a countenance, that I hardly dare boast of them without blushing. *Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, sed in opinione esse agrestudinem. Whereby it is understood, that griefe consisteth not in nature, but opinion.* Opinion is a power-full, bould, and unmeasurable party. Who doth ever so greedily search after rest-full ease and quietnes, as *Alexander* and *Cesar* have done after difficulties and unquietnesse? *Terez*, the father of *Sitalce*, was wont to say, that when he had no warres, hee thought there was no difference betwene him and his horse-keeper. *Cato* the Consul, to assure himselfe of certaine townes in *Spaine*, having only interdicted some of their inhabitants to weare armes, many of them killed themselves: *Ferox gens nullam vitam rati sine ar-*



*mis esse. A fierce kinde of people, that thought there was no life without armes.* How many know wee who have abandoned and forsaken the pleasure of an ease-full and quiet life in their houses, and to live with their friends and acquaintance; to follow the toying-horror of unfrequented deserts, and that yeelded and cast themselves unto the abjectnesse, contempt and vilifying of the world, wherewith they have so pleased themselves, as nothing more; *Cardinall Borromeus*, who died lately at *Milane*, in the midst of the pleasures and debaucheries to which his Nobilitie, and the great riches he possessed, enticed him, & the ayre of *Italy* afforded him, and his youth allured him, did ever keep himselfe in to an austere forme of life, that the same gowne which served him in Summer he wore in winter. He never lay but upon straw; the houres which he might conveniently spare from his charge; he bestowed in continual study, ever kneeling, and having a smal quantitie of bread and water by his bookes side, which was all the provision for his repast, and time he employed in study. I know some who wittingly have drawne both profit and preferment from cuckoldrie, the only name whereof is so yrkelome and bail-ful to so many men. It might be not the most necessarie of our senses, at least is it the most pleasing; the most plausible and profitable of our members, seeme those that serve to beget us: notwithstanding divers have mortally hated them, only because they were over much amiable, and for their worths-sake have rejected them. So thought he of his eyes, that voluntarily put them out. The most common and soundest part of men, holdeth multitude of children to be a signe of great happinesse and comfort; So do I, and many others, the want of them. And when *Thales* was demanded *Wherfore he did not marrie*, he answered, *because he would leave no issue or line of himselfe behinde him.* That our opinion endereth and increaseth the price of things, it is seene in a great number of them, which we do not regard to esteeme them; but for our use. And we neither consider their qualities nor utilities, but only our cost to recover and attaine them; as if it were a part of their substance; and we call that worth in them, not what they bring us, but what we bring to them. According as it weigheth, and is of consequence, so it serveth. Wherupon I perceive, we are thriftie husbands of what we lay out. Our opinion never suffers it to run a false gallop. *The price giveth a Diamond his tittle, difficulte to vertue, paine unto devorion, and sharpnesse unto Physicke.* Such a one to come unto povertie, cast those fewe crownes he had into the same sea, wherin so many others, with such carke, danger, and care, on all parts seek to fish for riches. *Epicurus* saith, *that to be rich is no ease, but a charge of affaires.* Verily, it is not want, but rather plentie that causeth avarice. I will speake of mine owne experience, concerning this subject. I have lived in three kinds of condition, since I came out of my infancie. The first time, which continued well-nigh twentie yeares, I have past it over, as one who had no other means but casual, and depending from the direction and helpe of others; without any certaine maintenance, or regular prescription. My expences were so much the more carelesly layed out, and lavishly employed, by how much more they wholly depended on fortunes rashnesse and exhibition. I never lived so well at ease: my fortune was never to finde my friends purse shut: besides which, I was to frame my selfe to all necessities: the care I tooke to pay every man at his prefixed day, which a thousand times they have prolonged, seeing the care I tooke to satisfie them. So that I had gotten unto my selfe the credit of a thriftie kind of good husbandrie, though it were something shifting and deceitful. I do naturally feele a kind of pleasing contentment in paying of my debts, as if I rid my selfe of a burthenous weight, and free my selfe from the yoke of bondage and ingratitude. Besides, me thinks I feele a kinde of delight, that tickleth me to the quick, in performing a lawfully just action, and contenting of others. I except payments that require delayes, covenants, and after reckonings: for, if I finde any body that will undertake them, I blushingly and injuriously deferre them as long as I can, for feare of that altercation or wrangling, to which my humor and manner of speech is altogether incompatible. There is nothing I hate more than driving of bargaines: It is a meere commerce of dodging and impudencie. After an houres debating and paltring, both parties will goe from their words and oaths for the getting or saving of a shilling: yet did I borrow with great disadvantage. For, having no heart to borrow before others, or by word of mouth, I would adventure it upon a peece of paper, which with some hath no great power to move or force to perswade, and which greatly helps to refuse, I was wont to commit the successe of my wants more freely and more carelesly unto fortune, than I have done since unto my wit and providence. Most good husbands thinke it strange and horrible to live on such uncertainties,



tainties, but they remember not, that most men in the world live so. How many good and well-borne men have heretofore, and are daily seene to neglect and leave at six and seven, their patrimonies and certaine goods, to follow and seeke after court-holy water, and wavering-favours of Princes and of fortune; *Cesar* engaged and endebted himselfe above a million of gold, more than he was worth to become *Cesar*. And how many merchants and poore beginners, set up and begin their traffike by the sale of their farmes or cottages which they venter to the *Indias*?

*Tot per impotentia freta;*

*Catul. epig. 4. 18.*

In so great scarcitie of devotion, we have thousands of Colleges, which passe the time very conveniently, daily gaping and expecting from the liberaltie of the heavens, what they must dine withall to morrow. Secondly; they consider not, that this certaintie on which they ground themselves, it not much lesse uncertaine and hazardous, than hazard it selfe. I see miserie as neere beyond two thousand crownes rent, as if it were hard at hand. For, besides that fortune hath many-many meanes to open a hundred gaps for povertie to enter at, even through the thickest of our riches, and that often there is no meane betweene the highest and lowest fortune.

*Fortuna vitrea est: tum, quum splendet, fragitur.*

*Proz. Senec. f.*

Fortune is glasse-like, brittle as t'is bright:

Light-gon, Light-broken, when it lends best light.

And to turne all our defences, and raisings of high walles topsie-turvie: I find that want and necessitie is by diverse or different causes, as ordinarily seene to accompany and follow those that are rich in goods, as those that have none at all: and that peradventure it is somewhat lesse incommodious, when it is alone, than when it meeteth with riches: They rather come from order, than from receipt: *Faber est sua quisque fortune.* Every man is the forger of his owne fortune. And me thinkes that a rich man, who is needy, full of business, carke and toyle, and troubled in minde, is more miserable, than he that is simply poore. *In divitiis inopes, quod genus egestatis gravissimum est.* In their abundance indigent, which is the most grievous kinde of indigence. The richest and greatest princes are ordinarily urged by povertie and need unto extreme necessities. For, can any be more extreme, than thereby to become Tyrants, and unjust usurpers of their subjects goods, My second manner of life hath beene to have monie; which when I had once singled, according to my condition I sought to hoord up some against a rainie day; esteeming that it was no having, unlesse a man had ever somewhat besides his ordinarie expences in possession: and that a man should not trust that good, which he must live in hope to receive; and that, be his hope never so likely, hee may many wayes be prevented. For, I would say unto my selfe; what if I should be surpris'd by this chance, or that accident? What should I doe then? And in pursuit of these vaine and vicious imaginations, I endeavoured by hooke or crooke, and by wile or wit to provide by this superfluous sparing for all inconveniences that might happen: And I could answer him, that would alledge the number of inconveniences to be over infinit; which if they followed not all men, they accompanied some, and haply the greatest number. An apprehension which I did not passe without some painfull care. I kept the matter secret, and I (that dare say so much of my selfe) would never speake of my money but fallily; as others doe, who being rich, would seeme to be poore, or being poore would appeare rich: and dispeuce with their conscience, never to witness sincerely what they are worth. Oh ridiculous and shamefull prudence. Did I travell any where? me thought I was never sufficiently provided; and the more I had laden my selfe with coine, the more I had also burthened my selfe with feare: sometimes of my wayes-safetie, othertimes of their trust that had the charge of my sumpters and baggage, whereof as some others that I know, me thought I was never thoroughly assured, except it were still in my sight. Left I my keyes or my purse behind me? how many suspitions and thornie imaginations, and which is worse, incommunicable, did uncessantly haunt me? My minde was ever on my halfe-penny; my thoughts ever that way. *The summe being rightly cast, there is ever more paine in keeping, than in getting of monie.* If I did not altogether so much as I say, I at the least endeavoured to doe it. Of commoditie I had little or nothing. To have more meanes of expences, is ever to have increase of sorrow. For (as said *Bion*) *The hairie man doth grieve as much as the bald, if he have his haire pulled out.* And

*Eras. chil. 2. cent. 4. eid. 63.*

*Sen. epist. 74. p.*



after you are once accustomed, and have fixed your thoughts upon a heape of monie, it is no longer at your service; you dare not diminish it; it is a building, which if you touch or take any part from it, you will thinke it will all fall. Necessitie must first pinch you by the throat, and touch you nere, before you will lay hands on it. And I should sooner pawne my clothes, or sell my horse, with lesse care and compulsion, than make a breach into that beloved purse, which I kept in store. But the danger was, that a man can hardly prefix any certaine limits unto his desire (they are hard to be found in things a man deemeth good) and continue at one stay in sparing: A man shall ever encrease this heape, and augment it from one number to another; yea so long, till he basely and niggardly deprive himselfe of the enjoying of his owne goods, and wholly fix it on the safe-keeping of them, and never use them. According to this kind of usage, those are the richest people of the world, that have the charge of keeping the gates and walles of a rich Cittie. Every monied man is covetous, according to mine opinion. *Plato* marshalleth this humane or corporall goods; *health, beauntie, strength, riches: And riches, (saith he,) are not blind, but cleere-seeing, if they be illuminated by wisdom.* *Dionysius* the younger, plaid a notable part; who being advertised, that one of his *Siracusans*, had hidden a certaine treasure under the ground, commanded him to bring it unto him, which he did, reserving secretly one part of it unto himselfe, with which hee removed his dwelling unto another Citie, where having lost the humor of hoarding up of treasure, began to live a spending and riotous kinde of life: which *Dionysius* hearing, commanded the remainder of his treasure, and which he had taken from him, to be restored unto him; saying, *That since he had learned how to make use of it, hee did most willingly redeliver the same unto him.* I was some yeares of the same humour: I wot not what good *Demomon* did most profitably remove me from it, like to the *Siracusian*, and made me to neglect my sparing. The pleasure I apprehended of a farre and chargeable journey, having overthrowne this foolish imagination in me; From which I am fallen into a third kinde of life (I speake what I thinke of it) assuredly much more pleasing and formall: which is, that I measure my garment according to my cloth, and let my expences goe together with my coming in; sometimes the one, other-whilest the other exceeds: But they are never farre asunder. I live from hand to mouth, from day to day, and have I but to supply my present and ordinarie needs, I am satisfied: As for extraordinarie wants, all the provisions of the world will not suffice them. And it is folly to expect that fortune will ever sufficiently arme us against her selfe. It is with our owne weapons that we must combat her. Casuall armes will betray us, when we shall have most need of them. If I lay up any thing, it is for the hope of some employment at hand, and not to purchase lands, whereof I have no need, but pleasure and delight. *Non esse cupidum, pecunia est: non esse emacem, vestigal est. It is currum coine, not to be covetous: it is a christie income, not to be stillbuying.* I am neither possessed with feare, that my goods shall faile me, nor with desire they should encrease and multiply. *Divitiarum fructus est in copia: Copiam declarat satietas. The fruit of riches is in plentie: societie content with enough, approves that plentie.* And I singularly gratifie my selfe this correction came upon me in an age naturally enclined to covetousnesse, and that I am free from that folly so common and peculiar to old men, and the most ridiculous of all humane follies. *Feraulez*, who had passed through both fortunes, and found, that encrease of goods, was no accrease of appetite, to drinke, to eat, to sleepe, or to embrace his wife; and who on the other side felt heavily on his shoulders, the importunitie of ordering and directing his Oeconomicall affaires, as it doth on mine, determine with himselfe to content a poore young man, his faithfull friend, greedily gaping after riches, and frankly made him a present donation of all his great and excessive riches; as also of those, he was likely everie day to get by the liberalitie and bountie of his good master *Cyrus*, and by warre: alwayes provided, hee should undertake to entertaine and finde him honestly, and in good sort, as his guest and friend. In which estate they lived afterward most happily, and mutually content with the change of their condition.

Cic. Parad. ult.

Ibid.

Loe heare a part, I could willingly find in my heart to imitate. And I much commend the fortune of an old prelate, whom I see, to have so clearly given over his purse, his receipts, and his expences, now to one of his chosen servants, and now to another, that he hath lived many yeares as ignorant of his household affaires, as any stranger. The confidence in others honesty, is no light testimonie of ones owne integritie: therefore doth God willingly favour it.



it. And for his regard, I see no household order, neither more worthily directed, nor more constantly managed than his. Happy is that man, that hath so proportionably directed his estate, as his riches may discharge and supply the same, without care or encombrance to himselfe; and that neither their consultation or meetings may in any sort interrupt other affaires, or disturbe other occupations, which he followeth, more convenient, more quiet, and better agreeing with his heart. Therefore doth ease and indigencie depend from every mans owne opinion; and wealth and riches no more than glorie or health, have either more preheminance or pleasure, than he who possesseth them, lendeth them. Every man is either well or ill, according as he findes himselfe. Not he whom another thinkes content, but he is content indeed, that thinkes he is so himselfe: And only in that, opinion giveth it selfe essence and veritie. Fortune doth us neither good nor ill: She only offereth us the seed and matter of it, which our minde, more powerfull than she, turneth and applieth as best it pleaseth: as the efficient cause and mistress of condition, whether happy or unhappy. Externall accessions take both favor and colour from the internall constitution: As garments doe not warme us by their heat, but by ours, which they are fit to cover and nourish: he that with clothes should cover a cold body, should draw the very same service from them by cold. So is snow and yce kept in summer. Verily as unto an idle and lazie body, study is but a torment; abstinence from wine to a drunkard, is a vexation; frugalitie is a hart's sorrow to the luxurious; and exercise molesteth an effeminate body: so is it of all things else. Things are not of themselves so irksome, nor so hard, but our basenes, and weaknesse maketh them such. To judge of high and great matters, a high and great minde is required; otherwise we attribute that vice unto them, which indeed is ours. A straight oare being under water seemeth to be crooked. It is no matter to see a thing, but the matter is how a man doth see the same. Well, of so many discourses, which diversly perswade men to contemne death, and patiently to endure paine, why shall we not finde some on to make for our purpose; And of so severall and many kinds of imaginations, that have perswaded the same unto others why doth not every man apply one unto himselfe, that is most agreeing with his humor; If he cannot digest a strong and absterfive drug, for to remove his evill, let him at least take a lenitive pill to ease the same. *Opinio est quadam effeminata ac levis: nec in dolore magis, quam eadem in voluptate: qua, quum lique scimus fluimusque mollitia, apud aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus. Totum in eo est, ut tibi imperes.* There is a certaine effeminate and light opinion, and that no more in sorrow, than it is in pleasure, whereby when we melt and run over in daintie tendernes, we cannot abide to be stung of a Bee, but most rore and cry out. This is the totall summe of all, that you be master of your selfe. Moreover, a man doth not escape from Philosophy, by making the sharpnes of paines, and humane weaknesse to prevaile so far beyond measure: for, she is compelled to cast her selfe over againe unto these invincible replication, If it be bad to live in necessitie, at least there is no necessitie, to live in necessitie. No man is long time ill, but by his owne fault. He that hath not the heart to endure neither life nor death, and that will neither resist nor run away, what shall a man doe to him;

Cic. Tusc. quest.  
lib. 2.

# CHAP. XLI.

*That a man should not communicate his glorie.*

OF all the follies of the world, the most universall, and of most men received, is the care of reputation, and study of glorie, to which we are so wedded, that we neglect, and cast off riches, friends, repose, life and health (goods effectuell and substantiall) to follow that vaine image, and idlie-simple voice, which hath neither body, nor hold-fast.

*La fama, chinuaghisce a un dolce suono  
Gli superbi mortali, & par si bella,  
E un echo, un sogno, anzi id un sogno un ombra,  
Chadogni vento si dilegua & sgombra,*

Tass. Gier. ott.  
14



Faine that enveagls high aspiring men  
 With her harmonious sound, and seemes so faire;  
 An Eccho is, a dreame, dreames shadow rather,  
 Which flies and fleets as any winde doth gather.

Cic. pro. Art. 30.

And of mens unreasonable humors, it seemeth, that the best philosophers doe most slowly, and more unwillingly cleare themselves of this, than of another: it is the most peevish the most froward, and the most opinative. *Quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat. Because it ceaseth not to tempt even those Mindes that profit best.* There are not many whereof reason doth so evidently condemne vanitie, but it is so deeply rooted in us, as I wot not whether any man could ever clearely discharge himselfe of it. When you have alleaged all the reasons you can, and beleevd all to disavow and reject her, she produceth contrarie to your discourses, so intestine inclination, that you have small hold against her. For (as *Cicero* saith,) *Even those that oppugne her, will neverthelesse have the booke they write against her, to beare their names upon their fronts, endeavoring to make themselves glorious by despising of glorie.* All other things fall within the compasse of commerce: we lend our goods, we employ our lives, if our friends stand in need of us: But seldome shall we see a man communicate his honour, share his reputation, and impart his glorie unto others. *Catulus Lucullus* in the warres against the *Cynbres*, having done the utmost of his endeavours to slay his soldiers that fled before their enemies, put himselfe amongst the run-awaies, and dissembled to bee a coward, that so they might rather seeme to follow their Captaine, than flie from the enemy: This was a neglecting and leaving off his reputation, to conceale the shame and reproach of other. When *Charles* the fifth passed into *Provence*, the yeare a thousand five hundred thirtie seven, some are of opinion, that *Anthony de Leva*, seeing the Emperor his master resolutely obtinate to undertake that voyage, and deeming it wonderfully glorious, maintained neverthelesse the contrarie, and discouraged him from it, to the end all the honour and glorie of this counsell might be attributed unto his Master; and that it might be said, his good advice and fore-sight to have beene such, that contrarie to all mens opinions, he had achieved so glorious an enterprise: Which was, to honour and magnifie him at his owne charges. The *Thracian* Ambassadors comforting *Achileonida* the Mother of *Brasidas*, for the death of her son, and highly extolling and commending him, said, he had not left his equall behind him. She refused this private commendation, and particular praise, assigning it to the publike state. *Do not tell me that* (quoth she,) *For I knowe the Citie of Sparta hath many greater, and more valiant Citizens than he was.* At the battell of *Crecy*, *Edward* the blacke Prince of *Wales*, being yet very young, had the leading of the vau-t-gard: The greatest and chiefe violence of the fight, was in his quarter: The Lords and Captains that accompanied him, perceiving the great danger, sent unto King *Edward* the Princes father, to come and help them: which when he heard, he enquired what plight his sonne was in, and how he did, and hearing that he was living, and on horse-backe; *I should* (quoth he) *offer him great wrong to goe now, and deprive him of the honour of this combats victorie, which he already hath so long sustained; what danger soever there be in it, it shall wholly be his: and would neither goe nor send unto him: knowing, that if he had gone, or sent, it would have beene said, that without his ayd all had beene lost, and that the advantage of this exploit would have beene ascribed unto him.* *Semper enim quod postremum adiectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse.* For, evermore that which was last added, seemes to have drawne on the whole matter. In *Rome* many thought, and it was commonly spoken, that the chiefeft glorious deeds of *Scipio*, where partly due unto *Laelius*, who notwithstanding did ever advance the greatnesse, further the glorie, and second the renoune of *Scipio*, without any respect of of his owne. And *Theopompus* King of *Sparta*, so one who told him that the common-wealth should subsist and continue still, forsomuch as he could command so well: No, said he, *it is rather, because the people know so well how to obey.* As the women that succeeded in the Peeresdomes of *France*, had (notwithstanding their sex) right to assist, and privilege to plead in cases appertaining to the jurisdictions of Peeres: So the Ecclesiasticall Peeres, notwithstanding their profession and function, were bound to assist our Kings in their warres, not only with their friends, servants, and tenants, but in their owne person. The Bishop of *Beauvais*, being with *Philip Augustus* in the battell of *Bovines*, did very courageously take part with him in the effect; but thought hee should not be partaker of the fruit and glorie of that bloody



bloudy and violent exercise. He overcame, and forced that day many of the enemies to yeeld whom he delivered unto the first gentleman hee met withall, to risle, to take them prisoners, or at their pleasure to dispose of them. Which he also did with *William Earle of Salisbury*, whom he delivered unto the Lord *Iohn of Nefle*, with a semblable subtletie of conscience, unto this other. He desired to fell and strike downe a man, but not to wound or hurt him: and therefore never fought but with a great club. A man in my time being accused to the King, to have laid violent hands upon a Priest, denied it very stoutly, forsomuch as he had only thumped and trampled him with his feet.

## CHAP. XLII.

*Of the inequalitye that is betweene us.*

**P**lutarke saith in some place, *That he findes no such great difference betweene beast and beast, as he findeth diversitie betweene man and man.* He speaketh of the sufficiencie of the minde, and of internall qualities. Verily I finde *Epaminondas* so farre (taking him as I suppose him) from some that I know (I meane capable of common sense) as I could finde in my heart to endeaure upon *Plutarke*; and say there is more difference betweene such and such a man, than there is diversitie betweene such a man, and such a beast.

*Hem vir viro quid praeat!*

O Sir, how much hath one,

Another man out-gone?

And that there be so many degrees of spirits, as there are steps betweene heaven and earth, and as innumerable. But concerning the estimation of men, it is marvell, that except our selves, no one thing is esteemed but for its proper qualities. We commend a horse, because he is strong and nimble,

— *volucrum*

*Sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma*

*Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circo.*

We praise the horse, that beares most bells with flying,

And triumphs most in races, hoarse with crying,

and not for his furniture: a grey-hound for his swiftnesse, not for his collar: a hawke for her wing, not for her cranes or bells. Why do we not likewise esteeme a man for that which is his owne? He hath a goodly traine of men following him, a stately pallace to dwell in, so great credit amongst men; and so much rent comming in: Alas, all that is about him, and not in him. No man will buy a pig in a poke. If you cheapen a horse, you will take his saddle and clothes from him, you will see him bare and abroad: or if he be covered as in old times they wont to present them unto Princes to be sold, it is only his least necessarie parts, lest you should amuse your selfe to consider his colour, or breadth of his crupper; but chiefly to view his legs, his head, his eyes, and his foot, which are the most remarkable parts, and above all to be considered and required in him,

*Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, apertos*

*Insufficiunt, ne si facies aut saepe, decora*

*Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,*

*Quod pulchra clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix.*

This is Kings manner, when they horses buy,

They see them bare, lest if, as oft we try,

Faire face have soft hooves, gull'd the buyer be,

They buttockes round, short head, high crest may see.

When you will esteeme a man, why should you survey him all wrapt, and enveloped? He then but sheweth us those parts which are no whit his owne: and hideth those from us, by which alone his worth is to be judged. It is the goodnesse of the sword you seeke after, and not the worth of the scabbard; for which peradventure you would not give a farthing,

*Ter. Phor. act. 5.  
63.*

*Juvén. sat. 8. 57.*

*Ho. l. 1. sat. 2. 85.*



if it want his lyming. A man should be judged by himselfe, and not by his complements. And as an Ancient saith very pleasantly: Doe you know wherefore you esteeme him tall? You account the height of his pattens: The Base is no part of his statute: Measure him without his stilts. Let him lay aside his riches and externall honours, and shew himselfe in his shirt. Hath he a body proper to his functions, sound and cheerefull? What minde hath he? Is it faire, capable and unpolluted, and happily provided with all her necessarie parts? Is shee rich of her owne, or of others goods? Hath fortune nothing of hers to survey therein? If broad-waking she will looke upon a naked sword: If shee care not which way her life goeth from her, whether by the mouth, or by the throat; whether it be settled, equable, and contented: It is that a man must see and consider, and thereby judge the extreme differences that are betweene us: Is he

Li. 2. 41. 7. 83.

— *sapiens, sibi que imperiosus,*  
*Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula torrent,*  
*Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores*  
*Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,*  
*Externi ne quid valeat per labe morari,*  
*In quem manca ruit semper fortuna? —*  
 A wise man, of himselfe commander high,  
 Whom want, nor death, nor bands can terrifie,  
 Resol'd t' affront desires, honors to scorne,  
 All in himselfe, close, round and neatly-borne,  
 As nothing outward on his smooth can stay,  
 Gainst whom still fortune makes a lame assay.

Such a man is five hundred degrees beyond kingdoms and principalities: Himselfe is a kingdome unto himselfe.

Plan. Trin. 28.  
 a. 167. 2.

*Sapiens pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi.*  
 Trust me, who beares a wise mans name,  
 His fortune to himselfe may frame.

What is there else for him to wish for?

Lucr. li. 2. 16.

— *nonne videmus*  
*Nil aliud sibi naturam lavare, nisi ut quod*  
*Corpore se junctus dolor absit, mente fruatur,*  
*Incundo sensu cura semotus meique?*  
 See we not nature nothing else doth barke  
 Unto her-selfe, but he, whose bodies barke  
 Is free from paines-touch, should his minde enjoy,  
 Remo'd from care and feare, with sense of joy?

Compare the vulgar troupes of our men unto him, stupide, base, servile, wavering, and continually floting on the tempestuous Ocean of divers passions, which tossie and retossie the same, wholly depending of others: There is more difference, than is betweene heaven and earth, and yet such is the blindness of our custome, that we make little or no account of it. Whereas, if we consider a Cottager and a King, a noble and a handy-crafts man, a magistrate and a private man, a rich man and a poore; an extreme disparitie doth immediatly present it selfe unto our eies, which, as a man may say, differ in nothing, but in their clothes. In Thrace, the King was after a pleasant manner distinguished from his people, and which was much endeared: He had a religion apart: a God severall unto himselfe, whom his subjects might no waies adore: It was *Mercurie*: And he disdain'd their gods, which were *Mars*, *Bacchus*, and *Diana*; yet are they but pictures, which make no essentiall dissemblance. For, as enterlude-players, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an Emperor, or a Duke, but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and originall condition: Even so the Emperor, whose glorious pomp doth sodazle you in publike;

Lucr. li. 4. 117.

*Soilicet & grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi*  
*Auro includuntur, veriturque Thalassina vestis*  
*Affiduc, & Veneris sudorem exercita potat.*  
 Great emerald's with their grasse-greene-light in gold

Are



Are clos'd, nor long can matriage linnen hold,  
But worne with use and heat  
of Venerie drink's the sweat.

View him behinde the curtaine, and you see but an ordinarie man, and peradventure more vile, and more seely, than the least of his subjects. *Ille beatus introversum est; istum bracteata Sen. epi. 115.*  
*falsitas est. One is inwardly happy: anothers felicitie is plated and gilded-over.* Cowardise, irresolution, ambition, spight, anger, and envie, move and worke in him as in another:

*Non enim gaza, neque consularis  
Summovet lictor, miseros tumultus  
Mentis & curas laqueata circum  
——Tecta voluntas:* *Ho l. 2. ed. 16. 9.*

Nor treasures, nor Maires officers remove  
The miserable tumults of the minde,  
Or cares that lie about, or flie above  
Their high-roof't houses with huge beames combine,

And feare, and care, and suspect, haunt and follow him, even in the midst of his armed troupes.

*Reveraque metui hominum, curaque sequaces,  
Nec metuant sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,  
Audacterque inter roges, rerumque potentes  
Versamur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro.* *Lucr. l. 2. 45.*  
Indeed mens still-attending cares and feare,  
Nor armor's clashing, nor fierce weapons feare,  
With Kings converse they boldly, and Kings peeres,  
Fearing no lightning that from gold appeares.

Doth the ague, the megrim, or the gout spare him more than us? When age shall once seize on his shoulders, can then the tall yeomen of his guard discharge him of it? When the terror of ruthles-balefull death shall assaile him, can he be comforted by the assistance of the gentlemen of his chamber? If he chanceto be jealous or capricious, will our lowting-curtzies, or putting-off of hates, bring him in tune againe? His bedstead encased all with gold and pearles hath no vertue to allay the pinching pangues of the cholicke.

*Nec calida citius decedunt corpore febres,  
Textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti  
Lactaris, quam si plebeia in veste cubandum est.* *Id. ib. 34.*  
Feavers no sooner from thy body flie  
If thou on arras or red scarlet lie  
Tossing, than if thou rest  
On coverlets home-drest.

The flatterers of *Alexander* the great, made him beleeve that he was the soane of *Jupiter*, but being one day fore-hurt, and seeing the bloud gush out of his wounds: *And what thinke you of this?* (said he unto them) *Is not this bloud of a lively red hew, and meerly humane?* Methinkes, it is not of that temper, which *Homer* saith to trill from the gods wounds. *Hermidorus* the Poet made certaine verses in honour of *Antigonus*, in which he called him the sonne of *Phæbus*; to whom he replied; *My friend, He that emptieth my close-stoole knoweth well, there is no such matter.* He is but a man at all assaies: And if of himselfe he be a man ill borne, the Empire of the whole world cannot restore him.

——*pucella* *Pers. sat. 2. 37.*  
*Hunc raptant, quicquid calcaverit, hic rosa fiat.*  
Wenches must ravish him, what ever he  
Shall tread upon, else soones a rose must be.

What of that? If he be of a grosse, stupide, and senseles minde: voluptuousnesse and good fortune it selfe, are not perceived without vigor, wit, and liveliness.

*Hæperinde sunt, ut illius animus qui ea possidet;  
Qui mihi scit, ei bona, illi qui non utitur recte, mala.* *Ter. Heaut. 23.*  
These things are such, as the possessors minde,  
Good, if well us'd; if ill, them ill we finde. *1. sc. 2. 21.*

What-



Whatsoever the goods of fortune are, a man must have a proper sense to favour them : It is the enjoying, and not the possessing of them, that makes us happy.

Hor. l. 1. ep. 2. 47.

*Non domus & fundus, non eris acervus & auri,  
Agro domini deduxit corpore febres,  
Non animo curat, valeat possessor oportet,  
Qui comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.  
Qui cupit, aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus aut res,  
U: lippum picta tabula, fomenta podagram.  
Not house and land, and heapes of coine and gold  
Rid agues, which their sicke Lords body hold,  
Or cares from minde : th'owner must be in health,  
That well doth thinke to use his hoarded wealth.  
Him that desires or feares, house, goods, delight,  
As foment doe the gout, pictures fore-sight.*

He is a foole, his taste is wallowish and distracted, he enjoyeth it more, than one that hath a great cold doth the sweetnesse of Greeke wine, or a horse the riches of a costly-faire furniture, wherewith he is trapped. Even as *Plato* saith, *That health, beautie, strength, riches, and all things else he calleth good, are equally as ill to the unjust, as good to the just; and the evill contrariwise.* And then, where the body and the soule are in ill plight, what need these externall comodities? Seeing the least pricke of a needle, and passion of the mind is able to deprive us of the pleasure of the worlds Monarchy. The first fit of an ague, or the first gird that the gout gives him, what avails his goodly titles of Majesty?

Tibul. l. 1. El. 7. 71.

*Totus & argente conflatus, totus & auro.  
All made of silver fine,  
All gold pure from the mine,*

doth he not forthwith lose the remembrance of his pallaces and states? If he be angric or vexed, can his principalitie keepe him from blushing, from growing pale, from gnashing his teeth like a Bedlam? Now if it be a man of worth, and well borne, his royaltie, and his glorious titles will adde but little unto his good fortune.

Hor. l. 1. ep. 12. 5.

*Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, mi  
Divitie poterunt regales addere majus.  
If it be well with belly, feet, and sides,  
A Kings estate no greater good provides.*

He seeth they are but illusions, and vaine deceits. He may haply be of King *Selencus* his advice: *That he who fore-knew the weight of a Scepter, should he finde it lying on the ground, he would not daine to take it up.* This he said, by reason of the weightie, irksome and painefull charges, that are incident unto a good King. Truly, it is no finall matter to governe others, since so many crosses and difficulties offer themselves, if we will governe our selves well. Touching commanding of others, which in shew seemeth to be so sweet, considering the imbecillitie of mans judgement, and the difficultie of choice in new and doubtful things. I am confidently of this opinion, that it is much more easie and plausible to follow, than to guide: and that it is a great setting of the minde, to be tied but to one beate-path, and to answer but for himselfe.

Luc. li. 5. 1137.

*Ut satius multo jam sit, parere quietum,  
Quam regere imperiores velle. —  
Much better 'tis, in quiet to obey,  
Than to desire with Kings-power all to sway.*

Seeing *Cyrus* said, *That it belongs not to a man to command, that is not of more worth, than those whom he commandeth.* But King *Hieron* in *Xenophon* addeth moreover, *That in truly-enjoying of carnall sensualities, they are of much worse condition, than private men; forasmuch as ease and faelicitee, depriveth them of that sowre-sweet tickling, which we finde in them.*

Ovid. am. li. 2.  
el. 19. 25.

*Pinguis amor nimiumque potens, in cædia nobis  
Vertitur, & stomacho dulcis ut esca nocet.*

Fat



Fat over-powerfull love doth loathsome grow,  
As fullsome sweet-meats stomackes overthrow.

Thinke wee, that high-minded men take great pleasure in muscke? The satietie thereof makes it rather tedious unto them. Feasts, banquets, revels, dancings, masks and turneys, rejoyce them that but seldome see them, and that have much desired to see them: the taste of which becommeth cloyesome and unpleasing to those that daily see, and ordinarily have them: Nor doe Ladies tickle those, that at pleasure and without suspect may be gluttied with them. He that cannot stay till he be thirly, can take no pleasure in drinking. Enterludes and commedies rejoyce and make us merry, but to players they are tedious and tastelesse. Which to prove, we see, it is a delight for Princes, and a recreation for them, sometimes to disguise themselves, and to take upon them a base and popular kinde of life.

*Plerumque grata principibus vices,*

*Mundane parvo sub lare pauperum*

*Cena sine aulais & ostro;*

*Solicitam explicare frontem.*

Princes doe commonly like interchange

And cleanly meales where poore-men poorely house;

Without all tapistrie or carpets strange,

Unwrinkled have their care-knit, thought-bent browes.

*Hor. l. 3. od. 29.  
13.*

Nothing doth sooner breed a distaste or satietie, than plentie. What longing lust would not bee alaid, to see three hundred women at his dispose and pleasure, as hath the Grand Turke in his Seraille? And what a desire and shew of hawking had he reserved to himselfe from his ancestors, that never went abroad without seven thousand falkners at least? Besides which, I thinke, the luster of greatnesse, brings no finall incommodities to the enjoying of sweeter pleasures: they lie too open, and are too much in sight. And I wot not why a man should longer desire them to conceale or hide their fault: For, what in us is indiscretion, the people judgeth to be tyrannie, contempt, and disdain of the lawes in them: And besides the ready inclination unto vice: it seemeth they also adde unto it the pleasure of gourmandizing, and to prostrate publike observances under their feet. Verily *Plato* in his *Gorgias*, desireth him to be a tyrant, that in a Citie hath leave and power to doe what ever he list. And therefore often, the shew and publication of their vice hurteth more than the sinne it selfe. Every man feareth to be spied and controll'd; which they are even in their countenances and thoughts: All the people esteeming to have right and interest to judge of them. And we see that blemishes grow either lesser or bigger, according to the eminence, and light of the place, where they are set, and that a mole or a wart in ones forehead is more apparently perceived, than a scarre in another place. And that is the reason why Poets faine *Jupiters* loves to have beene effected under other countenances, than his owne; And of so many amorous-shifts, and love practises, they impute to him, there is but one (as farre as I remember) where he is to be scene in his greatnesse and majestie. But returne we to *Hieron*: he also relateth, how many incommodities he findeth in his royaltie, being so barred, that he cannot at his libertie travell to goe whether he pleaseth, being as it were a prisoner within the limits of his country; and that in all his actions he is encircled and hemd-in with an importunate and tedious multitude. Truly, to see our Princes all alone, sitting at their meat, beleagred round with so many talkers, whisperers, and gazing beholders, unknowne what they are or whence they come, I have often rather pittied than envied them. King *Alphonso* was wont to say, that burthen-bearing asses were in that, in farre better condition than Kings; for, their masters suffer them to feed at their ease, whereas Kings cannot obtaine that privilege of their servants. And it could never fall into my minde, that it might be any speciall commoditie to the life of a man of understanding, to have a score of find-faults, pickethanks, and controlers about his close-stoole, nor that the service of a man, that hath a thousand pound rent a yeare, or that hath taken *Casal*, or defended *Sienna*, is more commodious or acceptable to him, than that of a sufficient, and well-experienced groom. Princelike advantages, are in a manner but imaginarie preheminences. Every degree of fortune, hath some image of Principallitie. *Casartenneth* all the Lords, which in his time had justice in *France*, to be Kinglets, or pettie Kings. And truly, except the name of Sire, we goe very farre with our Kings. Looke but in the Provinces remote and farre from the



Senec. epist. 22.

court: As for example, in *Britanie*, the attending traine, the flocking subjects, the number of officers, the many affaires, the diligent service, the obsequious ceremonies of a Lord, that li- veth retired, and in his owne house, brought up amongst his owne servants, tenants, and fol- lowers: And note also the high pitch of his imaginations, and humours, there is no greater royaltie can be seene: He heareth no more talke of his matter, than of the *Persian King*, and haply but once a yeare: And knowes but some farre-fetcht, and old kindred or pedigree, which his Secretarie findes or keepes upon some ancient record or evidence. Verily our lawes are very free, and the burthen of soveraigntie, doth scarcely concerne a gentleman of *France* twice in his whole life. Essentiall and effectuall subjection amongst us doth not re- spect any, but such as allure themselves unto it, and that affect to honour, and love to enrich themselves by such service: For he that can shrowd and retire himselfe in his owne home, and can manage and direct his house without sutes in law, or quarrell with his neighbours, or domesticall encombrances, is as free as the Duke of *Venice*. *Paucos servitum, plures servi- tatem tenent. Service holds few, but many hold service.* But above all things *Hieron* seemeth to complaine, that he perceiveth himselfe deprived of all mutuall friendship, recipocall so- cietie, and familiar conversation, wherein consisteth the most perfect and sweetest fruit of humane life. For, what undoubted testimonie of affection and good will, can I expect or exact from him, that will he, or nill he, oweth me all he hath, all he can? Can I make account of his humble speech, of his low-lowing curtzie, or of his curteous offers, since it lieth not in his power to refuse them me? The honour we receive of those which feare and stand in awe of us, is no true honour. Such respects are rather due to royaltie, to majesty, than to me.

Sen. Thyest. act. 2. scen. 2.

*maximum hoc regni bonum est,*

*Quod facta domini cogitur populus sui*

*Quam ferre, tam laudare.*

This is chiefe good of Princes domination,

Subjects are forc't their sov'raignes actes and fashions

To beare with patience, passe with commendations.

Doe I not see, that both the bad and the good King are served alike? That hee who is ha- ted, and he that is beloved are both courted alike? And the one as much fawned upon as the other? My predecessor was served with the same apparances, and waited upon with the like ceremonies, and so shall my successor be. If my subjects offend me not, it is no testimonie of any good affection. Wherefore shall I take it in that sense, sithence they cannot, if they would? No man followeth me for any friendship that is betweene him and me: inasmuch as no firme friendship can be contracted, where is so small relation, so slender correspondencie, and such disparitie. My high degree hath excluded me from the commerce of men. There is too great an inequality, and distant disproportion. They follow for countenance, and of custome, or rather my fortune than my selfe: hoping thereby to encrease theirs. Whatsoever they say, all they doe unto me, is but a glosse, and but dissimulation, their libertie being every where brideled, and checked by the great power I have over them. I see nothing about me, but in- scrutible hearts, hollow mindes, fained looks, dissembled speeches, and counterfeited actions. His Courtiers one day commended *Julian* the Emperour for ministring of right, and doing of justice; *I should easily grow proud* (saith he) *for these praises, if they came from such as durst either accuse or discommend my contrary actions, should I commit any.* All the true commodi- ties that Princes have, are common unto them with men of meane fortune. It is for Gods to mount winged horses, and to feed on Ambrosia. They have no other sleepe, nor no other ap- petite than ours. Their Steele is of no better temper, than that wherewith we arme our selves. Their crowne, their diadem can neither hide them from the Sun, or shelter them from the raine. *Dioclesian* that wore one, so much revered, and so fortunate, did voluntarily resigne the same, to withdraw himselfe unto the pleasure of a private life; but a while after, the ur- gent necessitie of publike affaires requiring his presence, and that he should returne to re-as- sume his charge againe, he answered those that solicited him unto it; you would never under- take to perswade me to that, had you but seene the goodly rankes of trees, which my selfe have planted in mine Orchard, or the faire muske-melons, I have set in my garden. Accord- ing to *Anacharsis* his opinion, *The happiest estate of a well ordered common-wealth should be, where all other things being equally common, precedencie should be measured, & preferments* *suad*



ured according to veritie and desert, and the contrarie according to vice. At what time King Pirrhus undertooke to passe into Italy, Cyneas his wife and trustie countellor, going about to make him perceiue the vanitie of his ambition, one day belpake him thus. *My good Sir,* (said he) *To what end doe you prepare for so great an enterprise?* He answered suddenly, *To make my selfe Lord of Italie.* That done, what will you doe then? (replied Cyneas) *I will then passe* (said Pirrhus) *into Gaule, and then into Spaine: and what afterwards?* *I will then invade Affrike, and subdue the same, and at last, when I shall haue brought all the world under my subjection, I will then take my rest, and live contented at mine ease.* Now, for Gods sake Sir, (replied Cyneas) *Tell me, what hinders you, that you be not now, if so you please, in that estate? Wherefore doe you not now place your selfe, where you meane to aspire, and save so much danger, so many hazards, and so great troubles as you enterpose betweene both?*

*Nimirum quia non bene norat qua esset habendi*

*Finis, & omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas.*

The cause forsooth, he knew not what should be the end  
Of having, nor how far true pleasure should extend.

I will conclude and shut up this treatise with an ancient verse, which I singularly applaud, and deeme fit to this purpose.

*Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam.*

Ev'ry mans manners and his mind,

His fortune to him frame and find.

*Lucr. lib. 5. 14.*

43.

*Cic. Parad. 5.  
cor. Nep.*

### CHAP. XLIII.

#### *Of sumptuarie Lawes, or Lawes for moderating of expences.*

THE manner wherewith our Lawes assay to moderate the foolish and vaine expences of table-cheare and apparell, seemeth contrarie to it's end. The best course were to beger in men a contempt of gold and silke-wearing, as of vaine and unprofitable things, whereas we encrease their credit and price: A most indirect course to withdraw men from them. As for example, to let none but Princes eat dainties, or weare velvets, and clothes of Tissew, and interdict the people to doe it, what is it but to give reputation unto those things, and to encrease their longing to use them? Let Kings boldly quit those badges of honour; They have many other besides: Such excess is more excusable in other men, than in Princes. We may, by the examples of divers Nations, learne sundrie better fashions to distinguish our selves and our degrees (which truly I esteeme requisit in an estate,) without nourishing to that purpose, this so manifest corruption and apparant inconvenience. It is strange how custome in these indifferent things dorth easily encroch and suddenly establish the footing of her authoritie. We had scarce worne cloth one whole yeare at the Court, what time we mourned for our King Henrie the second, but certainly in every mans opinion, all manner of silks were already become so vile and abject, that was any man seene to weare them, he was presently judged to be some countrie fellow, or mechanicall man. They were left only for Chyrurgians and Physitians. And albeit most men were apparreled alike, yet were there other sufficient apparant distinctions of mens qualities. How soone doe plaine chamoy-jerkins, and greasie canvase doublets creepe into fashion and credit amongst our souldiers, if they lie in the field? And the garishnesse, neatnesse, and riches of silken garments grow in contempt and scorne? Let Kings first begin to leave these superfluous expences, we shall all follow, and within a moneth, without edicts, ordinances, proclamations, and acts of Parliament, it will be observed as a law. The statutes should speake contrarie, as thus. That no man or woman, of what qualitie soever, shall, upon paine of great forfeitures, weare any manner of silke, of skarlet, or any gold-smiths worke, except only Enterlude-players, Harlots, & Curtizans. With such an invention did *Zelus* whilome correct the corrupted manners of the *Locrines*. His ordinances were such. Be it enacted, that no woman of free condition, shall

have



have any more than one maid-servant to follow her when she goeth abroad, except when she shall be drunken; And further, that she may not goe out of the Citie by night, nor weare any jewels of gold, or precious stones about her, nor any gowne beset with gold-smiths worke, or imbroiderie, except she be a publike-professed whore: and moreover, that except panders and bawds, it shall not be lawfull for any man to weare any gold-rings on his fingers, nor any rich garments, as are such of cloth made in the Citie of *Miletum*. So did he by these reprochfull exceptions ingeniously drive his Citizens from vaine superfluities, and pernicious dainties. It was a most profitable course, by honour and ambition to allure men unto their dutie and obedience. Our Kings have the power to addresse all these externall reformati-  
*Quicquid Principes faciunt, præcipere videntur. Whatsoever Princes doe, that, they seeme to command.* The rest of *France* takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Besolas manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes;) And for a gentleman to come to any place of respect, without his rapier by his side, all unbraced, all untruss, as if he came from his close-stoole: And that, against our forefathers manner, and the particular libertie of our *French* nobilitie, we should stand bare-headed, aloofe-off from them, wheresoever they be, and as about them, about many others: So many petty-kings, and petty-petty-kinglets have we now adayes: And so of others like new-fangled and vicious introductions: They shall soone be seene to vanish and be left. Although but superficial faults, yet are they of evill presages. And we are warned, that the foundation or maine summers of our houses faile and shrink, when we see the quarters bend, or wals to breake. *Plato* in his Lawes, thinks there is no worse plague, or more pernicious in his Citie, than to suffer youth, to have the reins of libertie in her owne hand, to change in their attires in their gestures, dances, exercises, and songs, from one forme to another: And to remove their judgement, now to this, now to that place; following new-fangled devices, and regarding their inventors: By which, old customes are corrupted, and ancient institutions despised. In all things, except the wicked, mutation is to be feared; yea, even the alteration of seasons, of winds, of livings, and of humours. And no lawes are in perfect credit, but those to which God hath given some ancient continuance: So that no man know their of-spring, nor that ever they were other than they are.

#### CHAP. XLIV.

##### Of Sleeping.

**R**eason doth appoint us ever to walke in one path, but not alwaies to keepe one place: And that a wise man should not permit humane passions to stray from the right carrier; he may (without prejudice unto his dutie) also leave it unto them either to hasten or to slow his pace, and not place himselfe as an immoveable and impassible *Colossus*. Were vertue herselfe corporeall and incarnate, I think her pulse would beat and worke stronger, marching to an assault, than going to dinner: For, it is necessarie that she heat and move herselfe. I have therefore mark't it as a rare thing, to see great personages sometimes, even in their weightiest enterprises, and most important affaires, hold themselves so resolutely-assured in their state, that they doe not so much as breake their sleepe for them. *Alexander* the great, on the day appointed for that furious-bloudy battel against *Darius*, slept so soundly and so long that morning, that *Parmenion* was faine to enter his chamber, and approaching neere unto his bed, twice or thrice to call him by his name, to awaken him, the houre of the battle being at hand, and urging him. *Otho* the Emperour having determined to kill himselfe; the very same night, after he had given order for his domestical affaires, shared his

monie



monie among his servants, and whetted the edge of a sword, wherewith he intended to wound himselfe, expecting no other thing, but to know whether all his friends were gone to rest, fell into so sound a sleepe, that the groomes of his chamber heard him snort in another roome. This Emperours death hath many parts scinblable unto that of great *Cato*, and namely this: For, *Cato* being prepared to defeat himselfe, whilst he expected to heare newes, whether the Senators, whom he caused to retire, were launched out from the haven of *Urica*, fell so fast asleep, that he was heard to snort into the next chamber: And he whom he had sent toward the port, having awaked him, to tell him, the storme was so rough, that the Senators could not conveniently put out to sea, he sent another, and lying downe a new, fell asleep againe, untill the last messenger assured him, they were gone. We may also compare him unto *Alexander*, in that great and dangerous storme, which threatned him, by the sedition of *Metellus* the Tribune, who laboured to publish the decree of *Pompeys* re-appeall into the Citie, together with his army, at what time the commotion of *Castrine* was on foot: against which decree only *Cato* did insist, and to that purpose had *Metellus* and he had many injurious speeches, and menaced one another in the Senate-house: And it was the next day, they were like to come to the execution in the market-place, where *Metellus*, besides the favour of the common people, and of *Cesar*, then conspiring and complotting for the advancement of *Pompey*, should come, accompanied with a multitude of strange and forraine slaves and souldiers, to doe their utmost: And *Cato* strengthened with his only constancie, and with an unmatred resolve: So that his kinsmen, his familiars, and many honest men tooke great care, and were in heavy anxietie and pensivenesse for him: of which many never left him all night, but sate up together, without rest, eating, or drinking, by reason of the danger they saw prepared for him; yea, his wife and sisters did nought but weep and waile, and for his sake torment themselves in their house, whereas contrariwise he alone comforted every body, and blamed them, for their demissionesse: And after he had supped, (as he was wont) he went quietly to his bed, and slept very soundly untill the next morning, that one of his copartners in the Tribune-ship, came to call him, to goe to the skirmish. The knowledge we have of this mans unmatred-haughty heart, by the rest of his life; may make us judge with all securitie, that it only proceeded from a spirit, so far elevated above such accidents, that he dained not so much as to trouble his minde with them, no more than with ordinarie chances. In the sea-fight, which *Augustus* gained against *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicilie*, even at the instant he should goe to fight, was surpris'd with so heavy a sleep, that his friends were compelled to awaken him, to give the signall of the battell; which afterward gave occasion unto *Marcus Antonius*, to charge him with this imputation, that he had not dared with open eyes to survey the marshalling of his army, and that his heart would not suffice him, to present himselfe unto his souldiers, untill such time that *Agrippa* brought him newes of the victorie he had obtained of his enemies. But concerning young *Marinus*, who committed a greater errour (for on the day of his last battell against *Sylla*, after he had marshalled his army, and given the word or signall of the battell) he lay downe in the shadow under a tree, a while to rest himselfe, and fell so fast asleep, that he could hardly be awaked with the rout and flight of his men, having scene no part of the fight, they say, it was because he was so exceedingly aggravated with travell, and over-tired with weatinesse, and want of sleep, that nature was overcome, and could no longer endure. And touching this point, Physicians may consider; whether sleep be so necessarie, that our life must needs depend of it: For we finde that *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, prisoner at *Rome*, being kept from sleep, was made to die; but *Plinie* allegeth, that some have lived a long time without any sleep at all. And *Herodotus* reporteth, *There are Nations, where men sleep and wake by halfe yeares.* And those that write the life of *Epimenides* the wise, affirme, that he slept the continual space of seven and fifty yeares.



## CHAP. XLV.

## Of the battell of Dreux.

There hapned divers rare accidents, and remarkable chances in our battell of *Dreux*: but those who doe not greatly favour the reputation of the Duke of *Guise*, doe boldly alledge, that he cannot be excused, to have made a stand, and temporised with the forces he commanded, whilst the Lord Constable of *France*, Generall of the Armie, was engaged and suppressed with the enemies Artillerie, and that it had beene better for him, to hazard himselfe, to charge the enemy flankwise, than by expecting any advantage, to have him come behind him, to suffer so reprochfull an overthrow, and so shamefull a losse. But omitting what the event thereof witnessed, he that shall without passion debate the matter, shall easily (in my conceit) confesse, that the ayme and drift, not onely of a Captaine, but of every particular Souldier, ought chiefly to respect a victory in great: And that no particular occurrences, of what consequence soever, or what interest may depend on them, should never divert him from that point. *Philopæmen* in an encounter with *Machanidas*, having sent before, a strong troupe of Archers, and good marke men, to begin the skirmish: and the enemy, after he had put them to rout and dis-ranked them, amassing himselfe in mainly pursuing them, and following the victory alongst the maine battell, where *Philopæmen* was, although his souldiers were much moved and offended to see their fellows put to the worst, he could not be induced to bouge from his place, nor make head against his enemy, to succour his men; but rather, having suffered them to be defeated, and cut in peeces before his face, began then to charge his enemies in the battalion of their Infanterie, when he perceived them forsaken of their horsemen: And albeit they were Lacedæmonians, forasmuch as he charged them, at what time (supposing to have gained the day) they began to disorder themselves, he easily overcame them; which done, he pursued *Machanidas*. This case, is cousin-german unto that of the Duke of *Guise*. In that sharpe-bloody battell of *Agefilæus* against the *Bœotians*, which *Xenophon* (who was there present) saith, *To have beene the hottest and rudest, that ever he had seene*: *Agefilæus* refused the advantage, which fortune presented him, to let the battalion of the *Bœotians* passe, and to charge them behind, what certaine victorie soever he saw likely to follow the same, esteeming that it were rather skill than valour, and to shew his prowess, and matchlesse-haughty courage, chose rather to charge them in the front of their forces: But what followed? He was well beaten, and himselfe fore-hurt, and in the end compelled to leave his enterprize, and embrace the resolution, which in the beginning he had refused, causing his men to open themselves, to give passage unto that torrent of the *Bœotians*; who when they were past through, perceiving them to march in disaray, as they who perswaded themselves to be out of all danger, he pursued them, and charged them flank-wise. All which notwithstanding, he could never put to rout, or force them run-away, for they, orderly, and faire and softly made their retreat, ever shewing their face, untill such time as they got safely into their holds and trenches.

## CHAP. XLVI.

## Of Names.

What diversitie soever there be in herbs, all are shuffled up together under the name of a sallade. Even so, upon the consideration of names, I will here huddle up a gallymasie of diverse articles. Every several nation hath some names, which, I wot not how  
are



are sometimes taken in ill part, as with us *Lacke, Hodge, Tom, Will, Bat, Benet*, and so forth. Item, it seemeth that in the genealogies of Princes, there are certaine names fatally affected; as *Ptolemus* with the *Egyptians*, *Henries* in *England*, *Charles* in *France*, *Baldwins* in *Flanders*, and *Williams* in our ancient *Aquitaine*, whence some say came the name of *Guienne*; which is but a cold invention: As if in *Plato* himselfe there were not some as harsh and ill-sounding. Item, it is an idle matter, yet nevertheless, by reason of the strangenesse, worthy the memorie, and recorded by an ocular witnessse, that *Henrie* Duke of *Normandie*, sonne to *Henrie* the second King of *England*, making a great feast in *France*, the assembly of the Nobilitie was so great, that for pastimes sake, being, by the resemblance of their names, divided into severall companies: in the first were found a hundred and ten Knights sitting at one table, and all called *Williams*; besides private Gentlemen and servants. It is as pleasant to distribute the tables by the names of the assistants, as it was unto *Gera* the Emperor, who would have all his messes or dishes served in at his table orderly according to the first letters of their names; As for example, those that began with *P.* as pig, pie, pike, puddings, pouts, porke, pancakes, &c. were all served in together; and so of all the rest. Item, it is a common saying, *That it is good to have a good name*: As much to say, good credit, or good reputation. Yet verely it is very commodious to have a well-sounding and smooth name, and which is easie to be pronounced, and facile to be remembred: For Kings, Princes, Lords, and Magistrates know and remember us the better by them, and will not so soone forget us. Marke but of those that serve and follow us, whether we doe not more ordinarily command, and sooner employ such, whose names come readier to our tongue, or memorie. I have seene our King *Henrie* the second, who could never hit on the right name of a Gentleman of *Gascogne*; and did ever call a Lady waiting on the Queene, by the generall surname of her house, because that of her father was so harsh, and hard to be remembred. And *Socrates* saith, *It ought to be a fathers speciall care, to give his children good and easie-sounding names*. Item, it is reported, that the foundation of our Lady the great at *Poitiers* had this beginning; A licentious young man having his dwelling-house where the Church now standeth, had one night gotten a wench to lie with him, who so soone as she came to bed, he demanded her name, who answered, *Marie*: The young man hearing that name, was suddenly so stricken with a motive of religion, and an awefull respect unto that sacred name, of the virgin *Marie*, the blessed mother of our Saviour and Redeemer, that he did not onely presently put her away from him, but reformed all the remainder of his succeeding life: And that in consideration of this miracle, there was first erected a Chappell in the place where this young mans house stood, consecrated unto that holy name, and afterward the faire great Church, which yet continueth. This vocal and auricular correction, and so full of devotion, stricke right unto his soule. This other following, of the same kind, insinuated it selfe by the corporall senses. *Pythagoras* being in companie with two young men, whom he heard complot and consult (being somewhat heated with feasting and drinking) to go and ravish a chaste-house, commanded immediatly the minstrels to change their tune; and so by a solemne, grave, severe, and spondaicall kinde of musicke, did sweetly inchaunt, allay, and in-trance their rash, violent, and law-lesse lust. Item, shall not succeeding posteritie say, that our moderne reformation hath beene exact and delicate, to have not only oppugned and resisted errors and vices, and filled the world with devotion, humilitie, obedience, peace, and every other kinde of vertue, but even to have combated their ancient names of baptisme, *Charles, Lewis, Francis*; so people the world with *Methusalem, Ezechiel, Malachie*, much better feeling of a lively faith? A Gentleman my neighbour, esteeming the commodities of ancient times in regard of our daies, forgot not to alledge the fiercenesse and magnificence of the names of the Nobilitie of those times, as *Don Grumedan, Quedragan, and Agesilan*: And that, but to heare them sounded, a man might easily perceive, they had beene other manner of men, than *Peter, Guillot, or Michell*. Item, I commend, and am much beholding to *James Amiot*, in the course of a French oration of his to have still kept the full ancient Latine names, without disguising or changing them, to give them a new French cadence. At the first they seemed somewhat harsh unto the Reader; but now, by reason of the credit, which his *Plutarke* hath deservedly gotten amongst us, custome hath removed all strangenesse from us. I have often wished that those who write histories in Latine, would leave us our names whole, and such as they are: For, altering *Vaudemont*, to *Vallemontanus*, and metamorphosing them, by



fixing them to the Græcian or Latin tongue, we know not what to make of them, & are often at a non-plus. To conclude my discourse; It is an ill custome, & of exceeding bad consequence in our countie of *France*, to call every man by the name of his Towne, Mannor, Hamlet, or Lordship, as the thing that doth most confound houses, and bring sur-names out of knowledge. A cadet or yonger-brother of a good house, having had for his appanage a Lordship, by whose name he hath bene knowne and honoured, cannot well forsake and leave the same ten yeares after his death; His Lordship cometh unto a stranger, who doth the like: Ghesse then where we are, and how we shall doe to come to the perfect knowledge of these men. Wee need not goe far for other examples, but looke into our Royall house, where so many partages, so many sur-names, and so many severall titles have so encumbered us, that the originall of the stocke is utterly lost. There is so much libertie in these mutations, that even in my time, I have seene no man nor woman advanced by fortune unto some extraordinary preferment, that hath not immediatly had adjoyned unto him or her Genealogicall titles, new and unknowne to their fathers, and that hath not bene engrafted into some noble stocke or family. And as good lucke serveth, the basest upstart, and most obscure houses are most apt unto adulteration, and falsification. How many privat Gentlemen have we in *France*, which according to their accompt, and blazoning of their gentrie, are of the royall blood or race? I beleve more than others. Was it not pretily said, and with a good grace, by one of my friends? There was a great companie banded together about a quarell which a Gentleman had with another, who in very truth had some prerogative of titles, honours, and alliances above the common sort of Nobilitie; upon which word of his prerogative, every one seeking to equall himselfe unto him, alleaged, some one of-spring, some another, some the resemblance of his name, some of his armes, other some an old far-fetcht pedigree, and the meanest of them to be the great grand-child of some King beyond the Seas. When they came all to dinner, this man whom hitherto they had all followed, in lieu of taking his wonted place, making low-lowting reverences, went to the lowest end of the board, entreating the companie to hold him excused, that through rash-unadvisednesse he had hitherto lived with them companion-like, but now being lately enformed of their right qualities, he began to know them according to their ancient degrees, and that it did not duly belong unto him to sit above so many Princes. And after he had acted his play, he began to raile upon them with a thousand injuries; saying thus unto them. For the love of God content your selves, with what your forefathers have bene contented, and with the state whereto God hath called us: we have sufficient if we can maintaine it well, let us not disparage the fortune and condition of our predecessors; and reject we these fond imaginations, which cannot faile any man, whatsoever he be, that is so impudent as to alleage them. Crests, Armes, and Coats have no more certaintie than surnames. I beare Azure seme of trefoiles, a Lions Paw in face, Or, armed Gules. What privilege hath this Coat, that it should for ever continue particularly to my house? A sonne in law will transerre the same into another family: Some silly-upstart purchaser of Armes, will make it his chiefe Coat. There is nothing wherein meet so many alterations, and so much confusion.

But this consideration draweth me perforce unto another field. Let us somewhat narrowly search-into, and for Gods sake consider, on what foundation we ground this glorie and reputation, for which the world is turned topsie-turvie. On what doe we establish this transitorie renowne, which with so great mind-pollieffing toyle, and industrie we seeke and gape-after? In fine, it is *Peter* or *William*, that beareth the fame (make it well Reader) and to whom it belongeth. Is not hope a couragious facultie, which in a mortall subject, and in a moment, seeks to usurp infinite, and immensitie, and to replenish his Masters indigence with the possession of all things he can imagine or desire, before it would? Nature hath given us a pleasant joy to play withall in that. Is it *Peter* or *William*. And what is that but a word for a mouth? or three or foure dashes of a pen, first, so easie to be varied, as I would willingly aske those, whom the honor of so many victories concerneth, or whether *Guesquin*, or *Glesquin*, or *Gueaquin*? yet were there more apparence her, than in *Lucian* that *Σ*. did sue *T*. for,

— non levia aut ludicra petuntur —

Premia:

No light prize, no reward in jest  
Is hunted after as the best.

Ving. Ansb.  
22.764.

The



The wager goeth deepe: The question is, which letter must be paid, with so many sieges, battels, hurts, emprisonments, and services done unto the Crowne of France by her ever renowned Constable, *Nicholas Denisot* hath had no care but of the letters of his name, and hath changed all the contexture of them, there out to frame the Earle of *Alfonsus*, whom he hath honored and presented with the glorie of his Poetrie and Painting. And *Suetonius* the Historian hath loved but the sense of his owne, and having taken away *Lenie*, which was his fathers surname, hath left *Tranquillus* successor of his compositions reputation. Who would beleeve, Captaine *Bayard* hath no honor, but that which he hath borrowed from the acts of *Peter Terrail*? And that *An:onio Escalin* (even before his eies) suffered Captaine *Poulin*, and the Baron of *La Garde*, to steal so many Navigations, voyages, and attempts, both by sea and land from him? Secondly, they are dashes, and trickes of the pen, common unto a thousand men. How many are there in all races or families both of one name and surname? And how many in divers families, races, ages, and countries? Historie hath knowne three *Socrates*, five *Platoes*, eight *Aristotles*, seven *Xenophons*, twenty *Demetrius*, twenty *Theodores*: besides which, imagine how many came not to her knowledge. Who letteth my horse boy to call himselfe *Pompey* the great? But after all, what meanes, what devices, are there that annex unto my horse-keeper deceased, or to that other who had his head cut off in *Egypt*, or that joyne unto them this glorified and far-renowned word, and these pen-dashes so much honoured that they may thereby advantage themselves?

*Id cinerem & manes credis curare sepulchro?*

Thinke you, ghost's buried, ashes dead;

Care much how we alive are sped?

Lib. 4. 34.

What feeling motion of revenge have the two companions in chiefe valor amongst men; *Epaminondas* of that glorious verse, which so many ages since is so common in our mouthes for him?

*Consilium nostris laus est atria Laconum.*

By our complots the haught renowne,

Of Spartan Gallants was brought downe.

de Tusc. qu. 1. 3.

And *Africanus* of that other:

*A sole exoriente, supra Maeotis paludes*

*Nemo est, qui factis me aequiparare queat?*

From Sun rise to the Scythian-lake, of fame

None in exploits can equalize my name.

ibid.

Those that survive are tickled with the pleasure of these words, and by them solicited with jealousie and desire, doe presently without consideration transmit by fantasie this their proper motion of revenge unto the deceased; and with a fond-deceiving hope perswade themselves, when their turne commeth to be capable of it. God he knowes it, nevertheless:

— *ad hoc se*

*Romanus Graiusque & Barbarus Induperator*

*Erexit, causas discriminis atque laboris*

*Inde habuit, tanto major fama sitis est, quam*

*Virtutis.*

Heerto himselfe the Romane Generall,

The Graecian, the Barbarian, rouz'd and rais'd;

Heere hence drew cause of perils, travells all:

So more, than to be good, thirst to be prais'd.

Juv. sat. 10. 137.

## CHAP. XLVII.

### Of the uncertaintie of our judgement.

IT is even as, that verse saith,

Ἐπὶ τὸν πλὺντόν μὲν ἰδοὺ καὶ ἰδοὺ.

Of



Of words on either side,  
A large doale they divide.

There is law sufficient to speake every where, both *pro* and *contra*; As for example:

Pet. Par. 1. son.  
26.11.

*Vinse Hannibal, & non sepp' usar' poi*  
*Ben la vittoriosa sua ventura.*  
Hannibal conquer'd, but he knew not after  
To use well his victorious good fortune.

Hethat shall take this part, and with our men go about, to make that over-sight prevaile, that we did not lately pursue our fortune at *Montcontour*: Or he that shall accuse the King of *Spaine*, who could not use the advantage he had against us at *Saint Quintin*, may say this fault to have proceeded from a minde drunken with his good fortune, and from a courage full-gorged with the beginning of good lucke; loseth the taste how to encrease it, being already hindred from digesting what he hath conceived of it: He hath his hands full, and cannot take hold any more: Unworthy that ever fortune should cast so great a good into his lap: For, what profit hath he of it, if notwithstanding, he give his enemy leasure and meanes to recover himselfe? What hope may one have, that he will once more adventure to charge these re-enforced and re-united forces, and new armed with despite and vengeance, that durst not, or knew not how to pursue them being dismaied and put to rout?

LUCAN. l. 7. 734.

*Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror.*

While fortune is at height in heat,  
And terror worketh all by great.

But to conclude, what can he expect better, than what he hath lately lost? It is not, as at *Fence*, where the number of venies given, gets the victorie: So long as the enemy is on foot, a man is newly to begin. It is no victorie, except it end the warre. In that conflict where *Cesar* had the worse, neere the Citie of *Oricum*, he reprochfully said unto *Pompey's* Souldiers, *That he had utterly benee overthrowne, hadi their Captaine knowne how to conquer: and paid him home after another fashion when it came to his turne.* But why may not a man also hold the contrarie? That it is the effect of an insatiate and rash-headlong minde, not to know how to limit or period his covetousnesse: That it is an abusing of Gods favours, to goe about to make them lose the measure he hath prescribed them, and that a new to cast himselfe into danger after the victorie, is once more to remit the same unto the mercie of fortune: That one of the chiefest policies in militarie profession, is, not to drive his enemy unto despaire. *Silla* and *Marinus* in the sociall warre, having discomfited the *Marians*, seeing one squadron of them yet on foot, which through despaire, like furious beasts were desperately coming upon them, could not be induced to stay or make head against them. If the fervor of *Montieur de Foix* had not drewne him over rashly and moodily to pursue the straglers of the victorie at *Ravenna*, he had not blemished the same with his untimely death; yet did the fresh-bleeding memorie of his example serve to preserve the Lord of *Anguien* from the like inconvenience, at *Serisoles*. It is dangerous to assaile a man, whom you have bereaved of all other meanes to escape or shift for himselfe, but by his weapons: for, necessitie is a violent school-mistress, and which teacheth strange lessons: *Gravissimi sunt morsus irrita a necessitate.* No biting so grievous, as that of necessitie provoked and enraged.

LUCAN. l. 4. 278.

*Vincitur haud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem.*

For nought you over-come him not,  
Who bids his foe come cut his throat.

And that is the reason, why *Pharax* impeached the King of *Lacedamon*, who came from gaining of a victorie against the *Mantineans*, from going to charge a thousand *Argians*, that were escaped whole from the discomfiture; but rather to let them passe with all libertie, lest he should come to make triall of provoked and despited vertue, through and by ill fortune. *Clodomire* King of *Aquitaine*, after his victorie, pursuing *Gondemar* King of *Burgundie*, vanquished and running away, forced him to make a stand, and make head againe: but his unadvised wilfulnesse deprived him of the fruit of the victorie, for he dyed in the action. Likewise he that should chuse, whether it were best to keepe his souldiers richly and sumptuously armed, or only for necessitie, should seeme to yeeld in favour of the first, whereof was *Sertorius*, *Philopæmen*, *Brutus*, *Cesar*, and others, urging that it is ever a spur to honour and glorie, for a souldier to see himselfe gorgeously attired, and richly armed, and an occasion to yeeld



yeeld himselfe more obstinate to fight, having the care to save his armes, as his goods and inheritance. A reason (saith *Xenophon*) why the Asiatikes carried with them, when they went to warres their wives and Concubines, with all their jewels and chiefest wealth. And might also encline to the other side, which is, that a man should rather remove from his souldier, all care to preserve himselfe, than to encrease it unto him: for, by that meanes he shall doubly feare to hazard or engage himselfe, seeing these rich spoiles do rather encrease an earnest desire of victorie in the enemy: and it hath beene observed, that the said respect hath sometimes wonderfully encouraged the Romans against the Samnites. *Antiochus* shewing the Armie, he prepared against them, gorgeously accoutred with all pompe and stateliness, unto *Hanniball*, and demanding of him, whether the Romanes would be contented with it: yea verily, answered the other, they will be very well pleased with it! They must needs be so, were they never so covetous. *Licurgus* forbad his Souldiers, not onely all manner of sumptuousnesse, in their equipage, but also to uncase or strip their enemies, when they overcame them, willing, as he said, that frugalitie and poverrie should shine with the rest of the battell. Both at sieges, and else-where, where occasion brings us neere the enemy, we freely give our souldiers libertie, to brave, to disdain, and injurie him with all manner of reproaches: And not without apparence of reason; for, it is no small matter, to take from them all hope of grace and composition, in presenting unto them, that there is no way left to expect it, from him, whom they have so egregiously outraged, and that there is no remedy left but from victorie. Yet had *Vercellus* but bad successe in that; for, having to deale with *Otho*, weaker in his Souldiers valour, and of long disaccustomed from warre, and effeminated through the delights and pleasures of the Citie, himselfe in the end set them so on fire with his reproachfull and injurious words, upbrayding them with their puslanimitie and faint-heartednesse, and with the regret of their Ladies, Banquettings and sensualities, which they had left at *Rome*, that he put them into heart againe, which no perswasions or other means could doe before; and thereby drew them, whom nought could have driven, to fight, and fall upon him. And verily, when they are injuries that touch a man to the quicke, they shall easily urge him, who was very backward to fight for his Kings quarrel, to be very forward in his owne cause or interest. If a man but consider of what consequence the preservation, and importance, the safetie of a generall is in an Armie, and how the enemies chiefest ayme, is at the fairest marke, which is the head, from which all other depend, it seemeth that that counsell cannot be doubted of, which by sundrie great Chieftaines we have scene put in practice, which is, in the beginning of the fight, or in the fury of the battell, to disguise themselves. Notwithstanding the inconvenience a man may by this meanes incurre, is no lesse than that mischief, which a man seeketh to avoid: For the Captaine being unscene and unknowne of his Souldiers, the courage they take by his example, and the heart they keep by his presence, is therewithall empaired and diminished; and losing the knowne ensignes, and accustomed markes of their Leader, they either deeme him dead, or despairing of any good successe, to be fled. And touching experience, we sometimes see it to favour the one, & sometimes the other partie. The accident of *Pirrhus* in the battell he had against the Consul *Levinus* in *Italie*, serveth us for both uses: For, by concealing himselfe under the armes of *Demogacles*, and arming him with his owne, indeed he saved his life, but was in great danger to fall into the other mischief, & lose the day. *Alexander*, *Cesar*, *Lucullus*, loved (at what time they were to enter fight) to arme and attire themselves with the richest armes, and garish clothes they had, and of particular bright-shining colours. *Agis*, *Agésilas*, and that great *Gilippus*, contrarie, would ever goe to warres meanly accoutred, and without any imperiall ornament. Among other reproaches, that *Pompey* is charged withall in the battell of *Pharsalia*, this is one speciall, that he idly lingred with his Armie, expecting what his enemy would attempt; forasmuch as that (I will heare borrow the very words of *Plutarke*, which are of more consequence than mine) weakneth the violence, that running giveth the first blowes, and therewithall removeth the charging of the Combatants one against another, which more, than any other thing is wont to fill them with fury and impetuosity, when with vehemence they come to enter-shocke one another, augmenting their courage by the cry & running; and in a manner alayeth and quailth the heart of the Souldiers: Loe-here what he saith concerning this. But had *Cesar* lost, who might not also have said, that contrariwise the strongest and firmest situation, is that, wherein a man keeps his stand without budging, and that



that who is settled in his march, closing, and against any time of need, sparing his strength in himselfe, hath a great advantage against him, that is in motion and disordered, and that running hath already consumed part of his breath? Moreover, that an armie being a body composed of so many severall parts, it is impossible it should in such furie advance it selfe with so just a march, and proportioned a motion, and not breake and dis-ranke, or at least alter her ordinance, and that the nimblest be not grappling before his fellowes may helpe him. In that drearie battell of the two Persian brethren, *Clearchus* the Lacedemonian, who commanded the Græcians that followed *Cyrus* his faction, led them faire and gently without any hast-making to their charges; but when he came within fifty paces of his enemies, he bad them with all speed to run unto it; hoping by the shortnesse of the distance to manage their order, and direct their breath; in the meane time giving them the advantage of the impetuositie, both for their bodies, and for their shooting-ammes. Others have ordered this doubt in their army after this manner: If your enemies headlong run upon you, stay for them and bouge not: If they without stirring stay for you, run with furie upon them.

In the passage which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth made into *Provence*, our King *Francis* the first, stood a good while upon this choice; whether it were best, by way of prevention, to go and meet with him in *Italie*, or to stay his coming into *France*: and albeit he considered what an advantage it is, for one to preserve his house from the troubles and mischiefs that warre brings with it, to the end that possessing her whole strength, it may continually in all times of need, store him with money, and supply him with all other helps; and considering how the necessitie of direfull warre, doth usually enforce a Generall to make spoile of goods, and waste the Countrey, which cannot well be done in our owne goods & countrey: and if the countreiman doth not as patiently endure this ravage at his friends hands, as at his enemies, so as seditions may ensue amongst our owne factions, and troubles among our friends: That licence to rob and spoile, which in his Countrey may not be tolerated, is a great furtherance in a Souldier, and makes him the more willing, to endure the miseries and toylings that follow warre: And what a hard matter it is to keep the Souldier in office & heart, who hath no other hope of profit, but his bare pay, and is so neere his wife, his children, his friends, & his home: That he who layeth the cloth, is ever put to the greatest charges: That there is more pleasure in assailing than in defending: And that the apprehension of a battell lost in our owne home and entrailes, is so violent, that it may easily shake the whole frame, and distemper the whole body. Seeing there is no passion so contagious, as that of feare, nor so easie apprehended and taken a-trust, or doth more furiously possesse all parts of man: And that the Cities or Townes, which have either heard the bustling noise of the Tempest, or scene the sparkles of this all-consuming fire at their gates, or have perhaps received their Captaines wounded, their Citizens pursued, and their Souldiers spoiled, and all out of breath, if they be not more than obstinately constant, it is a thousand to one, if in that brunt of furie, they doe not headlong cast themselves into some desperate resolution: yet did he conclude and chose this resolve for the best. First to revoke his forces, he had beyond the Mountaines in *Italie*, and to stay his enemies approaches. For, he might on the contrarie part imagine, that being in his owne Countrey, and amidst good friends, he had the better leasure to re-enforce his decayed forces, and more opportunity, to strengthen Townes, to munite Castles, to store Rivers with all necessaries they wanted, and to keepe all passages at his devotion, which done, all the wayes should be open for him, and might by them have all manner of victuals, money, and other habilements of warre brought him, in safety, & without convoy: that he should have his Subjects so much the more affectionate unto him, by how much nearer they should see the danger: That having so many Cities, Townes, Holds, Castles, and Barres for his securitie, he might at all times, according to opportunitie and advantage, appoint and give Law unto the fight: And if he were pleased to temporize, whilest he tooke his ease, kept his forces whole, and maintained himself in safety, he might see his enemy consume and waste himself, by the difficulties which daily must necessarily assault, environ and combat him, as he who should be engaged in an enemy-countrey and foe-land; Where he should have nothing, nor meet with any thing, either before, or behind him, or of any side; that did not offer him continuall warre: no way nor meanes to refresh, to ease or give his armie elbow-room, if any sicknesse or contagion should come amongst his men; nor shelter to lodge his hurt and maymed Souldiers: where neither monie, munition, nor victuals might come unto him, but



at the sword's point; where he should never have leasure to take any rest, or breath; where he should have no knowledge of places, passages, woods, foords, rivers, or countrie, that might defend him from ambuscados, or surprises: And if he should unfortunately chance to lose a battell, no hope to save, or means to re-unite the reliques of his forces. And there want not examples to strengthen both sides. *Scipio* found it better for him to invade his enemies countrie of *Africa*, than to defend his owne, and fight with him in *Italie*, where he was, wherein he had good successe. But contrariwise, *Hanniball*, in the same warre wrought his owne overthrow, by leaving the conquest of a forraigne countrie, for to goe and defend his owne. The Athenians having left the enemy in their owne land, for to passe into *Sicilie*, had very ill successe, and were much contrari'd by fortune: whereas *Agathocles* King of *Siracusa* prospered and was favoured by her, what time he passed into *Africa*, and left the warre on foot in his owne countrie. And we are accustomed to say with some shew of reason, that especially in matters of warre, the events depend (for the greatest part) on fortune; which seldome will yeeld, or never subject her selfe unto our discourse or wisdom, as say these ensuing verses.

*Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax;*

*Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes:*

*Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:*

*Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogatque regasque*

*Majus, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.*

'Tis best for ill advis'd, wisdom may faile,

Fortune proves not the cause that should prevaile,

But here and there without respect doth faile,

A higher power forsooth us over-drawes,

And mortall states guides with immortall lawes.

But if it be well taken, it seemeth that our counsels and deliberations, doe as much depend of her; and that fortune doth also engage our discourses and consultations in her trouble and uncertaintie. *We reason rashly, and discourse at random*, saith *Timens* in *Plato*: For, even as we, so have our discourses great participation with the temeritie of hazard.

*Manilastr.*  
*lib. 4. 95.*

## CHAP. XLVIII.

### *Of Steeds, called in Freneh Destriers.*

**B**Ehold, I am now become a Gramarian, I, who never learn't tongue but by way of roat, and that yet know not what either Adjective, Conjunctive, or Ablative meaneth. As far as I remember, I have sometimes heard say, that the Romanes had certaine horses, which they called *Funales*, or *Dextrarios*, which on the right hand were led by, as spare horses, to take them fresh at any time of need: And thence it cometh, that we call horses of service *Destriers*. And our ancient Romanes doe ordinarily say, to *Adexter*, in steed of, to accompanie. They also called *Desultorios equos*, certaine horses that were so taught, that mainly running with all the speed they had, joyning sides to one another, without either bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen armed at all assayes, in the midst of their running-race, would cast and recast themselves from one to another horse. The Numidian men at armes, were wont to have a second spare-horse led by hand, that in the greatest furie of the battell, they might shift and change horse: *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transfutare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus. Whose manner was, as if they had beene vaulters, leading two horses with them in armour to leap from their tired horse to the fresh-one, even in the hottest of the fight. So great agility was in themselves, and so apt to be taught was the race of their horses.* There are many horses found, that are taught to helpe their master, to run upon any man shall offer to draw a naked sword upon them; furiously to leap upon any man, both with feet to strike, and with teeth to bite, that shall affront them; but that for the most part they rather hurt their friends than their enemies. Considering also, that if they

*Liv. bel. pun.*  
*dec. 3. l. 3.*

once



once be graped, you cannot easily take them off, and you must needs stand to the mercie of their combat. *Arribius*, Generall of the Persian armie had very ill lucke to be mounted upon a horse fashioned in this schoole, at what time he fought man to man against *Orestilus* King of *Salamis*; for, he was the cause of his death, by reason the shield-bearer or squire of *Orestilus* cut him with a faulchon betweene the two shoulders, even as he was leaping upon his master. And if that, which the Italians report be true, that in the battell of *Fornovo*. King *Charles* his horse with kicking, winching, and flying, rid both his matter and himselfe from the enemies that encompassed him, to dismount or kill him, and without that, he had beene lost: He committed himselfe to a great hazard, and scap't a narrow sowing. The Mammalukes boast, that they have the nimblest and readiest horses of any men at armes in the world. That both by nature they are instructed to discerne, and by custome taught to distinguish their enemy, on whom they must leap and wince with feet, and bite with teeth, according to the voice their master speaketh, or rider giveth them. And are likewise taught to take up from the ground, lances, darts, or any other weapons with their mouths, and as he commandeth to present them to their rider. It is said of *Cesar*, and of *Pompey* the Great, that amongst their many other excellent qualities, they were also most cunning and perfect horsemen; and namely of *Cesar*, that in his youth being mounted upon a horse, and without any bridle, he made him run a full carriere, make a sodaine stop, and with his hands behind his backe performe what ever can be expected of an excellent ready horse, And even as nature was pleased to make both him and *Alexander* two matchlesse miracles in militarie profession, so would you say, she hath also endeavoured, yea, enforced herselfe to arme them extraordinarily; For, all men know, that *Alexander*'s horse called *Bucephalus*, had a head shaped like unto that of a bull; that he suffered no man to get-on and sit him, but his master; that none could weald and manage him but he; what honours were done him after his death, all know, for he had a Citie erected in his name. *Cesar* likewise had another, who had his fore-feet like unto a mans, with hoofes cloven in forme of fingers, who could never be handled, drest, or mounted but by *Cesar*, who when he died, dedicated his image to the Goddesse *Venus*. If I be once on horse-backe, I alight very unwillingly; for, it is the seat I like best, whether I be sound or sicke. *Plato* commendeth it to be availefull for health: And *Plinie* affirmeth the same to be healthfull for the stomacke, and for the joynts. And sithence we be falne into this subject, let us a little follow it I pray you. We read of a law in *Xenophon*, by which all men that either had or were able to keepe a horse, were expresly forbidden to travell and goe a foot. *Trogus* and *Iustinus* report, that the *Parthians* were not only accustomed to warre on horse-backe, but also to dispatch all their businesse, and negotiate their affaires both publike and privat; as to bargain, to buy, to sell, to parly, to meet, to entertaine one another, and to converse and walke together; and that the chiefest difference betweene free men and servants amongst them, is, that the first ever ride, and the other goe alwaies on foot. An institution first devised by King *Cyrus*. There are many examples in the *Romane* histories (and *Suetonius* doth more particularly note it in *Cesar*) of Captaines that commanded their horsemen to alight, whensoever, by occasion, they should be urged unto it, thereby to remove all manner of hope from their Souldiers to save themselves by flight, and for the advantage they hoped for in this manner of fight: *Quo haud dubie superat Romanus. Wherein undantedly the Romanes is superiour to all*, saith *Titus Livius*: yet shall we see, that the first provision, and chiefe meanes they used to bridle rebellion amongst their new conquered nations, was to deprive them of all armes and horses. Therefore finde we so often in *Cesar*; *Arma proferri, jumenta produci, obsides dari jubet*: He commands all their armour should be brought forth, all their cattell should be driven out, and hostages should be delivered. The great *Turke* doth not permit at this day any Christian or Jew, to have or keepe any horse for himselfe, throughout all his large Empire. Our ancestors, and especially at what time we had waies with the English, in all solemne combats, or set battels, would (for the most part) alight from their horses, and fight on foot, because they would not adventure to hazard so precious a thing as their honour and life, but on the trust of their owne proper strength, and vigour of their undanted courage, and confidence of their limbs. Let *Chrisanthus* in *Xenophon* say what he pleaseth: whosoever fighteth on horse-backe, engageth his valour, and hazardeth his fortune on that of his horse; his hurts, his stumbling, his death, drawes your life and fortune into

*Liv. dec. 1. lib. 3.  
67.*

*Ces. comment.  
lib. 7.*



into consequence, if he chance to startle or be afraid, then are you induced to doubt or feare: if to leape forward, then to become rash and fond-hardy: if he want a good mouth or a timely spurre, your honour is bound to answer for it. And therefore doe not I finde it strange, that those combats were more firme and furious, than those which now we see foughten on horse-backe.

—*cedebant pariter, pariterque ruebant*  
*Victores, victisque, neque his fuga nota, neque illis.*

The victors and the vanquisht both together

Gave backe, came on: the flight was knowne in neither.

Virg. Æn. l. 10.  
 756.

Their battels are seene much better compact and contrived: They are now but bickering and routs: *primus clamor atque impetus rem decernit.* The first shout and shooke makes an end of the matter. And the thing we call to helpe us, and keepe us company in so great and hazardous an adventure, ought as much as possible may be, lie still in our disposition and absolute power. As I would counsell a gentleman to chuse the shortest weapons, and such as he may best assure himselfe of. It is most apparant, that a man may better assure himselfe of a sword he holdeth in his hand, than of a bullet shot out of a pittoll, to which belong so many severall parts, as powder, stone, locke, snap-hanſe, barrell, stocke, scowring-peece, and many others, whereof if the least faile, or chance to breake, and be distempered, it is able to overthrow, to hazard, or misarry your fortune. Seldome doth that blow come or light on the marke it is aymed at, which the ayre doth carry.

*Et quò ferre velint permittere vulnura ventis,*  
*Ensis habet vires, & gens quacunque virorum est,*  
*Bella gerit gladii.*

Lucan. l. 8. 384.

Giving windes leaue to give wounds as they list,  
 But swords have strength, and right men never mist  
 With sword to assault, and with sword to resist.

But concerning that weapon, I shall more amply speake of it, where I will make a comparison betweene ancient and moderne armes: And except the astonishment and fighting of the care, which nowadaies is growne so familiar amongst men, that none doth greatly feare it; I thinke it to be a weapon of small effect, and hope to see the use of it abolished. That wherewith the Italians were wont to throw, with fire in it, was more frightfull and terrour-moving. They were accustomed to name a kinde of javelin, *Phalarica*, armed at one end with an yron pike of three foot long, that it might pierce an armed man through, which lying in the field they used to lanch or hurle with the hand, and sometimes to shoope out of certaine engines, for to defend besieged places: the staffe whereof being wreath'd about with hemp or flax, all pitched and oiled over, flying in the ayre, would soone be set afire, and lighting upon any body or target, deprived the partie hit therewith, of all use of weapons or limbes: Me thinks neverthelesse, that comming to grapple, it might as well hinder the assailant, as trouble the assailed, and that the ground strewed with such burning truncheons, might in a pell-mell-confusion produce a common incommoditie.

—*magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit*  
*Fulminis acta modo.*

Virg. Æn. l. 9.  
 705.

With monstrous buzzing came a fire-dart whirled;  
 As if a thunder-bolt had there beene whirled.

They had also other meanes, to the use of which custome enured them, and that by reason of inexperience seeme incredible to us; wherewith they supplied the defect of our powder and bullets. They with such fury darted their *Piles*, and with such force hurled their javelins, that they often pierced two targets and two armed men through, as it were with a spit. They hit as sure and as farre with their slings, as with any other shot: *Saxis globosis funda, mare apertum incessentes: coronas moæci circuli magno ex intervallo loci assueti transceres non capita modo hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent.* While they were bores, with round stones in a sling, making ducks and drakes upon the sea, they accustomed to cast through round marks of small compasse a great distance off: whereby they not only hit and hurt the heads of their enemies, but would strike any place they aymed at. Their battering or murdering peeces represented, as well the effect, as the clattering and thundering noise of ours: *aditus mœnium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor & trepidatio cepit.* At the batterie of the

Liv. dec. 4. l. 8.



Liv. dec. 4 lib. 8.

walles made with a terrible noise, feare and trembling began to attack them within. The Gauls our ancient forefathers in Asia, hated mortally such treacherous and flying weapons, as they that were taught to fight hand to hand, and with more courage. *Non tam patientibus plagis moventur, ubi latior quam altior plaga est. etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant; iidem quum aculem sagitta, aut gl'indis abduca inuolus tenui vulnere in speciem urit: tum in rabiem & pudorem tam parua perimantis pestis versi, prosternunt corpora humi.* They are not so much moved with wide gashes, where the wound is more broad than it is deepe, there they thinke, that they fight with more bravery; but when the sting of an arrow or a bullet, with a small wound to shew, galls them inwardly, then falling into rage and shame that so slight a hurt should kill them, they cast their bodies on the ground.

A model or picture very neere unto an *arquebusada*. There ten thousand Gracians in their long-lingring, and farre-famous retreat, encountered with a certaine nation, that exceedingly much endamaged them with stiffe, strong and great blowes, and so long arrowes, that taking them up, they might throw them after the manner of a dart, and with them pierce a target and an armed man thorow and thorow. The engines which *Dionysius* invented in *Siracusa*, to shoot and cast mightie big arrowes, or rather timber-peeeces, and huge-great stones, so farre and with such force, did greatly represent, and come very neere our moderne inventions. We may not also forget, the pleasant seat, which one named master *Peter Pol*, doctor in divinitie used to sit upon his mule, who as *Monstrelet* reporteth, was wont to ride up and downe the streets of *Paris*, ever sitting sideling, as women use. He also saith in another place, that the *Gascoines* had certaine horses, so fierce and terrible, taught to turne and stop suddenly in running, whereat the French, the *Piccards*, the *Flemmings*, and *Brabantins* (as they who were never accustomed to see the like) were greatly amazed, and thought it a wonder: I use his very words, *Cesar* speaking of those of *Swethen*, saith, In any skiumish or fight on horse-backe, they often alight to combat on foot, having so trayned and taught their horses, that so long as the fight lasteth, they never bonge from their masters side, that if need require, they may suddenly mount up againe: and according to their naturall custome, there is nothing accounted more base or vile, than to use saddles or baidels, and they greatly contemne and scorne such as use them: So that a few of them feare not to encounter with a troupe farre exceeding them in number. That which I have other times wondered at, to see a horse fashioned and taught, that a man having but a wand in his hand, and his bridle loose hanging over his eares, might at his pleasure manage, and make him turne, stop, run, carriere, trot, gallop, and what ever else may be expected of an excellent ready horse, was common amongst the *Massilians*, who never used either bridle or saddle.

Lucan. l. 4. 681.

*Et gens qua nudo residens Massilia dorso,**Ora levi flectit, franorum nescia virga.**Massilian* horsemen on bare horse-backe sit

Manage with light rod, without reynes or bit.

Virg. Æn. l. 4. 41.

*Et Numida infreni cingunt.**Numidians* who their horses ride

Without bit, round about us bide.

*Equi sine franis, deformis ipse cursus, rigida cervice & extento capite currentium:* The horses being without bridles, their course is ill favoured, they running with a stiffe necke, and outstretcht head (like a roasted Pigge:) *Alphonsum* King of *Spaine*, that first established the order of Knights, called the order of the Bend or skarte, amongst other rules devised this one, that none of them, upon paine to forfeit a marke of silver, for every time offending, should ever ride either mule or mullet; as I lately read in *Guevaras* epistles, of which whosoever called them his golden epistles, gave a judgement farre different from mine. The *Courtier* saith, That before his time, it was counted a great shame in a gentleman to be scene riding upon a mule: Whereas the *Abyssines* are of a contrarie opinion, who accordingly as they are advanced, to places of honour, or dignitie, about their Prince, called *Prester-Iohn*, so doe they more and more affect in signe of pompe and state, to ride upon large-great mules. *Xenophon* reporteth, that the *Assirians* were ever wont to keepe their horses fast-tied in fetters or gyves, and ever in the stable, they were so wilde and furious. And for that they required so much time to unshackle, and to harness them, (lest protracting of so long time, might, if they should chance at unawares, and being unready, to be surpris'd by their enemies, endamage them)



them) they never tooke up their quarter in any place, except it were well dyked and intrenched: His *Cirrus*, whom he maketh so cunning in horsemanship, did alwaies keepe his horses at a certaine stint, and would never suffer them to have any meat before they had deserved the same by the sweat of some exercise. If the Scythians in time of warre chanced to be brought to any necessitie of victuals, the readiest remedy they had, was to let their horses blood, and therewithall quenched their thirst, and nourished themselves.

*Veni & epoto Sarmata pastus equo.*

*Mart. l. 3. c. 4.*

The Scythian also came, who strangely feedes

On drinking out his horse (or that hee bleedes.)

Those of *Crota* being hardly besieged by *Metellus*, were reduced to so hard a pinch, and great necessitie of all manner of other beverage, that they were forced to drinke the stale or urine of their horses. To verifie how much better cheape the Turkes doe both levie, conduct, and maintaine their armies, than we Christians doe; They report, that besides their souldiers never drinke any thing but water, and feed on nothing but rice, and drie-salt fish, which they reduce into a kinde of powder (whereof every private man doth commonly carry so much about him, as will serve for a moneths provision) and for a stufe, will live a long time with the blood of their horses; wherein they use to put a certain quantitie of salt, as the Tartars and Moskovites doe. These new discovered people of the Indies, when the Spaniards came first amongst them, esteemed that as well men as horses, were either gods, or creatures far beyond, and excelling their nature in nobilitie. Some of which, after they were vanquished by them, comming to sue for peace and beg pardon at their hands, to whom they brought presents of gold, and such viands as their countie yeilded; omitted not to bring the same, and as much unto their horses, and with as solemne Oration as they had made unto men, taking their neighings, as a language of truce and composition. In the nether Indies, the chiefe and royallest honour was anciently wont to be, to ride upon an Elephant; the second to goe in Coaches drawne with foure horses; the third, to ride upon a Camell; the last and basest, was to be carried or drawne by one horse alone. Some of our moderne Writers report, to have seene some Countries in that climate, where the people ride oxen, with packe-saddles, stirrups, and bridles, by which they were carried very easily. *Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus*, warring against the Samnites, and seeing that his horsemen, in three or foure charges they gave, had misse to breake and run through his enemies battallion, at last resolved thus, that they should all unbridle their horses, and with maine force of sharpe spuries pike and broach them; which done, the horses as enraged, tooke such a running, thorow, and athwart the enemies campe, armes and men, that nought was able to resist them; and with such a furie, that by opening, shouldring, and overthrowing, the battallion, they made way for his Infanterie, which there committed a most bloody slaughter, and obtained a notable victorie. The like was commanded and effected by *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus* against the Celtiberians: *Id cum majore vi equorum facietis, si effrenatos in hostes equos immittitis; quod sepe Romanos equites cum laude fecisse memoria proditum est. Detrahisque frenis bis ultro citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, tra. scurrerunt.* That shall you doe with more violence of horse, if you force your horse unbridled on the enemy; which it is recorded, the Roman horsemen have often performed with great prooffe and praise. So pulling off the bridles, they twice ran through forward, and backe againe with great slaughter of the enemy, all their lances broken.

*Liv. dec. 4. l. 20.*

The Duke of *Moscovie* did anciently owe this reverence unto the Tartars, at what time soever they sent any Ambassadors to him, that he must goe meet them on foot, and present them with a goblet full of mares milke (a drinke counted very delicious amongst them) which whilst they were drinking, if any drop chanced to be spilt upon their horses haire, he was, by dutie, bound to lick the same up with his tongue. The armie which the Emperor *Bajazeth* had sent into *Russia*, was overwhelmed by so horrible a tempest of snow, that to find some shelter, and to save themselves from the extremitie of the cold, many advised to kill and unpanch their horses, and enter into their panches, to enjoy and find some ease by that vitall heat. *Bajazeth* after that bloody and tragical conflict wherein he was overthrowne by the Scythian *Tamburlane*, in seeking to escape, had no doubt saved himselfe, by the swiftnesse of an Arabian mare, on which he was mounted that day, if unluckily he had not beene forced to lether drinke her fill in passing over a river, which made her so faint and foundred,



that he was easily overtaken and apprehended by those that pursued him. The common saying is, that to let a horse stale after a full carriere, doth take downe his speed, but I would never have thought that drinking had done it, but rather strengthened and heartned him.

*Crasus* passing alongst the citie of *Sardis*, found certaine thicketts, wherein were great store of snakes & serpents, on which his horses fed verie hungrily, which thing, as *Herodotus* saith, was an ill-boding-prodigy unto his affaires. We call him an entire horse, that hath his full mane, and whole eares, and which in shew, or at a muster, doth not exceed others. The Lacedemonians having defeated the Athenians in *Sicilie*, returning in great pompe and glory from the victory, into the City of *Siracusa*, among other Bravadoes of theirs, caused such horses as they had taken from their enemies to be shorne all over, and so led them in triumph. *Alexander* fought with a nation called *Dahae*, where they went to warre two and two, all armed upon one horse, but when they came to combat, one must alight, and so successively one fought on foot, and the other on horse backe, each in his turne one after another. I am perswaded that in respect of sufficiencie, of comlinessse, and of grace on horseback, no Nation goeth beyond us. A good horse-man, (speaking according to our phrase) seemeth rather to respect an undismayed courage, than an affected cleane seat. The man most skilfull, best and surest-sitting, comeliest-graced, and nimblest-handed, to sit, to ride, and mannage a horse cunningly, that ever I knew, and that best pleased my humor, was Monsieur de *Carnavalet*, who was Master of the horse unto our King *Henry* the second. I have seene a man take his full carriere, standing boult-up-right on both his feet in the saddle, leap downe to the ground from it, and turning backe, take off the saddle, and presently set it on againe as fast as ever it was, and then leap into it againe, and al this did he whilst his horse was running as fast as might be with his bridle on his necke. I have also seene him ride over a bonet or cap, and being gone a good distance from it, with his bow shootig backward, to sticke many arrowes in the same; then sitting still in the saddle, to take up any thing from the ground, to set one foot to the ground, and keepe the other in the stirrop, and continually running doe a thousand such tumbling and apish tricks, wherewith he got his living. There have in my time two men beene scene in *Constantinople*, both at once upon one horse, and who in his speediest running, would by turnes, first one, and then another, leape downe to the ground, and then into the saddle againe, the one still taking the others place. And another, who only with teeth, and without the helpe of any hand, would bridle, curry, rub, dresse, saddle, girt, and harness his horse. Another, that betwene two horses, and both saddled, standing upright, with one foot in the one, and the second in the other, did beare another man on his armes, standing upright, run a full speedy course, and the uppermost to shoot and hit any marke with his arrowes. Divers have beene scene, who standing on their heads, and with their legs out-stretched aloft, having many sharp-pointed cimitaries fastned round about the saddle, to gallop a full speed. While I was a young lad, I saw the Prince of *Sulmona* at *Naples*, manage a young, a rough and fierce horse, and shew all manner of horsemanship; To hold testons, or reals under his knees and toes, so fast, as if they had beene nailed there, and all to shew his sure, steady, and unmoveable sitting.

#### CHAP. XLIX.

##### *Of ancient customes.*

I Would willingly excuse our people for having no other patterne or rule of perfection, but his owne customes, his owne fashions: For, it is a common vice, not only in the vulgar sort, but as it were in all men, to bend their ayme, and frame their thoughts unto the fashions, wherein they were borne. I am pleased when he shall see *Fabricius* or *Lalinus*, who because they are neither attired, nor fashioned according to our manner, that he condemne their countenance to be strange, and their carriage barbarous. But I bewaile his particular indiscretion, in that he suffereth himselfe to be so blinded, and deceived by the authoritie of present custome, and that if custome pleaseth, he is ready to change opinion, and varie ad-  
vice,



wise, every moneth, nay every day, and judgeth so diversly of himselfe. When he wore short-waisted doublets, and but little lower then this breast, he would maintaine by militant reasons, that the waste was in his right place: but when not long after he came to weare them so long-waisted, yea almost so low as his privities, than began he to condemne the former fashion, as fond, intolerable and deformed; and to commend the latter, as comely, handsome, and commendable. A new fashion of apparell crepeth no sooner into use, but presently he blameth, and dispraiseth the old, and that with so earnest a resolution, and universall a consent, that you would say, it is some kind of madness, or selfe fond humor, that giddieth his understanding.

And forasmuch as our changing or altering of fashions, is so sudden and new-fangled; that the inventions, and new devices of all the tailors in the world, cannot so fast invent novelties, it must necessarily follow, that neglected and stale rejected fashions doe often come into credit and use againe: And the latest and newest, within a while after come to be out-cast and despised, and that one selfe-same judgement within the space of fifteene or twentie yeares admitteth, not only two or three different, but also cleane contrarie opinions, with so light and incredible inconstancie; that any man would wonder at it. There is no man so little-crafty amongst us, that suffreth not himselfe to be enveigled and over-reached by this contradiction, and that is not insensibly dazeled, both with his inward and externall eyes. I will heere huddle-up some few ancient fashions that I remember: Some of them like unto ours, other-some farre differing from them: To the end, that having ever this continuall variation of humane things in our minde, we may the better enlighten and confirme our transported judgement. That manner of fight which we use now adaies with rapier and cloke, was also used among the Romans, as saith *Cesar*. *Sinistras sagos involvunt, gladiosque distingunt: They wrap their left armes in their clokes, and draw their swords.* We may to this day observe this vice to be amongst us, and which we have taken from them, that is, to stay such passengers as we meet by the way, and force them to tell us, who they are, whence they come, whither they goe, and to count it as an injurie, and cause of quarrell, if they refuse to answer our demand. In Baths, which our forefathers used daily before meales, as ordinarily as we use water to wash our hands, when first they came into them, they washed but their armes and legges, but afterward (which custome lasted many after-ages; and to this day continueth amongst divers nations of the world) their whole body over, with compounded and perfumed waters, in such sort as they held it as a great testimonie of simplicitie, to wash themselves in pure and uncompounded water: Such as were most delicate, and effeminate, were wont to perfume their whole bodies over and over, three or foure times every day; And often (as our French women have lately taken up) to picke and snip out the haïres of their forehead, so they of all their body.

*Ces. Bel. civ. l. i.*

*Quod pectus, quod crura tibi, quod brachia vellis.*

That you from breast, legges, armes, the haire

Neatly pull off (to make them faire.)

*Mart. lib. 2. epist. 62. 1.*

Although they had choice of ointments fit for that purpose.

*Psilto nitet, aut arida lacer abdusa creta.*

She shines with ointments that make haire to fall;

*Lib. 6. epi. 93. 9.*

Or with dry chalke she over-covers all.

They loved to lie soft, and on finedowne-beds, alleaging lying on hard mattresses as a signe of patience. They sed lying on their beds, neere after the manner of the Turkes now-adaies.

*Inde thoro patet Æneas sic orsus ab alto.*

Father Æneas thus gan say,

From stately couch where then he lay.

*Virg. Æn. l. 2. 2.*

And it is reported of *Cato Junior*, that after the battell of *Pharsalia*, and that he began to mourne and bewaile the miserable state of the common-wealth, and ill condition of publicke affaires, he ever sat sitting on the ground, following an austere, and observing a strict kinde of life. The *Beso las manos* was used as a signe of honour and humilitie, only toward great persons. If friends met, after friendly salutations, they used to kisse one another, as the Venetians doe at this day.

*Gratusque dædum cum dulcibus oscula verbis;*

*Ovid. Pont. l. 4. el. 9. 13.*



Give her I would with greetings graced,  
Kisses with sweet words enterlaced.

And in saluting or suing to any great man, they touched his knees. *Pasicles* the Philosopher, brother unto *Crates*, comming to salute one, whereas he should have carried his hand to his knee, carried the same unto his genitories: The partie saluted, having rudely push't him away; *What? quoth he, is not that part yours as well as the other?* Their manner of feeding was as ours, their fruit last. They were wont to wipe their tails (this vaine superstition of words must be left unto women) with a sponge, and that's the reason why *Spongia* in Latine is counted an obscene word: which sponge was ever tied to the end of a staffe, as witnesseth the storie of him, that was carried to be devoured of the wild beasts before the people, who desiring leave to goe to a privie before his death, and having no other meanes to kill himselfe, thrust downe the sponge and staffe, hee found in the privie, into his throte, wherewith he choked himselfe. Having ended the delights of nature, they were wont to wipe their privities with perfumed wooll.

*Mart. lib. 11.  
c. pig. 51. 11.*

*At tibi nil faciam, sed lotâ mentula lanâ.*  
To thee no such thing will I bring,  
But with wash't wooll another thing.

*Lucr. l. 4. 1018.*

In every street of *Rome* were placed tubs, and such vessels for passengers to make water in.

*Pusi sape lacum propter, se ac dolia curta  
Somno de juncti credunt extollere vestem.*  
Children asleepe oft thinke they take up all  
Neere to some pissing tub, some lake, some wall.

They used to breake their fast, and nonchion betweene meales, and all summer time, had men that sold snowe up and downe the streets, wherewith they refreshed their wines; of whom some were so daintie, that all winter long they used to put snow into their wine, not deeming it cold enough. Principall, and noble men had their cup-bearers, tasters, carvers and buffons to make them merrie. In Winter their viandes were brought and set on the boord upon arches, as we use chafing dishes; and had portable kitchens; (of which I have scene some) wherein might be drawne, wheresoever one list, a whole service and messe of meat.

*Mart. l. 7. epig.  
47 5.*

*Has vobis epulas habere lauri,  
Nos offendimur ambulante cana.*  
Take you daintie-mouth'd such stirring feasts;  
With walking meales we are offended guests.

And in summer they often caused cold water (being carried through pipes) to drill upon them as they sate in their dining-chambers, or lowe parlors, where in cisterns, they kept store of fish alive, which the by-standers might at their pleasure, chuse and take with their hands, and have it drest every man according to his fantasie. Fish hath ever had this privilege, as at this day it hath; that chiefe Gentlemen, are pleased, and have skill to drest it best: And to say truth, the taste of fish is much more delicat and exquisit, than that of flesh, at least in mine. But in all manner of magnificence, delitioufnes, riotous gluttonie, inventions of voluptuousnes, wantonnes, and sumptuositie, we truly endeavour, as much as may be, to equall and come neere them: For, our will and taste is as much corrupted as theirs, but our skill, and sufficiencie is farre short of them: Our wit is no more capable, and our strength no more able to approach and match them in these vitious & blame-worthy parts, than in vertuous and commendable actions: For, both proceede from a vigor of spirit, and farre-reaching wit; which, without comparision, was much greater in them, than now in us. And mindes, by how much more strong, and excellent they are, so much lesse facultie and meanes have they, to doe, either excellently well, or notoriously ill. The chiefeft aime amongst them, was a meane or mediocrity. The *Foremost* or *Last*, in writing or speaking, had no signification of preheminance or greatnes, as may evidently appeare by their writings. They would as familiarly and as soone say, *Oppius* and *Caesar*, as *Caesar* and *Oppius*; and as indifferently, I and thou, as thou and I. And that's the reason why I have heretofore noted in the life of *Flaminius*, in our French *Plutarke*, a place, where it seemeth that the Author, speaking of the jealousie of glorie, that was betweene the *Aetolians* and the *Romans*, for the gaine of a battell, which they had obtained in common, maketh for the purpose, that in Greeke songs the *Aetolians*



tolians were named before the Romans, except there bee some Amphibology in the French words: for, in that tongue I read it. When Ladies came unto stoves or hot-houses, they made it not daintie to admit men into their companie, and to be washed, rubbed, chafed and annointed by the hands of their groomes and pages.

*Inguina succinctus nigra tibi servus aluta*

— *Stat, quoties calidis nuda foveris aquis.*

*Epig. 34. 1.*

Your man, whose loynes blacke-lether gird's, stand's-by,  
Whilst in warme water you starke-naked lie.

They also used to sprinkle themselves all over with certaine powders, thereby to alay and repress all manner of filth or sweat. The ancient *Gauls* (saith *Sidonius Apollinaris*) wore their haire long before, and all the hinder part of their head shaven, a fashion that our wanton youths and effeminate gallants, have lately renewed, and in this new-fangled and fond-doting age, brought up againe, with wearing of long-dangling locks before. The ancient Romans, paid the water-men their fare or due so soone as they came into the boat, whereas we pay it when they set us on shore.

— *dum as exigitur, dum mulla ligatur,*

*Tota abis hora.*

*Hor. l. 1. sat. 5. 13.*

While they call for their fare, tie drawe-mule to,  
There runs away, a full houre, if not two.

Women were wont to lie on the utmost side of the bed, and therefore was *Caesar* called *Sponda Regis Nicomedis*: King *Nicomedes* his beds side: They tooke breath while they were drinking, and used to baptise, or put water in their wines.

*Suet. Jul. Caf. 6. 49.*

— *quis puer oculus*

*Restinguet ardentis fulcrum*

*Pocula praeferente limpha?*

*Hor. l. 2. od. 11. 15.*

What boy of mine or thine

Shall coole our cup of wine

With running water fine?

Those couzening and minde-deceiving countenances of lakeis were also amongst them:

*O Iane, à tergo quem nulla ciconia pinxit*

*Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis albas,*

*Nec lingua quantum sciret canis Apula canum.*

*Pers. sat. 1. 39.*

*O Ianus*, whom behinde no Storks-bill doth deride,

Nor nimble hand resembling mak's eares white and wide,

Nor so much tongue lil'd out as dogges with thirst ore-dried

The Argian and Romane Ladies, mourned in white, as our dames wont to doe; and if I might be credited, and beare-sway amongst them, they should continue it still. But because there are many bookes, that treat of this argument, I will say no more of it.

## C H A P. L.

### Of Democritus and Heraclitus.

**J**udgement is an instrument for all subjects, and medleth every where, And therefore in the Essayes I make of it, there is no manner of occasion, I seeke not to employ therein. If it be a subject I understand not my selfe, therein I make triall of it, sounding afarre off the depth of the ford, and finding the same over deepe for my reach, I keepe my selfe on the shoare. And to acknowledge not to be able to wade through, is a part of it's effect, yea of such, whereof he vantech most. If I light upon a vaine and idle subject, I assay to trie, and endeavour to see, whether I may find a good ground to worke upon, and matter to frame a body, and wherewith to build and under-lay it. Sometimes I addresse my judgement and contrive it to a noble and out-worne subject, wherein is nothing found subsisting of it selfe, the high way to it,



it, being so bare-trodden, that it cannot march, but in other steps. There he pleaseth himselfe in chusing the course he thinkes best, and a thousand paths sometimes he saith, this or that was best chosen. I take my first Argument of fortune: All are alike unto me: And I never purpose to handle them thoroughly: For, there is nothing wherein I can perceive the full perfection: Which they doe not that promise to shew it us. Of a hundred parts and villages that every thing hath, I take one, which sometimes I slightly runne over, and other times but cursorily glance at. And yet other whilst I pinch it to the quicke. And give it a *Srockado*, not the widest, but the deepest I can. And for the most part I love to seize upon them by some unwonted lustre. I would adventure to treat and discourse of some matter to the depth; knew I my selfe lesse, or were I deceived in mine owne impuissance; Scattering here one and there another word: Scantlings taken from their maine ground-work, disorderly disposed, without any well-grounded designe and promise. I am not bound to make it good, nor without varying to keepe my selfe close-tied unto it; whensoever it shall please me to yeeld my selfe to doubt, to uncertaintie, and to my Mistres forme, which is ignorance. Each motion sheweth and discovereth what we are. The very same minde of *Cesar*, we see in directing, marshalling, and setting the battel of *Pharsalia*, is likewise seene to order, dispose, and contrive, idle, trifling and amorous devices. We judge of a horse, not only by seeing him ridden, and cunningly managed, but also by seeing him trot, or pace; yea, if we but looke upon him as he stands in the stable. Amongst the functions of the soule, some are but meane and base. He that seeth her no further, can never know her thorowly. And he that seeth her march her naturall and simple pace, doth peradventure observe her best. The winds of passions take her most in her highest pitch, seeing she entirely coucheth herselfe upon every matter, and wholly therein exerciseth herselfe: and handleth but one at once; not according to it, but according to herselfe. Things severall in themselves have peradventure, weight, measure, and condition: But inwardly, in us, she cuts it out for them, as she understandeth the same herselfe. Death is fearefull and ugly unto *Cicero*; wished for and desired of *Cato*: and indifferent unto *Socrates*. Health, well-fare, conscience, authoritie, riches, glorie, beautie, and their contraries are dispoyled at the entrance, and receive a new vesture at the soules hand. Yea, and what colour she pleaseth; browne, bright, greene, sad, or any hew else: sharpe or sweete, deepe or superficiall, and what each of them pleaseth. For none of them did ever verifie their stiles, their rules, or formes in common; each one severally is a Queene in her owne estate. Therefore let us take no more excuses from externall qualities of things. To us it belongeth to give our selves account of it. Our good, and our evill hath no dependancy, but from our selves. Let us offer our vowes and offerings unto it; and not to fortune. She hath no power over our manners. Why shall I not judge of *Alexander*, as I am sitting and drinking at Table, and talking in good company? Or if hee were playing at Chess, what string of his wit doth not touch or harpe on this fond-childish, and time-consuming play? I lothe and shun it, only because there is not sport enough in it, and that in his recreation, he is over serious with us, being ashamed I must apply that attention therunto, as might be employed on some good subject. He was no more busied in levying his forces and preparing for his glorious passage into *India*; nor this other in disintangling and discovering of a passage, whence dependeth the well-fare and safety of mankind. See how much our mind troubleth this ridiculous ammuizing, if all her sinnewes bandy not. How amply she giveth every one Law in that, to know and directly to judge of himselfe. I doe not more universally view and feele my selfe in any other posture. What passion doth not exercise us thereunto? Choller, spight, hatred, impatience, and vehement ambition to overcome, in a matter wherein it were haply more excusable to be ambitious for to be vanquished. For, a rare pre-excellencie, and beyond the common reach, in so frivolous a thing, is much mis-seeming a man of honour. What I say of this example, may be spoken of all others. Every parcell, every occupation of a man, accuseth, and sheweth him equal unto another. *Demoeritus* and *Heraclitus* were two Philosophers, the first of which, finding and deeming humane condition to be vaine and ridiculous, did never walke abroad, but with a laughing, scorneful and mocking countenance: Whereas *Heraclitus* taking pitie and compassion of the very same condition of ours, was continually seene with a sad, mournfull, and heavie cheere, and with teares trickling downe his blubbered eyes.



*Protuleratque pedem, flectat contrarius alter.*

One from his doore, his foot no sooner past,  
But straight he laught; the other wept as fast.

I like the first humor best, not because it is more pleasing to laugh, than to weepe; but for it is more disdainfull, and doth more condemne us than the other. And methinks we can never bee sufficiently despised, according to our merit. Bewailing and commiseration, are commixed with some estimation of the thing moaned and wailed. Things scorned and contemned, are thought to be of no worth. I cannot be perswaded, there can be so much ill lucke in us, as there is apparant vanitie, nor so much malice, as sottishnesse. We are not so full of evill, as of voydnesse and inanie. We are not so miserable, as base and abject. Even so *Dionenes*, who did nothing but trifle, toy, and dally with himselfe, in rumbling and rowling of his tub, and flurting at *Alexander*, accompting us but flies, and bladders puffed with winde, was a more sharp, a more bitter, and a more stinging judge, and by consequence, more just and fitting my humor, than *Timon*, surnamed the hater of all mankind. For looke what a man hateth, the same thing he takes to hart. *Timon* wisht all evill might light on us; He was passionate in desiring our ruine. He shunned and loathed our conversation, as dangerous and wicked, and of a depraved nature: Whereas the other so little regarded us, that wee could neither trouble nor alter him by our contagion; forsooke our company, not for feare, but for disdain of our commerce: He never thought us capable or sufficient to doe either good or evill. Of the same stamp was the answer of *Scatilius* to whom *Brutus* spake to win him to take part, and adhere to the conspiracie against *Caesar*: He allowed the enterprize to be very just, but disallowed of the men that should performe the same, as unworthy that any man should put himself in any adventure for them: Conformable to the discipline of *Hegesias*, who said, *That a wise man ought never to doe any thing, but for himselfe*; forasmuch as he alone is worthy to have any action performed for him: and to that of *Theodorus*, who thought it an injustice, that a wise man should in any case hazard himselfe for the good and benefite of his converse, or to indanger his wisdom for fooles. Our owne condition is as ridiculous, as risible; as much to be laughed at, as able to laugh.

## CHAP. LI.

### Of the vanitie of Words.

A Rhetorician of ancient times, said, that his trade was, to make small things appeare and seeme great. It is a shoemaker, that can make great shoes for a little foot. Had hee lived in *Sparta*, he had doubtlesse beene well whipped, for professing a false, a couzening and deceitfull art. And I thinke, *Archidamus* King of that Citie did not without astonishment liſen unto the answer of *Thucydides*, of whom he demanded, whether he, or *Pericles*, was the strongest and nimblest wrestler; whose answer was this, *Your question Sir, is very hard to be decided; for if in wrestling with him, I give him a fall, with his faire words he perswades those that saw him on the ground, that he never fell, and so gess the victorie*. Those that maske and paint women, commit not so foule a fault; for it is no great lollie, though a man see them not, as they were naturally borne and unpainted: Whereas these profess to deceive and beguile, not our eyes, but our judgement; and to bastardize and corrupt the essence of things. Those common-wealths, that have maintained themselves in a regular, formal, and well governed estate, as that of *Crete* and *Lacedemon*, did never make any great esteeme of Orators. *Ariston* did wisely define Rhetorike to be a Science, to perswade the vulgar people: *Socrates* and *Plato*, to be an Art to deceive and flatter. And those which denie it in the generall description, doe every where in their precepts verifie the same. The *Mahometans*, by reason of its inutilitie, forbid the teaching of it to their children. And the *Athenians*, perceiving how pernicious the profession and use thereof was, and of what credit in their Citie, ordained, that their principall part, which is to move affections, should be disinised and taken away, together with all exordiums and perorations. It is an instrument devised, to abuse, to manage,



and to agitate a vulgar and disordered multitude; and is an implement employed, but about distempered and sicke mindes, as Phyticke is about crazed bodies. And those where either the vulgar, the ignorant, or the generalitie have had all power, as that of *Rhodes*, those of *Athens*, and that of *Rome*, and where things have ever beene in continuall disturbance and uproare, thither have Orators and the professors of that Art flocked. And verily, if it be well looked into, you shall finde very few men in those common-wealths, that without helpe of eloquence have attained to any worthy estimation and credit: *Pompey*, *Cesar*, *Crassus*, *Lucullus*, *Lentulus*, *Metellus*, have thence taken their greatest stay and furtherance, whereby they have ascended unto that height and greatnesse of authoritie, wherunto they at last attained, and against the opinion of better times have more prevailed with words than with armes. For, *L. Volturnus* speaking publikely in favour of the election, which some had made of *Quintus Fabius*, and *Publius Decius*, to be Consuls; saith thus; *They are men borne unto warre, of high spirits, of great performance, and able to effect any thing, but rude, simple, and unarted in the combat of talking; minds truly consular. They only are good Pretors, so do justice in the Citie* (saith he) *that are subtile, cautelous, well-spoken, wily and lip-wise.* Eloquence hath chiefly flourished in *Rome* when the common-wealths affaires have beene in worst estate, and that the devouring Tempest of civill boyles, and intestine warres did most agitate and turmoyle them. Even as a rancke, free and untamed soyle, beareth the rankest and strongest weeds, whereby it seemeth that those common-weales, which depend of an absolute Monarch, have lesse need of it than others: For, that foolishnesse and facilitie, which is found in the common multitude, and which doth subject the same, to be managed, perswaded, and led by the eares, by the sweet alluring and sense-entrancing sound of this harmonie, without duely weighing, knowing, or considering the truth of things by the force of reason: This facilitie and easie yeelding, I say, is not so easily found in one only ruler, and it is more easie to warrant him from the impression of this poyson, by good institution and sound counsell. There was never seene any notable or farre-renowned Orator to come out of *Macedon* or *Persia*. What I have spoken of it, hath beene upon the subject of an Italian, whom I have lately entertained into my service. Who during the life of the whilom cardinal *Caraffa* served him in the place of steward of his house. Enquiring of his charge, and particular qualitie, he told me, a long, formall, and eloquent discourse of the science or skill of epicurisme and gluttonie, with such an Oratorie-gravitie, and Magistrale countenance, as if he had discoursed of some high mysterious point of divinitie, wherein he hath very methodically decifred and distinguished sundrie differences of appetites: First of that which a man hath fasting, then of that men have after the first, the second, and third service. The severall means how sometimes to please it simply, and other times to sharpen and provoke the same; the policie and rare invention of his lawces: First, in general terms, then particularizing the qualities and severall operations of the ingredients, and their effects: The difference, of salades according to their distinct seasons, which must be served in warme, and which cold: The manner how to dresse, how to adorne, and embellish them, to make them more pleasing to the sight. After that, he entred into a large and farre-fetcht narration, touching the true order, and due method of service, full of goodly and important considerations.

— *Nec minimo sane discrimine refert,*

Sat. 5. 227.

*Quo gestu lepores, & quo gallina secetur.*

What grace we use, it makes small difference, when

I carve a Hare, or else breake up a Hen;

And all that, filled up and stuffed with rich magnificent words, well couched phrases, oratorie figures, and pathetical metaphors; yea such as learned men use and imploy in speaking of the Government of an Empire, which made me remember my man.

*Hoc salsum est, hoc adustum est, hoc lautum est parum,*

Ter. Adel. Act. 3.

sc. 4. 62.

*Unde est, iterum sic memento, sedulo,*

*Mones quia possum pro mea sapientia.*

*Postremo tanquam in speculum, in patinas, Demos,*

*Insuffere jubeo, & maneo quid facto usus sit.*

This dish is salt, this burnt, this not so fine,

That is well done, doe so againe; Thus I

As my best wisdom serves, all things assigne.

Lastly



Lastly Sir, I command, they nearly prie,  
On dishes, as a glasse,  
And shew what needfull was,

Yet did those strict Gracians commend the order and disposition, which *Paulus Aemilius* observed in the banquet he made them at his returne from *Macedon*: But here I speake not of the effects, but of the words. I know not whether they worke that in others, which they doe in mee. But when I heare our Architects mouth-out those big, and ratling words of *Pilasters*, *Architraves*, *Cornices*, *Frontispices*, *Corinthian*, and *Dorike* works, and such like fustian- termes of theirs, I cannot let my wandering imagination from a sodaine apprehension of *Apollidonius* his pallace, and I find by effect, that they are the seely, and decayed peeces of my Kitchin-dooer. Doe but heare one pronounce *Metonymia*, *Metaphore*, *Allegory*, *Etimologie*, and other such trash-names of Grammer, would you not thinke, they meant some forme of a rare and strange language; They are titles and words that concerne your chamber-maids tittle-tattle. It is a fopperie and cheating tricke, cousin-Germane unto this, to call the offices of our estate by the proud titles of the ancient Romans, though they have no resemblance at all of charge, and lesse of authoritie and power. And this likewise, which in mine opinion will one day remaine as a reproch unto our age, unworthily, and undeservedly to bestow on whom we list, the most glorious Surnames and loftiest titles, wherewith antiquitie in many long-continued ages honoured but one or two persons. *Plato* hath by such an universall consent borne-away the surname of Divine, that no man did ever attempt to envie him for it. And the Italians, which vaunt (and indeed with some reason) to have generally more lively, and farre reaching wits, and their discourse more sound and sinnowy, than other nations of their times, have lately therewith embellished *Peter Aretine*; in whom except it be an high-raised, proudly-pufft, mind-moving, and heart-danting manner of speech, yet in good sooth more than ordinarie, wittie and ingenious; But so new fangled, so extravagant, so fantastickall, so deep-laboured; and to conclude, besides the eloquence, which be it as it may be, I cannot perceive any thing in it, beyond or exceeding that of many other writers of his age, much lesse that it in any sort approacheth that ancient divinitie. And the surname Great, we attribute and fasten the same on Princes, that have nothing in them exceeding popular greatnesse.

## CHAP. LII.

### Of the parcimonie of our Forefathers.

**A** *Tullius Regulus*, Generall of the Romans armie in *Affrike*, in the middest of his glorie and victorie against the Carthaginians, writ unto the common-wealth, that a hyme or plough-boy, whom he had left alone to oversee and husband his land (which in all was but seven acres of ground) was run away from his charge, and had stolne from him all his implements and tools, belonging to his husbandrie, craving leave to be discharged, and that he might come home to looke to his businesse, for feare his wife and children should therby be endamaged: the Senate tooke order for him, and appointed another man to looke to his land and businesse, and made that good unto him, which the other had stolne from him, and appointed his wife & children to be maintained at the common-wealths charge. *Cato* the elder returning Consul from *Spaine*, sold his horse of service, to save the monie he should have spent for his transport by sea into *Italy*: And being chiefe governor in *Sardinia*, went all his visitations a foot, having no other traine, but one officer of the common-wealth, who carried his gowne, and a vessell to do sacrifice in, and for the most part carried his male himselfe. He boasted that he never wore gowne, that cost him more than ten crowns, nor sent more than one shilling sterling to the market for one whole daies provision, and had no Countrie house rough-cast or painted over. *Scipio Aemilianus*, after he had triumphed twice, and twice been Consul, went on a solemne Legation, accompanied and attended on only with seven servants. It is reported that *Homer* had never any more than one servant. *Plato* three, and *Zeno*



Zeno chiefe of the Stoikes sect, none at all. *Tiberius Gracchus*, being then one of the principal men amongst the Romanes, and sent in commission about weightie matters of the common-wealth, was allotted but six-pence halfe-penic a day for his charges.

## C H A P. LIII.

## Of a saying of Caesar.

**I**F we shall sometimes amuse our selves and consider our estate, and the time we spend in controlling others, and to know the things that are without us; would we but employe the same in founding our selves throughly, we should easily perceive how all this our contexture is built of weake and decaying peeces. Is it not an especiall testimonie of imperfection, that we cannot settle our contentment on any one thing, and that even of our owne desire and imagination, it is beyond our power to chuse what we stand in need of? Whereof, the disputation that hath ever beene amongst Philosophers beareth sufficient witness, to finde out the chiefe felicitie or *summum bonum* of man, and which yet doth, and shall eternally last without resolution or agreement.

*Lucr. lib. 3. 25.*

*— dum abest quod avemus, id exuperare videtur  
Cetera, post aliud cum contigit illud avemus,  
Et sitis aqua tener.*

While that is absent which we wish, the rest  
That seemes to passe, when ought else is addrest,  
That we desire, with equall thirst oppress.

Whatsoever it be that falleth into our knowledge and joyissance, we finde, it doth not satisfie us, and we still follow and gape after future, uncertaine, and unknowne things, because the present and knowne please us not, and doe not satisfie us. Not (as I thinke) because they have not sufficiently wherewith to satiate and please us, but the reason is, that we apprehend and seize on them with an unruly, disordered, and diseased taste and hold-fast.

*Lucr. lib. 9.*

*Nam cum vidit hic ad usum qua flagitat usus,  
Omnia jam ferme mortalibus esse parata,  
Divitiis homines & honore & laude potentes  
Affluere, atque bona vatorum excellere fama,  
Nec minus esse domi, cuiquam tamen anxia corda,  
Atque animum infestis cogi servire querelis:  
Intellexit ibi vitium vas facere ipsum,  
Omniaque illius vitio corrumpierintus  
Qua collata foris & commoda quaque venirent.  
For when the wiseman saw, that all almost,  
That use requires, for men prepared was,  
That men enriches, honors, praises boast,  
In good report of children others passe,  
Yet none at home did beare lesse pensive heart,  
But that the minde was forst to serve complaint,  
He knew, that fault the vessell did impart,  
That all was marr'd within by vessell taint,  
What ever good was wrought by any art.*

Our appetite is irresolute, and uncertaine; it can neither hold nor enjoy any thing hand-somly and after a good fashion. Man supposing it is the vice and fault of things he possesseth, feedeth and filleth himselfe with other things, which he neither knoweth, nor hath understanding of, whereto he applyeth both his desires and hopes, and taketh them as an honour and reverence to himselfe; as saith *Caesar*, *Communi sit vitio natura, ut invisis, latentibus atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterreamur*. It hapneth by the common fault of nature, that both wee are more confident and more terrified by things unscene, things hidden, and unknowne.

*Cas. bel. civ. li. 2.*

The



## C H A P. LIV.

*Of vaine Subtilties, or subtill Devices.*

**T**Here are certaine frivolous and vaine inventions, or as some call them, subtilties of wit, by meanes of which, some men doe often endeavour to get credit and reputation: as divers Poets, that frame whole volumes with verses beginning with one letter: we see Egges, Wings, Hatchets, Crosses, Globes, Columnes, and divers other such like figures anciently fashioned by the Gracians, with the measure and proportion of their verses, spreading, lengthning, and shortning them, in such sort as they justly represent such and such a figure. Such was the science and profession of him, who long time bulied himselfe, to number how many severall waies the letters of the Alphabet might be ranged, and found out that incredible number mentioned by *Plutarke*. I allow of his opinion, who having one brought before him, that was taught with such industrie, and so curiously to cast a graine of Millet with his hand, that without ever missing, he would every time make it goethrough a needles-eye; and being entreated to bestow some thing upon him, (as a reward for so rare a skill,) verie pleasantly and worthily, commanded, hat this cunning workman should have two or thrce peckes of Millet delivered him, to the end his rare art and wittie labour might not remaine without daily exercise. It is a wonderfull testimonie of our judgements imbecilitie, that it should commend and allow of things, either for their rarenesse or noveltie, or for their difficultie, though neither goodnesse or profit be joyned unto them. We come but now from my house, where we have a while recreated our selves, with devising who could find out most things, that held by both extreme ends; As for example, *Sir*, is in our tongue a title only given to the most eminent person of our state, which is the King, and yet is commonly given to some of the vulgar sort, as unto Merchants and Pedlers, and nothing concerneth those of the middle sort, and that are betweene both. Women of chiefeest calling and qualitie are called *Dames*, the meane sort *Damoisels*, and those of the basest ranke, are also entituled *Dames*. The clothes of estate, which we see set over tables and chaires, are only allowed in Princes houses, yet we see them used in Tavernes. *Democritus* was wont to say, *That Gods and beasts, had quicker senses and sharper wits than men, who are of the middle ranke*. The Romanes used to weare one selfe same garment on mourning and on festivall daies. It is most certaine, that both an extreme feare, and an exceeding heat of courage, doe equally trouble and distemper the belly. The nick-name of *Tremblant*, wherewith *Zanchio* the twelfth King of *Navarre* was surnamed, teacheth, that boldnesse, aswel as feare, engender a startling and shaking of the limbs. Those which armed, either him, or any other of like nature, whose skin would quiver, assaied to re-assure him, by diminishing the danger wherein he was like to fall; you have no perfect knowledge of me (said he,) for if my flesh knew how far my courage will ere-long carrie it, it would presently fall into a flat swoone. That chilnesse, or as I may terme it, faintnesse, which we feele after the exercises of *Venus*, the same doth also proceed of an over vehement appetite and disordered heat. Excessive heat and extreme cold doe both boile and rost. *Aristotle* saith, *That leaden vessels doe as well melt and consume away by an excessive cold and rigor of winter, as by a vehement heat*. Both desire and satietie fill the seats with sorrow, both above and under voluptuousnesse. Folly and wisdom meet in one point of feeling and resolution, about the suffering of humane accidents. The wiser sort doth gourmandise and command evill, and others know it not. The latter, (as a man would say) short of accidents, the other, beyond. Who after they have well weighed and considered their qualities, and duly measured, and rightly judged what they are, over-leap them by the power of a vigorous courage. They disdain and tread them under foot, as having a strong and solide mind, against which, if fortunes parts chance to light, they must of necessity be blunted and abated, meeting with so resisting a body, as they cannot pierce, or make any impression therein. The ordinarie and meane condition of men abideth be-



tweene these two extremities; which are those that perceive and have a feeling of inchiefes, but cannot endure them. Both infancie and decrepitude meet with weaknesse of the braine. Covetise and profusion in a like desire to acquire and hoard up. It may with likelyhood be spoken, that there is a kind of *Abecedarie* ignorance, preceeding science: another doctorell, following science: an ignorance, which science doth beget: even as it spoileth the first. Of simple, lesse-curious, and least-instructed spirits are made good Christians, who simply beleeve through reverence and obedience, and are kept in awe of the lawes. In the meane vigor of spirits, and slender capacitie is engendred the error of opinions: They follow the appearance of the first sense; and have some title to interpret it foolishnesse and sottishnesse, that we are confirmed in ancient waies, respecting us, that are nothing therein instructed by study. The best, most-setled, and clearest-seeing spirits, make another sort of well-beleivers, who by long and religious investigation, penetrate a more profound, and find out a more abstruse light in scriptures, and discover the mysterious and divine secrets of our ecclesiasticall policie. And therefore see we some of them, that have reached unto this last ranke, by the second, with wonderfull fruit and confirmation; as unto the furthest bounds of Christian intelligence: and enjoy their victorie with comfort, thanks-giving, reformation of manners, and great modesty. In which ranke, my purpose is not to place these others, who to purge themselves from the suspicion of their forepassed errors, and the better to assure us of them, become extreme, indiscreet, and unjust in the conduct of our cause, and tax and taint the same with infinit reproches of violence. The simple peasants are honest men; so are Philosophers, (or as our time nameth them, strong and cleare natures) enriched with a large instruction of profitable sciences. The mongrell sort of husband-men, who have disdained the first forme of ignorance of letters, and could never reach unto the other (as they that sit betweene two stooles, of which besides so many others I am one) are dangerous, peevish, foolish, and importunate, and they which trouble the world most. Therefore doe I (as much as lieth in me) withdraw my selfe into the first and naturall seat, whence I never assaied to depart. Popular and meere naturall Poetrie hath certaine graces, and in-bred liveness, whereby it concurrerh and comparerh it selfe unto the principall beaurie of perfect and artificiall Poetrie, as may plainly be seene in the *Villanelles*, homely gigs, and countie songs of *Gasconie*, which are brought unto us from Nations that have no knowledge at all, either of any learning, or so much as of writing. Meane and indifferent Poetrie, and that consisteth betweene both, is scorned, and contemned, and passeth without honour or esteeme. But forasmuch as since the passage hath bene opened unto the spirit, I have found (as it commonly hapneth) that we had apprehended that which is neither so nor so for a difficult exercise, and of a rare subject; And that since our invention hath bene set on fire, it discovereth an infinit number of like examples; I will onely adde this one: That if these Essayes were worthy to be judged of, it might in mine opinion happen, that they would not greatly please the common and vulgar spirits, and as little the singular and excellent. The first will understand but little of them, the latter over much; they might perhaps live and rub out in the middle region.

#### CHAP. LV.

#### Of Smells and Odors.

IT is reported of some, namely of *Alexander*, that their sweat, through some rare and extraordinary complexion, yeelded a sweet smelling savour; whereof *Plutarke* and others seeke to finde out the cause. But the common sort of bodies are cleane contrarie, and the best qualitie they have, is to be cleare of any smell at all. The sweetnesse of the purest breaths hath nothing more perfect in them, than to bee without savour, that may offend us: as are those of healthy sound children. And therefore saith *Plinius*;

*Mulier*



*Mulier tum bene olet, ubi nihil olet.*

Then smel's a woman purely well,  
When she of nothing else doth smell.

*Plan. de sol. a. 8.*  
1. 6. 3.

The most exquisite and sweetest savour of a woman, it is to smell of nothing; and sweet, well-smelling, strange favours, may rightly be held suspicious in such as use them; and a man may lawfully thinke, that who useth them, doth it to cover some naturall defect: whence proceed these ancient Poeticall sayings. *To smell sweet, is to stinke,*

*Rides nos Coracina nil olentes,*

*Mart. lib. 6. epig.*

*Malo quam bene olere, nil olere,*

55. 4.

You laugh at us that we of nothing savour,  
Rather smell so, than sweeter (by your favour.) And else where.

*Posthume non bene olet, qui bene semper olet.*

*Li. 2. epig. 12. 4.*

Good sir, he smells not ever sweet,

Who smells still sweeter than is meet.

Yet love I greatly to be entertained with sweet smells, and hate exceedingly all manner of fowre and ill favours, which I shall sooner smell, than any other.

— *Namque sagacius unus odoror,*

*Mor. epig. 12. 4.*

*Polypus, an gravis hirsutis cubet hircus in alis.*

*Quam caris acer ubi lateat sus.*

Sooner smell I, whether a cancred nose,

Or ranke gote-smell in hairie arme-pits lie,

Than sharpest hounds, where rowting bores repose.

The simplest and meeely naturall smells are most pleasing unto me; which care ought chiefly to concerne women. In the verie heart of *Barbarie*, the Scithian women, after they had washed themselves, did sprinkle, dawbe, and powder all their bodies and faces over, with a certaine odoriferous drug, that groweth in their Countrey: which dust and dawbing being taken away, when they come neere men, or their husbands, they remaine verie cleane, and with a verie sweet-savouring perfume. What odor soever it be, it is strange to see, what hold it will take on me, and how apt my skin is to receive it. He that complaineth against nature, that she hath not created man with a fit instrument, to carrie sweet smells fast-tied to his nose, is much to blame: for, they carrie themselves. As for me in particular, my mostachoes, which are verie thicke, serve me for that purpose. Let me but approach my gloves or my hand-kercher to them, their smell will sticke upon them a whole day. They manifest the place I come from. The close-smacking, sweetnesse-moving, love-alluring, and greedifmirkling kisses of youth, were heretofore wont to sticke on them many houres after; yet am I little subject to those popular diseases, that are taken by conversation, and bred by the contagion of the ayre: And I have escaped those of my time, of which there hath beene many and severall kinds, both in the Townes about me, and in our Armie. We read of *Socrates*, that during the time of many plagues and relapses of the pestilence, which so often infested the Citie of *Athenes*, he never forooke or went out of the Towne: yet was he the only man, that was never infected, or that felt any sickness. Physitians might (in mine opinion) draw more use and good from odours, than they doe. For, my selfe have often perceived, that according unto their strength and qualitie, they change and alter, and move my spirits, and worke strange effects in me: which makes me approve the common saying, that the invention of incense and perfumes in Churches, so ancient and so far-dispersed throughout all nations and religions, had an especiall regard to rejoyce, to comfort, to quicken, to rowze, and to purifie our senses, that so we might be the apter and readier unto contemplation. And the better to judge of it, I would I had my part of the skill, which some Cookes have, who can so curiously season and temper strange odors with the savour and relish of their meats. As it was especially observed in the service of the King of *Tunes*, who in our dayes landed at *Naples*, to meet and enter-parly with the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. His viands were so exquisitely farced, and so sumptuously seasoned with sweet odoriferous drugs, and aromaticall spices, that it was found upon his booke of accompt, the dressing of one peacocke, and two fescants amounted to one hundred duckets; which was their ordinarie manner of cooking his meats. And when they were carved up, not only the dining chambers, but all the roomes of his pallace, and the streets round about it were replenished with an exceeding

odori-



odoriferous and aromaticall vapour, which continued a long time after. The principall care I take, wheresoever I am lodged, is to avoid, and be far from all manner of filthy, foggy, ill-favouring, and unwholsome aires. These goodly Cities of strangely-seated *Venice*, and huge-built *Paris*, by reason of the muddy, sharp, and offending favors, which they yeeld; the one by her fennie and marish situation, the other by her durrie uncleannesse, and continuall mire, doe greatly alter and diminish the favour which I beare them.

### CHAP. LV I.

#### Of Praiers and Orisons.

I Propose certaine formelesse and irresolute fantasies, as do thote schollers, who in schooles publish doubtfull and sophisticall questions to be disputed and canvased: not to establish the truth, but to find it out: which I submit to their judgements, to whom the ordering and directing, not only of my actions and compositions, but also of my thoughts, belongeth. The condemnation, as well as the approbation of them, will be equally acceptable and profitable unto me, deeming it absurd and impious, if any thing be, either ignorantly, or unadvisedly set downe in this rapsody, contrarie unto the sacred resolutions, and repugnant to the holy prescriptions of the Catholike, Apostolike, and Romane Church, wherein I was borne, and out of which I purpose not to die. And therefore alwaies referring my selfe unto their censures that have all power over me, doe I meddle so rashly, to write of all manner of purposes and discourses, as I doe here. I wot not whether I be deceived, but sithence, by an especiall and singular favour of Gods divine bountie, a certaine forme of Praier, hath by the very mouth of God, word by word been prescribed & directed unto us, I have ever thought the use of it, should be more ordinarie with us, than it is. And might I be believed, both rising and going to bed, sitting downe and rising from boord, and going about any particular action or businesse, I would have all good Christians, to say the *Pater noster*, and if no other praier, at least not to omit that. The Church may extend, amplifie, and diversifie praiers according to the need of our instruction: For, I know it is alwaies the same substance, and the same thing. But that one should ever have this privilege, that all manner of people, should at all times, and upon every occasion have it in their mouth: For, it is most certaine, that only it containeth whatsoever we want, and is most fit, and effectuell in all events. It is the onely praier I use in every place, at all times, and upon every accident; and in stead of changing, I use often repetition of it: whence it commeth to passe, that I remember none so well as that one. I was even now considering, whence this generall errour commeth, that in all our desleignes and enterprises, of what nature soever, we immediatly have recourse unto God, and in every necessitie, we call upon his holy name: And at what time soever we stand in need of any help, and that our weaknesse wanteth assistance, we only invoke him, without considering whether the occasion be just or unjust; and what estate or action we be in, or goe about, be it never so vicious or unlawfull, we call upon his name and power. Indeed, he is our only protector, and of power to affoord us all manner of help and comfort; but although he vouchsafe to honour us with this joy-bringing fatherly adoption, yet is he as just as he is good; and as good and just, as he is mightie: But oftner useth his justice than his might, and favoureth us according to the reason of the same, and not according to our requests. *Plato* in his lawes maketh three sorts of injurious believe in the Gods: First, that there is none at all; Secondly, that they meddle not with our affaires; Thirdly, that they never refuse any thing unto our vowes, offerings, and sacrifices. The first errour, according to his opinion, did never continue immutable in man, even from his first infancie unto his latter age. The two succeeding may admit some constancie. His justice and power are inseparable. It is but in vaine to implore his power in a bad cause. Man must have an unpolluted soule



soule when he praieth (at least in that moment he addresseth himselfe to pray) and absolutely free from all vicious passions; otherwise we our selves present him the rods to scourge us withall. In stead of redressing our fault, we redouble the same, by presenting him with an affection fraught with irreverence, sinne, and hatred, to whom only we should sue for grace and forgiveness. Loe here, why I doe not willingly commend these Pharisaicall humours, whom I so often behold, and more than ordinarie, to pray unto God, except their actions immediately preceding or succeeding their prayers witness some shew of reformation or hope of amendment.

— *Senecturnus adulter*

*Tempora sanctonico velas adoperata cucullo.*

If in a cape-cloake-hood befringed hide

Thou a night-whore-munger thy head dost hide.

*Juven. sat. 8.*

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And the state of a man that commixeth devotion unto an execrable life, seemeth in some sort to be more condemnable, than that of one, that is conformable unto himselfe, and every way dissolute. Therefore doth our Church continually refuse, the favour of her entrance and societie, unto customes and manners, wilfully-obstinate on some egregious villaine. We only pray by custome and use, and for fashion sake, or to say better, we but reade and pronounce our prayers: To conclude, it is nothing but a shew of formalitie, and a formall shew. And it greeveth me to see many men, who at grace before and after meat, will with great shew of devotion, crosse themselves three or foure times, & and it vexeth me so much the more, when I call to mind, that it is a signe I greatly reverence, and have in continual use, yea, if I be but gaping, and there whilst, shall you see them bestow all other houres of the day in all manner of hatred, malice, covetousnesse, and injustice. Many houres spend they about vice, but one to God, and that as it were by way of recompence and composition. It is wonderous to see, so far different and divers actions, continue with so even a tenor, that no interruption or alteration at all can be perceived, either about their confines, or passage from one unto another. What prodigious conscience can be at any harts-ease, resting, and feeding with so mutuall, quiet, and agreeing societie in one selfe same mansion, both crime and judge? A man whole *Paillardize* and luxurie, doth uncessantly sway and rule the head, and who judgeth the same abhominable and most hatefull in the sight of God; what saith he unto his all-seeing Majesty, when he openeth his lips, either of mouth or hart, to speake to him of it? He reclaimeth himselfe, but falleth sodainly againe. *If the object of his divine justice, and his presence should strike, (as he saith) and chastise his soule, how short-soever the penitence were, were it self would so often cast his thought on it, that he would presently perceive himselfe master of those vices, which are habituated, inbred, sealed, and ensigned in him.* But what of those, which ground a whole life vpon the fruit and benefit of that sinne, they know to be mortall? How many trades, professions, occupations, and vocations, have we daily and continually used, frequented, and allowed amongst us, whose essence is vicious and most pernicious? And he that would needs confesse himselfe unto me, and of his owne accord told me, that for feare of losing his credit, and to keepe the honour of his offices; he had for a whole age, made shew and profession, and acted the effects of a religion, which in his owne scilicet-accusing conscience, he judged damnable, and cleane contrarie unto that he had in his hart: How could he admit and foster so contradictorie and impious a discourse in his hart? With what language entertaine they divine justice concerning this subject? Their repentance, consisting in visible amends, and manageable reparation; they lose both towards God and us, the meanes to all-ledge the same. Are they so malapart and fond-hardy as to crave pardon without satisfaction, and sans repentance? I thinke it goeth with the first, as with the last: But obstinacie is not herein so easie to be vanquished. This so suddaine contrarietie, and violent volubilitie of opinion, which they saie unto us, seemeth to me a miracle. They present us with the state of an indigestible agonie. How fantasticall seemed their imagination unto me, who these latter yeares had taken up a fashion, to checke and reprove all men, that professed the Catholike Religion, in whom shined any extraordinarie brightnesse of spirit, saying, that it was but fained: and to doe him honour, held, that whatsoever he said in apparance, he could not inwardly chuse but have his beliefe reformed according to their byasse. It is a peevish infirmities, for a man to thinke himselfe so firmly grounded, as to perswade himselfe, that the contrarie may not be believed: And more peevish also, to be perswaded by such a spirit, that



preferreth I wot not what disparitie of fortune, before the hopes and threats of eternall life, They may beleeeve me: If any thing could have attempted my youth, the ambition of the hazard, and difficultie, which followed this late-moderne enterprize, should have had good part therein. It is not without great reason, in my poore judgement, that the Church forbid- deth the confused, rash and indiscreet use of the sacred and divine songs, which the holy spi- rit hath indited unto *David*. God ought not to be commixed in our actions, but with awful reverence, and an attention full of honour and respect. The word or voice is too divine, ha- ving no other use but to exercise our lungs, and to please our eares. It is from the conscience and not from the tongue that it must proceed. It is not consonant unto reason, that a pren- tise or shop-keeping boy, amidst his idle, vaine, and frivolous conceits, should be suffered to entertaine himselfe, and play therewith. Nor is it seemely, or tolerable, to see the sacred booke of our belifes-Mysteries, tossed up and downe and plaid withall, in a shop, or a hall, or a kitchen. They have heretofore beene accompted mysteries, but through the abuse of times, they are now held as sports and recreations. So serious, and venerable a study should not, by way of pastime, and tumultuarie be handled. It ought to be a fixed, a purposed, and settled action, to which this preface of our office *sursum corda* should ever be adjoynd; and the very exterior parts of the body, should with such a countenance, be referred unto it, that to all mens eyes it may witness a particular attention and duteous respect. It is not a study fitting all men, but only such as have vowed themselves unto it, and whom God hath, of his infinit mercie, called thereto. The wicked, the ungodly, and the ignorant are thereby empai- red. It is no historie to be fabulously reported, but a historie to be dutifully revered, aw- fully feared, and religiously adored. Are they not pleasantly conceited, who becaufe they have reduced the same into the vulgar tongues, and that all men may understand it, perswade themselves, that the people shall the better conceive and digest the same? Consisteth it but in the words, that they understand not all they find written? Shall I say more? By appo-aching thus little unto it, they goe backe from it. Meere ignorance, and wholly relying on others, was verily more profitable and wiser, than is this verball, and vaine knowledge, the nurse of presumption, and sourse of temeritie. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the uncontrou- led libertie, that all men have to wrest, dissipate, and wyre-draw a word so religious, and im- portant, to so many severall idiomes, hath much more danger than profit following it. The Jewes, the Mahometans, and well-nigh all othet nations, are wedded unto, and reverence the language, wherein their mysteries and religion had originally beene conceived; and any change or translation hath not without apparance of reason beene directly forbidden. Know we whether there the Judges enow in *Busque* and in *Britanie* to establish this translation made in their tongue? The universall Church hath no more difficult and solemne judgement to make. Both in speaking and preaching the interpretation is wandring, free, and mutable, and of one parcell; so is it not alike. One of our Gracian Historians doth justly accuse his age, forasmuch as the secrets of Christian religion were dispersed in all publike places, and even amongst the basest artificers; and that every man might, at his pleasure, dispute of it, and at randon speake his mind of the same. And it should be a great shame for us, who by the unspeakable grace of God injoy the pure and sacred mysteries of piety, to suffer the same to be profaned in the mouthes of ignorant and popular people, seeing the very Gentiles in- terdicted *Socrates* and *Plato*, and the wisest, to meddle, enquire or speake of things commit- ted unto the Priestes of *Delphos*. Saying moreover, *That the factions of Princes, touching the subject of Divinitie, are armed, not with zeale, but with anger. That zeale dependeth of divine reason and justice, holding an orderly and moderate course, but that it changeth into hatred and envie, and in stead of corne and grape, it produceth nettles and darrell, if it be directed by humane passion.* And justly saith this other, who counselling the Emperour *Theodosius*, affir- med that *disputations did not so much appease and lull asleepe the schismes of the Church, as stir up and cause heresies.* And therefore it behooved, to avoid all contentions, controver- sies, and logicall arguings, and wholly and sincerely refer himselfe unto the prescriptions and orders of faith, established by our forefathers. And *Andronicus* the Emperour, finding by chance in his pallace, certaine principall men very earnestly disputing against *Lapodius*, about one of our points of great importance, taunted & rated them very bitterly, and threat- ned if they gave not over, he would cause them to be cast into the river. Children and wo- men doe now adaies governe and sway the oldest and most experienced men concerning

Eccle-



Ecclesiasticall Lawes: whereas the first that *Plato* made, forbiddeth them to enquire after the reason of civill Lawes, and which ought to stand in place of divine ordinances. Allowing aged men to communicate the same amongst themselves, and with the Magistrate, adding more-over, alwaies provided it be not in the presence of young men, and before profane persons. A notable Bishop hath left written, that in the other end of the world, there is an Island called of our predecessours *Dioscorida*, very commodious, and fertile of all sorts of fruits and trees, and of a pure and wholesome ayre; whose people are Christians, and have Churches and Altars; adorned with nothing else but crosses, without other images; great observers of fastings and holy daies; exact payers of their priests tithes; and so chaste, that none of them may lawfully all his life long know any more than one wife. And in all other matters so well pleased with their fortune, that being seated in the midst of the sea, they have and know no use of ships: and so simple, that of their religion, which they so diligently and awfully observe, they know not, nor understand so much as one only word. A thing incredible, to him that knew not how the Pagans, who are so devout and zealous idolaters, know nothing of their Gods, but only their bare names and statues. The ancient beginning of *Menalippe*, a tragedie of *Euripides*, importeth thus.

*O Jupiter, car de toy rien sinon,*

*Je ne cognois seulement que le nom.*

*O Jupiter, for unto me,*

Only the name is knowne of thee.

*Ævrip.*

I have also in my time heard certaine writings complained of, for so much as they are merely humane and Philosophicall, without meddling with divinitie. He that should say to the contrarie (which a man might doe with reason) that heavenly doctrine, as a Queene and governess doth better keepe her ranke apart; that she ought to be chiefe ruler and principall head ever where, and not suffragant and subsidiarie. And that peradventure examples in Grammar, Rethorike, and Logike, might more fitly and sortably be taken from elsewhere, than from so sacred and holy a subject, as also the arguments of theatres, plots of plaies, and grounds of publike spectacles. That mysteriously divine reasons are more venerably and reverently considered alone, and in their native stile, than joyned and compared to humane discourse. That this fault is oftner scene, which is, that Divines write too humanely, than this other, that humanists write not Theologically enough. *Philosophy*, saith *S. Chrysostome*, is long since banished from sacred schools, as an unprofitable servant, and deemed unworthy to behold, but in passing by the entrie, on the vestrie of the sacred treasures of heavenly doctrine. That the formes of humane speech, are more base, and ought by no meanes to make any use of the dignitie, majesty and preheminance of divine speech. As for my part, I give it leave to say, *Verbis indisciplinatis, with undisciplined words*, Fortune, destinie, chance, accident, fate, good lucke, ill lucke, the Gods, and other phrases, as best it pleaseth. I propose humane fantasies and mine owne, simply as humane conceits, and severally considered; not as settled, concluded, and directed by celestially ordinance, incapable of any doubt or alteration. A matter of opinion, and not of faith. What I discourse according to my selfe, not what I beleieve according unto God, with a laicall fashion, and not a clerical manner; yet ever most religious. As children propose their essayes, instructable, not instructing. And might not a man also say without apparance, that the institution, which willeth, no man shall dare to write of Religion, but sparingly, and reservedly, except such as make expresse profession of it, would not want some shew of profit and justice; and happily to me to be silent. It hath beene told me, that even those which are not of our consent, doe flatly inhibite amongst themselves the use of the sacred name of God in all their vulgar and familiar discourses. They would have no man use it as an interjection, or exclamation, nor to be alleaged as a witnesse, or comparison; wherein I find they have reason. And howsoever it be, that we call God to our commerce and societie, it should be zealously, seriously, and religiously. There is (as far as I remember) such a like discourse in *Xenophon*, wherein he declareth, *That we should more rarely pray unto God: forasmuch as it is not easie, we should so often settle our minds in so regular, so reformed, and so devout a seat, where indeed it ought to be, to pray aright and effectually: otherwise our prayers are, not only vaine and unprofitable, but vicious. Forgive us (say we) our offences, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* What else inferre we by that petition, but that we offer him our soule void of all revenge and free from all rancour? We nevertheless invoke  
God



God and call on his aid, even in the complot of our grievouslest faults, and desire his assistance in all manner of injustice and iniquitie.

Pers. sat. 2.4.

*Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere divi.*

Which you to Saints not drawne aside,  
Would thinke unfit to be applide.

The covetous man sueth and praieeth unto him for the vaine increase and superfluous preservation of his wrong-gotten treasure. The ambitious, he importuneth God for the conduct of his fortune, and that he may have the victorie of all his desseignes. The theefe, the pirate, the murderer, yea and the traitor, all call upon him, all implore his aid, & all sollicite him, to give them courage in their attempts, constancie in their resolutions, to remove all lets and difficulties, that in any sort may withstand their wicked executions, and impious actions; or give him thanks, if they have had good successe; the one if he have met with a good bootie, the other if he returne home rich, the third if no man have seen him kill his enemy, and the last, though he have caused any execrable mischief. The Souldier, if he but goe to besiege a cottage, to scale a Castle, to rob a Church, to pettard a gate, to force a religious house, or any villanous act, before he attempt it, praieeth to God for his assistance, though his intents and hopes be full-fraught with crueltie, murder, covetise, luxurie, sacri-lege, and all iniquitie.

21.

*Hoc ipsum quo tu Iovis aurem impellere sentas,*

*Dic agendum, Statio, pro Iupiter, o bone, clamet,*

*Iupiter, at sese non clamet Iupiter ipse.*

Go-to then, say the same to some bad fellow,  
Which thou prepar'it for Gods eares: let him bellow,  
O God, good God; so God,  
On himselfe would not plod.

Margaret Queene of Navarre, maketh mention of a young Prince (whom although she name not expressly, yet his greatnesse hath made him sufficiently knowne) who going about an amorous assignation, and to lie with an Advocates wife of Paris, his way lying alongst a Church, he did never passe by so holy a place, whether it were in going or coming from his lecherie, and cuckolding-labour, but would make his praier unto God, to be his help and furtherance. I would faine have any impartiall man tell me, to what purpose this Prince invoked and called on God for his divine favour, having his mind only bent to sinne, and his thoughts set on luxurie: Yet doth she alleage him for a speciall testimonie of singular devotion. But it is not only by this example, a man might verifie, that women are not very fit to manage or treat matters of Religion and Divinitie. A true and hartie praier, and an unfained religious reconciliation from us unto God, cannot likely fall into a wicked and impure soule, especially when Sathan swaieeth the same. He that calleth upon God for his assistance, whilst he is engulphed and wallowing in filthy sinne, doth as the cut-purse, that should call for justice unto his ayd, or those that produce God in witness of a lie.

Lucan. lib. 5.94.

*— tacito mala vota susurro*

*Concipimus.*

With silent whispering we,  
For ill things suppliants be.

There are few men, that would dare to publish the secret requests they make to God.

Pers. sat. 2.6.

*Hand cuius præptum est, murmurque humile sive susurros*

*Tollere de Templis, & aperto vivere voto.*

From Church low-whispering murmurs to expell,

'Tis not for all, or with knowne vov'es live well.

And that's the reason, why the Pythagorians would have them publike, that all might heare them, that no man should abusively call on God, and require any undecent or unjust thing of him, as that man;

Hor. lib. 1. epist.  
16.59.

*— clare cum dixit, Apollo,*

*Labra movet metuens audiri: pulchra Laverna*

*Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri.*

*Nascent peccata, & fraudibus obice nubem.*

When he a lowd hath said, Apollo heare,

Loth to be heard, Goddesse of theeves, said he,

Grant



Grant me to couſen, and yet juſt appeare,  
My fault's in night, my fraud's in clouds let be.

The Gods did grievouſly puniſh the impious vowes of *Oedipus*, by granting them unto him. His praier was, that his children might betweene themſelves decide in armes the ſucceſſion of his eſtate; he was ſo miſerable, as to be taken at his word. A man ſhould not requeſt that all things follow our will, but that it may follow wiſdome. Verily, it ſeemeth, that we make no other uſe of our praiers, than of a companie of gibriſh phraſes: And as thoſe who employ holy and ſacred words about witchcraft and magickall effects; and that we imagine their effect dependeth of the contexture, or ſound, or ſucceſſion of words, or from our countenance. For, our ſoule, being full-fraught with concupiſcence, and all manner of ungodly thoughts, nothing touched with repentance, nor moved with new reconciliation towards God, we headlong preſent unto him thoſe heedleſſe words, which memorie aſſoordeth our tongue, by which we hope to obtaine an expiation and remiſſion of our offences. There is nothing ſo eaſie, ſo ſweet, ſo comfortable and favourable, as the law of God; ſhe (of his infinite mercie) calleth us unto him, how faultie and deteſtable ſoever we be; ſhe gently ſtretcheth forth her armes unto us, and mildly receiveth us into her lap, how guiltie, polluted, and ſinfull ſoever we are, and may be in after-times. But in recompence of ſo boundleſſe and unſpeakable a favour, ſhe muſt be thankfully accepted, and cheerfully regarded: and ſo gracious a pardon muſt be received with a gratitude of the ſoule, and at leaſt, in that inſtant, that we addreſſe our ſelves unto her preſence; to have our ſoule grieved for her faults, penitent of her finnes, hating thoſe paſſions and affections, that have cauſed or provoked us to tranſgreſſe his lawes, to offend his Majeſtic, and to breake his commandements. *Plato* ſaith, *That neither the Gods, nor honeſt men will ever accept the offering of a wicked man.*

*Immunis aram ſitetigit manu,  
Non ſumptuoſa blandior hoſtia  
Mollivit averſos Penates,  
Farre pio & ſaliente mica.  
If guiltleſſe hand the Altar touch,  
No offering, coſt it ne're ſo much,  
Shall better pleaſe our God offended,  
Than come with crackling-corne ſalt blended.*

*Li. 3. ad. 23. 17.*

## CHAP. LVII.

### Of Age.

I Cannot receive that manner, whereby we eſtabliſh the continuance of our life. I ſee that ſome of the wiſer ſort doe greatly ſhorten the ſame, in reſpect of the common opinion. What ſaid *Cato Junior*, to thoſe who ſought to hinder him from killing himſelfe? *Doc I now live the age, wherein I may juſtly be reproved to leave my life too ſoone?* Yet was he but eight and fortie yeares old. He thought that age very ripe, yea, and well advanced, conſidering how few men come unto it. And ſuch as entertaine themſelves with, I wot not what kind of courſe, which they call naturall, promiſeth ſome few yeares beyond, might do it, had they a privilege that could exempt them from ſo great a number of accidents, unto which each one of us ſtands ſubject by a naturall ſubjection, and which may interrupt the ſaid courſe, they propoſe unto themſelves. What fondneſſe is it, for a man to thinke he ſhall die, for, and through, a failing and defect of ſtrength, which extreme age draweth with it, and to propoſe that terme unto our life, ſeeing it is the rareſt kind of all deaths, and leaſt in uſe? We only call it naturall, as if it were againſt nature to ſee a man breake his necke with a fall; to be drowned by ſhipwracke; to be ſurpriſed with a peſtilence, or pleuriſie, and as if our ordinarie



dinarie condition did not present these inconveniences unto us all. Let us not flatter our selves with these fond-goodly words; a man may peradventure rather call that naturall, which is generall, common and universall. To die of age, is a rare, singular, and extraordinarie death, and so much lesse naturall than others: It is the last and extremest kind of dying: The further it is from us, so much the lesse is it to be hoped for: Indeed it is the limit, beyond which we shall not passe, and which the law of nature hath prescribed unto us, as that which should not be outgone by any; but it is a rare privilege peculiar unto her selfe, to make us continue unto it. It is an exemption, which through some particular favour she bestoweth on some one man, in the space of two or three ages, discharging him from the crosses, troubles, and difficulties, she hath enterposed betweene both, in this long carriere and pilgrimage. Therefore my opinion is, to consider, that the age unto which we are come, is an age whereto few arrive: since men come not unto it by any ordinarie course, it is a signe we are verie forward. And since we have past the accustomed bounds, which is the true measure of our life, we must not hope, that we shall goe much further. Having escaped so many occasions of death, wherein we see the world to fall, we must acknowledge that such an extraordinarie fortune, as that is, which maintaineth us, and is beyond the common use, is not likely to continue long. It is a fault of the verie lawes, to have this false imagination: They allow not a man to be capable and of discretion, to manage and dispose of his owne goods, untill he be five and twentie yeares old, yet shall he hardly preserve the state of his life so long. *Augustus* abridged five yeares of the ancient Romane Lawes, and declared, that for any man that should take upon him the charge of judgement, it sufficed to be thirtie yeares old. *Servius Tullius* dispensed with the Knights, who were seven and fortie yeares of age, from all voluntarie services of warre. *Augustus* brought them to fortie and five. To send men to their place of sojourning before they be five and fiftie or three score yeares of age, me seemeth, carrieth no great apparance with it. My advice would be, that our vacation, and employment should be extended, as far as might be for the publike commoditie; but I blame some, and condemne most, that we begin not soone enough to employ our selves. The same *Augustus* had been universall and supreme judge of the world, when he was but nineteene yeares old, and would have another to be thirtie, before he shall bee made a competent Judge of a cottage or farme. As for my part, I thinke our minds are as full growne and perfectly joynted at twentie yeares, as they should be, and promise as much as they can. A mind which at that age hath not given some evident token or earnest of her sufficiencie, shall hardly give it afterward; put her to what triall you list. Natural qualities and vertues, if they have any vigorous or beauteous thing in them, will produce and shew the same within that time, or never. They say in Daulphiné,

French. prov.

*Si l'espine non picque quand nai,  
A peine que picque jamais.  
A thorne, unlesse at first it pricke,  
Will hardly ever pearce toth' quicke.*

Of all humane honourable and glorious actions, that ever came unto my knowledge, of what nature soever they be, I am perswaded, I should have a harder taske, to number those, which both in ancient times, and in ours, have beene produced and achieved before the age of thirtie yeares, than such as were performed after: yea, often in the life of the same men. May not I boldly speak it of those of *Hannibal*, and *Scipio* his great adversarie? They lived the better part of their life with the glorie which they had gotten in their youth: And though afterward they were great men, in respect of all others, yet were they but meane in regard of themselves. As for my particular, I am verily perswaded, that since that age, both my spirit and my body, have more decreased than encreased, more recoyled than advanced. It may be, that knowledge and experience shall encrease in them, together with life, that bestow their time well: but vivacitie, promptitude, constancie, and other parts much more our owne, more important and more essentiall, they droope, they languish, and they faint.

Lucr. li. 3. 457.

*— ubi jam validis quassatum est viribus avi  
Corpus, & obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,  
Glandia est ingenium, delirat linguaque mensque.*

When



When once the body by shrewd strength of yeares  
Is shak't, and limmes drawne downe from strength that weares,  
Wit halts, both tongue and mind  
Doe daily doar, we find.

It is the body, which sometimes yeeldeth first unto age; and other times the mind: and I have seene many, that have had their braines weakned before their stomacke or legges. And forasmuch, as it is a disease, little or nothing sensible unto him that endureth it, and maketh no great shew, it is so much the more dangerous. Here I exclaime against our Lawes, not because they leave us so long, and late in working and employment, but that they set us a worke no sooner, and it is so late before we be employed. Methinkes that considering the weaknesse of our life, and seeing the infinit number of ordinarie rockes, and naturall dangers it is subject unto, we should not so soone as we come into the world, alot so great a share thereof unto unprofitable wantonnesse in youth, il-breeding idlenesse, and slow-learning prentissage.

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*The end of the first Booke.*

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THE  
ESSAYES

OR  
MORAL, POLITIKE,

AND  
MILITARY DISCOVRSES,

OF  
Lo. MICHAEL de Montaigne,  
Knight

*Of the noble Order of St. MICHAEL, and one of the Gentlemen  
in Ordinary of the French King HENRY the  
Third his Chamber.*

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THE SECOND BOOKE.

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LONDON,  
*Printed by MILES FLESHER, 1631.*



ESSAYES

OF

THE

1

OF

OF

OF



THE  
ESSAYES OF  
MICHAEL LORD OF  
MONTAIGNE.

*The second Booke.*

CHAP. I.

*Of the inconstancie of our actions.*



Those which exercise themselves in controuling humane actions, finde no such let in any one part, as to peece them together, and bring them to one same lustre: For, they commonly contradict one another so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcels of one Warehouse. Young *Marinus* is sometimes found to be the sonne of *Mars*, and other times the childe of *Venus*. Pope *Boniface* the Eight, is reported to have entred into his charge, as a Fox; to have carried himselfe therein, as a Lion; and to have died like a dog. And who would thinke it was *Nero*, that lively image of cruelty, who being required to signe (as the custome was) the sentence of a criminall offender, that had beene condemned to die, that ever he should answer? Oh would to God I could never have written! So neare was his heart grieved to doome a man to death. The world is so full of such examples, that every man may store himselfe; and I wonder to see men of understanding trouble themselves with sorting these parcels: Sithence (me seemeth) irresolution is the most apparant and common vice of our nature; as witnesseth that famous verse of *Publius* the Comediant:

*Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest.*

The counsell is but bad,

Whose change may not be had.

*Pub. Min.*

There is some apparence to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life, but seeing the naturall instability of our customes and opinions; I have often thought, that even good Authors, doe ill, and take a wrong course, wilfully to opinionate themselves about framing a constant and solide contexture of us. They chuse an universall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret all a mans actions; which if they cannot wrest sufficiently, they remit them unto dissimulation. *Augustus* hath escaped their hands; for there is so apparent, so sudden and continuall a variety of actions found in him, through the course of his life, that even the boldest Judges and strictest censurers, have beene faine to give him over, and leave him undecided. *There is nothing I so hardly beleove to be in man, as constancie, and nothing so easie to be found in him, as inconstancy.* He that should distinctly and part by part,



judge of him, should often jumpe to speake truth. View all antiquity over, and you shall finde it a hard matter, to chuse out a dozen of men, that have directed their life unto one certaine, settled, and assured course; which is the surest drift of wisdom. For, to comprehend all in one word, saith an ancient Writer, and to embrace all the rules of our life into one, it is at all times to will, and not to will one same thing. I would not vouchsafe, (saith he) to adde any thing; alwayes provided the will be just: for, if it be unjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heretofore learned, that vice is nothing but a disorder, and want of measure, and by consequence, it is impossible to fasten constancy unto it. It is a saying of Demosthenes, (as some report,) *That consultation and deliberation, is the beginning of all vertue; and constancie, the end and perfection.* If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine way, we should then take the fairest: but no man hath thought on it.

Hor. l. 1. ep. 1. 98.

*Quod petiit, spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,*

*Astuat, & vitæ disconvulsi ordines oro.*

He scorns that which he sought, seek's that he scorn'd of late,

He shoves, & bbes, disagrees in his lifes whole estate.

Our ordinary manner is to follow the inclination of our appetite, this way and that way; on the left, and on the right hand; upward and downe-ward, according as the winde of occasions doth transport us: we never thinke on what we would have, but at the instant we would have it: and change as that beast that takes the colour of the place wherein it is laid. What we even now purposed, we alter by and by, and presently returne to our former bias: all is but changing, motion, and inconstancy:

L. 2. sat. 7. 82.

*Ducimur ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.*

So are we drawne, as wood is shoved,

By others sinewes each way moved.

We goe not, but we are carried: as things that float, now gliding gently, now hulling violently; according as the water is, either stormy or calme.

Lucr. l. 3. 1100.

—nonne videmus

*Quid sibi quisque velit nescire & querere semper,*

*Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit?*

See we not, every man in his thoughts height

Knowes not what he would have, yet seekes he streight

To change place, as he could lay downe his weight?

Every day new toyes, each houre new fantasies, and our humours move and fleet with the fleetings and movings of time.

Cic. Fragm.

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali Pater ipse*

*Iupiter auctifero lustravit lumine terras.*

Such are mens mindes, as that great God of might

Surveies the earth with encrease bearing light.

We float and waver betweene divers opinions: we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing constantly. Had any man prescribed certaine Lawes, or established assured policies in his owne head; in his life should we daily see, to shine an equality of customes, an assured order, and an infallible relation from one thing to another (*Empedocles* noted this deformity to be amongst the Agrigentines, that they gave themselves so over unto delights, as if they should die to morrow next, and built as if they should never die) the discourse thereof were easie to be made. As is seene in young *Cato*: He that toucht but one step of it, hath toucht all. It is an harmony of well according tunes and which cannot contradict it selfe. With us it is cleane contrary, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there requir'd. The surest way (in mine opinion) were to refer them unto the next circumstances, without

“ entering into further search, and without concluding any other consequence of them. During the late tumultuous broiles of our mangled estate, it was told me, that a young woman, not farre from mee, had head-long cast her selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill herselfe, only to avoid the ravishment of a rascally-base souldier, that lay in her house, who offered to force her: and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed herselfe, to make an end of her enterprize, she would have cut her ownethroat with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came in to her: Neverthelesse having sore wounded herselfe, she voluntarily confessed, that the Souldier had yet but urged her with importunate requests, suing—



suſing-ſolicitations, and golden bribes, but ſhe feared he would in the end have obtained his purpoſe by compulſion: by whoſe earneſt ſpeeches, reſolute countenance, and gored bloud (a true teſtimony of her chaſte vertue) ſhe might appeare to be the lively patterne of another *Lucrece*, yet know I certainly, that both before that time, and afterward, ſhe had beene enjoyed of others upon eaſier compoſition. And as the common ſaying is; Faire and ſoft, as ſquemish-honeſt as ſhe ſeemes, although you miſſe of your intent, conclude not raſhly an inviolable chaſtity to be in your Miſtreſſe; For, a groome or a horſe-keeper may finde an houre to thrive in; and a dog hath a day. *Antigonus* having taken upon him to favour a Souldier of his, by reaſon of his vertue and valour, commanded his Phyſitians to have great care of him, and ſee whether they could recover him of a lingring and inward diſeaſe, which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceiving him to be nothing ſo earneſt and diligent in his affaires, demanded of him, how he was ſo changed from himſelfe, and become ſo outwardiſh: your ſelfe good Sir (answered he) have made me ſo, by ridding me of thoſe infirmities, which ſo did grieve me, that I made no accompt of my life. A Souldier of *Lucullus*, having by his enemies beene robbed of all he had, to revenge himſelfe undertooke a notable and deſperat attempt upon them; and having recovered his loſſes, *Lucullus* conceived a very good opinion of him, and with the greateſt ſhewes of aſſured truſt and loving kindneſſe he could bethinke himſelfe, made eſpeciall accompt of him, and in any dangerous enterprize ſeemed to truſt and employ him only:

*Verbis quatinido quoque poſſent addere mentem:*

With words, which to a coward might

Adde courage, had he any ſpright.

Impley (ſaid he unto him) ſome wretch-ſtripped and robbed Souldier

— (*quantumvis ruſticus ibi,*

*Ibi eò, quovis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.*)

(None is, ſaith he, ſo clowniſh, but will-on,

Where you will have him, if his purſe be gone.)

and abſolutely reſuſed to obey him. When we read that *Mahomet*, having outragiouſly rated *Chafan*, chiefe leader of his Janiziers, becauſe he ſaw his troupe wel-nigh defeated by the Hungarians, and hee to behave himſelfe but faintly in the fight, *Chafan* without making other reply, alone as he was, and without more ado, with his weapon in his hand ruſhed furiously in the thickeſt throng of his enemies that he firſt met withall, of whom hee was inſtantly ſlaine: This may haply be deemed, rather a raſh conceit, than a juſtification; and a new ſpight, than a naturall prowes. He whom you ſaw yeſterday ſo boldly-venturous, wonder not if you ſee him a daſtardly meacocke to morrow next: for either anger or neceſſitie, company or wine, a ſudden fury or the clang of a trumpet, might rowze-up his heart, & ſtir up his courage. It is no heart nor courage ſo framed by diſcourſe or deliberation: Theſe circumſtances have ſetled the ſame in him: Therefore it is no marvell if by other contrary circumſtance he become a craven and change coppy. This ſupple variation, and eaſie yeelding contradiction, which is ſeene in us, hath made ſome to imagine, that wee had two ſoules, and others, two faculties; whereof every one as beſt ſhe pleaſeth, accompanieth and doth agitate us; the one towards good, the other towards evil. Forſomuch as ſuch a rough diverſitie cannot wel ſort and agree in one ſimple ſubject. The blaſt of accidents doth not only remove me according to his inclination; for beſides, I remove and trouble my ſelfe by the inſtability of my poſture, and whoſoever looketh narrowly about himſelfe, ſhall hardly ſee himſelfe twice in one ſame ſtate. Sometimes I give my ſoule one viſage, and ſometimes another, according unto the poſture or ſide I lay her in. If I ſpeake diverſly of my ſelfe, it is becauſe I looke diverſly upon my ſelfe. All contrarieties are found in her, according to ſome turne or removing, and in ſome faſhion or other. Shamefaſt, baſhfull, inſolent, chaſte, luxurious, peeviſh, pratling, ſilent, fond, doting, labourious, nice, delicate, ingenious, ſlow, dull, froward, humorous, debonaire, wiſe, ignorant, falſe in words, true-ſpeaking, both liberall, covetous, and prodigall. All theſe I perceive in ſome meaſure or other to bee in mee, according as I ſtirre or turne my ſelfe: And whoſoever ſhall heedfully ſurvey and conſider himſelfe, ſhall finde this volubility and diſcordance to be in himſelfe, yea and in his very judgement. I have nothing to ſay entirely, ſimply, and with ſoliditie of my ſelfe, without conſuſion, diſorder, blending, mingling; and in one word, *Diſtinguo* is the moſt univerſall part of my logike.



Although I ever purpose to speake good of good, and rather to enterpret those things, that will beare it, unto a good sense; yet is it that, the strangenesse of our condition admitteth that we are often urged to do well by vice it selfe, if well doing were not judged by the iatention only. Therefore may not a couragious act conclude a man to be valiant. He that is so, when just occasion serveth, shall ever be so, and upon all occasions. If it were an habitude of vertue, and not a sudden humour, it would make a man equally resolute at all assayes, in all accidents: Such alone, as in company; such in a single combat, as in a set battel; For, whatsoever some say, valour is all alike, and not one in the street or towne, and another in the campe or field. As couragiously should a man beare a sicknesse in his bed, as a hurt in the field and feare death no more at home in his house, than abroad in an assault. We should not then see one same man enter the breach, or charge his enemy with an assured and undoubted fiercenesse, and afterward having escaped that, to vex, to grieve and torment himselfe like unto a feely woman, or faint-hearted milke-sop for the losse of a sute, or death of a childe. If one chance to be carelessly base-minded in his infancie, and constantly-resolute in povertie; if he be timorously-fearfull at sight of a Barbers razor, and afterward stowly-undismayed against his enemies swords: The action is commendable, but not the man. Divers Gracians (saith *Cicero*) cannot endure to looke their enemy in the face, yet are they most constant in their sicknesse; whereas the *Cimbrians*, and *Celtiberians*, are meere contrary. *Nihil enim potest esse equabile, quod non à certa ratione proficiscatur: For nothing can beare it selfe even, which proceedeth not from resolved reason.* There is no valor more extreme in his kinde, than that of *Alexander*; yet is it but in species, nor every where sufficiently full and universall. As incomparable as it is, it hath his blemishes, which is the reason that in the idlest suspicions, he apprehendeth at the conspiracies of his followers against his life, we see him so earnestly to vex, and so desperately to trouble himselfe: In search and pursuit whereof he demeanth himselfe with so vehement and indiscreet an injustice, and with such a demisse feare, that even his naturall reason is thereby subverted. Also the superstition, wherewith he is so thoroughly tainted, beareth some shew of pusillanimitie. And the unlimited excessse of the repentance he shewed for the murder of *Clitus*, is also a witnesse of the inequality of his courage. Our matters are but parcels hudled up, and peeces patched together, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false meanes, and untrue tokens. *Vertue will not bee followed, but by her selfe:* And if at any time wee borrow her maske, upon some other occasion, she will as soone pull it from our face. It is a lively hew, and strong die, if the soule be once dyed with the same perfectly, and which will never fade or be gone, except it carry the skin away with it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steps; whether constancie doe wholly subsist and continue upon her owne foundation in him, *Cui vivendi via considerata atque provisa est: Who hath forecast and considered the way of life;* whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I meane his way, for his pace may either be hastened or slowd) let him run-on: such a one (as sayeth the impresse of our good Talbot) goeth before the wind. It is no marvell (saith an old writer) that hazard hath such power over us, since wee live by hazard. It is impossible for him to dispose of his particular actions, that hath not in grose directed his life unto one certaine end. It is impossible for him to range all peeces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the totall frame in his head. What availeth the provision of all sorts of colours unto one that knowes not what heisto draw? No man makes any certaine designe of his life, and we deliberate of it but by parcels. A skilfull archer ought first to know the marke he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his string, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe a stray, because they are not rightly addressed, and have no fixed end. *No wnde makes for him, that hath no intended port to saile unto.* As for me, I allow not greatly of that judgement, which some made of *Sophocles*, and to have concluded him sufficient in the managing of domestical matters, against the accusation of his owne Sonne, only by the sight of one of his tragedies. Nor doe I commend the conjecture of the *Parians*, sent to reforme the *Milesiens*, as sufficient to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting and surveying the Ile, they marked the Landes that were best husbanded, and observed the country houses that were best governed. And having registred the names of their owners; and afterward made an assembly of the Townes-men of the Citie, they named and instituted those owners as new Governours and Magistrates, judging and concluding, that being good husbands and carefull of their

Cic. Tusc. qu. 1.3. f.

Cic. par. ad 9.



their household affaires, they must consequently be so of publike matters. We are all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapelesse and diverse a contexture, that every peece and every moment playeth his part. And there is as much difference found betwene us and our selves, as there is betwene our selves and other. *Magnam rem puca, unum hominem agere. Esteeme it a great matter, to play but one man.*

Since ambition may teach men both valour, temperance, liberality, yea and justice: Sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a Shop-prentise-boy, brought up in ease and idlenesse, a dreadlesse assurance to leave his home-bred ease, and forgoe his place of education, and in a small barke to yeeld himselfe unto the mercy of blustering waves, mercilesse windes and wrathfull *Neptune*; and that it also teacheth discretion and wisdom; And that *Venus* her selfe ministreth resolution and hardinesse unto tender youth as yet subject to the discipline of the rod, and teacheth the ruthlesse Souldier, the soft and tenderly effeminate heart of women in their mothers laps,

*Hac duce custodes furtim transgressa jacentes,*

*— Ad juvenem tenebris sola puella venit.*

*Tib. 2. el. 1. 71.*

The wench by stealeth her lodg'd guards having stript,

By this guide, sole, i'th darke, to'th yonker skipt.

*It is no part of a well-grounded judgement, simply to judge our selves by our exterior actions:* A man must thorowly sound himselfe, and dive into his heart, and there see by what wards or springs the motions stirre. But foras much as it is a hazardous and high enterprise, I would not have so many to meddle with it as doe.

## CHAP. II.

### Of Drunkenesse.

**T**HE world is nothing but variety, end dissemblance. Vices are all alike, inasmuch as they are all vices: And so doe haply the Stoikes meane it. But though they are equally vices, they are not equall vices; And that hee who hath started a hundred steps beyond the limits,

*Quos ultra curaque nequit consistere rectum,*

On this side, or beyond the which

No man can hold a right true pitch.

is not of worse condition, than he that is ten steps short of it, is no whit credible: and that sacriledge is not worse than the stealing of a Colewort out of a Garden.

*Nec vincet ratio, tantundem ut peccet, idemque,*

*Qui teneros caules alieni fregit horti,*

*Et qui nocturnum divum sacra legerit.* —

*Hor. 1. sat. 1. 107.*

No reason can evict, as great or same sinne taints

Him that breakes in anothers Garden tender plants,

And him that steales by night things consecrate to Saints.

*Sa. 3. 115.*

There is as much diversity in that as in any other thing. The confusion of order and measure of crimes, is dangerous: Murderers, Traitors and Tyrants, have too much gaine by it: it is no reason their conscience should be eased, in that some is either idle or lascivious, or lesse assiduous unto devotion. Every man poiseth upon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne. Even teachers doe often range it ill in my conceit. As *Socrates* said, that the chiefeest office of wisdom, was to distinguish goods and evils. We others, to whom the best is ever in vice, should say the like of knowledge, to distinguish vices. Without which, and that very exact, both vertuous and wicked men remaine confounded and unknown. Now drunkenesse amongst others, appeareth to mee a grosse and brutish vice. The minde hath more part else where; and some vices there are, which (if it may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot not what generosity in them. Some there are, that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence, wit, cunning, dexterity, and subtlety joyned with them; whereas this is meerely corporall, and terrestriall. And the grossest and rudest nation;

that



that liverh amongst us at this day, is only that which keepeth it in credit. Other vices but alter and distract the understanding, whereas this utterly subverteth the same, and astonieth the body.

Luct. 4.3. 479.

*cum vini vis penetravit,*  
*Consequitur gravitas membrorum, praeclunius*  
*Crua vacillanti, tarde scit lingua, madet mens,*  
*Nam oculi, clamor, singultus, iurgia gliscunt.*  
 When once the force of wine hath inly pierst,  
 Limbes heaviness is next, legs faine would goe;  
 But reeling cannot, tongue drawles, mindes disperst,  
 Eyes swimme, cries, hickups, brables grow.

The worst estate of man, is where he loseth the knowledge and government of himselfe. And amongst other things, it is said, that as must wine boyling and working in a vessell, workes and sends upward what ever it containeth in the bottome, so doth wine cause those that drinke excessively of it, worke up, and breake out their most concealed secrets.

Hor. 4.3. od. 21.  
 14.

*— in sapientium*  
*Curas, & arcanum jocosum*  
*Consilium regeis Lyao.*  
 Thou (wine-cup) doest by wine reveale  
 The cares, which wise men would conceale,  
 And close drifts, at a merry meale.

*Iosephus* reporteth, that by making an Ambassador to tipples-square, whom his enemies had sent unto him, he wrested all his secrets out of him. Nevertheless *Augustus* having trusted *Lucius Piso*, that conquered *Thrace*, with the secretest affaires he had in hand, had never cause to be discontented with him; Nor *Tiberius* with *Cossus*, to whom he imparted all his serioufests counsels, although we know them both to have so given themselves to drinking of wine, that they were often faine to be carried from the Senat, and both were reputed notable drunkards.

Vir. Luc. 6. 15.

*— Hesterno inflatum venas de more Lyao.*  
 Veines pufft up, as is used alway,  
 By wine which was drunke yesterday.

And as faithfully as the complot and purpose to kill *Caesar* committed unto *Cimber*, who would daily be drunke with quaffing of wine, as unto *Cassius*, hat drunke nothing but water, whereupon he answered very pleasantly, *What? shall I beare a Tyrant, that am not able to beare wine?* We see our carowling tospot German souldiers, when they are most plunged in their cups, and as drunke as Rats, to have perfect remembrance of their quarter, of the watch word, and of their files.

Inve. sat. 19. 47.

*— nec facilis victoria de madidis, &*  
*Blasis, atque merotinentibus.*  
 Nor is the conquest easie of men sow't,  
 Lisping and reeling with wine they carow't.

I would never have beleaved so sound, so deepe and so excessive drunkenness, had I not read in Histories, that *Attalus* having envited to sup with him (with intent to doe him some notable indignity) the same *Pausanias*, who for the same cause killed after ward *Philip* King of *Macedon*, (a King who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore a testimonie of the education he had learned in the house and company of *Epaminondas*) made him so dead-drunke, that insensibly and without feeling, he might prostitute his beauty as the body of a common hedge-harlot, to Mulettiers, Groomes, and many of the abject servants of his house. And what a Lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told mee, protesting, that neere *Burdeaux*, towards *Castres*, where her house is, a widdow Country-woman, reputed very chaste and honest, suspecting herselfe to be with childe, told her neighbours, that had she a husband, she should verily thinke she were with childe. But the occasion of this suspicion encreasing more and more, and perceiving herselfe so big-bellied, that shee could no longer conceale it, she resolved to make the Parish-priest acquainted with it, whom she entreated to publish in the Church, that whosoever hee were, that was guilty of the fact, and would avow it, shee would freely forgive him, and if hee were so pleased, take him



him to her husband. A certaine swaine or hync-boy of hers, emboldned by this proclamation, declared, how that having one holliday found her well-tipped with wine, and so found asleepe by the chimnie side, lying so fit and ready for him, that without a waking her he had the full use of her body. Whom she accepted for her husband, and both live together at this day. It is assured that antiquitie hath not greatly described this vice. The compositions of diverse Philosophers speake but sparingly of it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme it not amisse for man sometimes to take his liquor roundly, and drinke drunke thereby to recreate his spirits.

*Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum  
Socratem palmam promeruisse serunt.*

Cw. Gal. cl.1.

They say, in this too, Socrates the wise,  
And great in vertues combats, bare the prize.

Cato that strict censurer, and severe corrector of others, hath beene reproved for much drinking,

*Narratur & prisce Catonis  
Sape mero caluisse virtus.*

Hor. 4.3. ad. 21.

21.

Tis said, by use of wine repeated,  
Old Catoes vertue oft was heated.

Cyrus that so far-renowned King, amongst his other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother *Artaxerxes*, and get the start of him, aleageth, that he could drinke better, and tipple more than he. And amongst the best policed and formalest nations, the custome of drinking, and pledging of healths was much in use. I have heard *Silvius*, that excellent Phisitian of *Paris* affirme that to preserve the vigor of our stomake from impairing, it is not amisse once a moneth to rowze up the same by this excesse of drinking; and lest it should grow dull and stupid therby to stirre it up. And it is written, that the *Persians*, after they had well tiddled, were wont to consult of their chiefeest affaires. My taste, my rellish and my complexion, are sharper enemies unto this vice, than my discourse: For, besides that I captivate more easily my conceits under the auctoritie of ancient opinions, indeed I finde it to be a fond, a stupid and a base kinde of vice, but lesse malicious and hurtfull than others; all which shooke, and with a sharper edge wound publike societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure, except (as they say) it cost us something; I finde this vice to be lesse chargeable unto our conscience than others; besides, it is not hard to be prepared, difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in yeares and dignitie, amongst three principall commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this: and where shall a man more rightly finde-it, than amongst the naturall? But he tooke it ill, delicatenesse, and the choice of wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnes to drinke it with pleasure and daintily neat, you tie your selfe unto an inconvenience to drinke it other than is alwayes to be had. A man must have a milder, a loose and freer taste. To be a true drinker, a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palat. The Germans doe in a manner drinke equally of all sorts of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to gulpe it downe freely, than to tast it kindly. And to say truth they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondly, to drinke after the French manner, as two draughts and moderatly, is over much to restraine the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required thereunto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joyned whole long dayes unto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my dayes seene a principall Lord; a man of great employment and enterprises, and famous for good successe, who without straining himselfe, and eating but an ordinary meales meat, was wont to drinke little lesse than five pottles of wine, yet at his rising seemed to be nothing distempered, but rather as we have found to our no small cost in managing of our affaires, over-wise and considerate. The pleasure of that, whereof we would make account in the course of our life ought to be employed longer space. It were necessary, as shop-boyes or labouring people, that we should refuse no occasion to drinke and continually to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth that wee daily shorten the use of this: and that in our houses, (as I have seene in mine infancie) breakfasts, nunchions, and beavers should be more frequent and often used, than now adayes they are. And should wee thereby in any sort proceed towards amendment? No verily. But it may be, that we have

much



much more given our selves over unto paillardise and all manner of luxurie than our fathers were. They are two occupations, that enter-hinder one another, in their vigor. On the one side, it hath empaiied & weakned our stomacke, and on the other, sobrietic serveth to make us more jolly-quaint, lusty, and wanton for the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder to thinke on the strange tales I have heard m. y father report, of the chasticie of his times. He might well speake of it, as he that was both by art and nature proper for the use and solace of Ladies. He spake little and well, few words, but to the purpose, and was ever wont to entermixe some ornament taken from vulgar bookes, and above all, Spanish, amongst his common speeches: And of all Spanish Authors, none was more familiar unto him than *Marcus Aurelius*. His demeanour and carriage was ever milde, meeke, gentle, and very modest, and above all, grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more carefull of, than of his honesty, and observe a kinde of decencie of his person, and orderly decorum in his habits, were it on foot or on horsebacke. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; And so strictly conscientious and obsequous in religion, that generally he seemed rather to encline toward superstition, than the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigor was great: he was of an upright, and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerefull-looking countenance, of a swarthy hue, nimbly addicted, and exquisitely nimble unto all noble and gentleman-like exercises. I have seene some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which hee wont to use and exercise his armes withall, the better to enable himselfe to pitch the barre, to throw the sledge, to cast the pole and to play at fence; and shooes with leaden soles, which he wore to endure himselfe, to leape, to vault and to run. I may without blushing say, that in memory of himselfe, he hath left certaine petie miracles amongst us. I have seene him when hee was past threelcore yeares of age mocke at all our sports, and out-countenance our youthfull pastimes, with a heavy furr'd Gowne about him to leap into his saddle; to make the pommada round about a Table upon his thumb; and seldome to ascend any staires without skipping three or foure steps at once. And concerning my discourse, hee was wont to say, that in a whole Province there was scarce any woman of qualitie, that had an ill name. Hee would often report strange familiarities, namely of his owne, with very honest women, without any suspicion at all. And protested very religiously, that when he was married, he was yet a pure Virgine; yet had he long time followed the warres beyond the Mountaines, and therein served long, whereof hee hath left a Journall-Booke of his owne collecting, wherein hee hath particularly noted, whatsoever happened day by day worthy the observation, so long as he served, both for the publike and his particular use. And he was well stricken in yeares, when he tooke a wife. For returning out of *Italy*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred eight & twenty, and being full three and thirty yeares old, by the way hee chose himselfe a wife. But come we to our drinking againe. The incommodities of age, which need some helpe and refreshing, might with some reason beget in me a desire or longing of this faculty: for, it is in a man the last pleasure, which the course of our years stealeth upon us. Good fellowes say, that naturall heat is first taken in our feet: That properly belongeth to infancie. From thence it ascendeth unto the middle region, where it is settled and continueth a long time: and in mine opinion, there produceth the only true, and moving pleasures of this corporall life. Other delight and sensualities in respect of that, doe but sleepe in the end, like unto a vapour, which by little and little exhalet, and mounteth aloft, it comes unto the throat, and there makes her last bode. Yet could I never conceive, how any man may either encrease or prolong the pleasure of drinking beyond thirst, and in his imagination frame an artificial appetite, and against nature. My stomacke could not well reach so farre: it is very much troubled to come to an end of that which it takes for his need. My constitution is, to make an accompt of drinking, but to succeed meat, and therefore doe I ever make my last draught the greatest. And forasmuch as in age, we have the roose of our mouthes commonly furred with rhume, or distempered, distastefull and altered through some other evill constitution, wine seemeth better unto us and of a quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open & washed. At least I seldome relish the same very well, except it be the first draught I take. *Anacharsis* wondered to see the Gracians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales, than in the beginning. It was (as I imagine) for the very same reason, that the Germans doe it, who never begin to carouse, but when they have well fed. *Plato* forbiddeth children to drinke any wine, before



before they be eightene yceres of age, and to be drunke before they come to forty. But to such as have once attained the age of fortie, he is content to pardon them, if they chance to delight themselves with it; and alloweth them somewhat largely to blend the influence of *Dionysius* in their banquets, that good God, who bestoweth cheerfulness upon men, and youth unto aged men, who layeth and aswageth the passions of the minde, even as yron is made flexible by the fire: and in his profitable lawes drinking-meetings or quaffing companies as necessary and commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefe leader amongst them to containe and order them) drunkenesse being a good and certaine tryall of everie mans nature; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in dancing and in musicke; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not undertake being sober and settled. That wine is capable to supply the mind with temperance, and the bodie with health. Notwithstanding, these restrictions, partly borrowed of the Carthaginians, please him well. Let those forbear it that are going about any expedition of warre. Let every magistrate, and all judges abstain from it at what time they are to execute their charge, and to consult of publike affaires. Let none bestow the day in drinking, as the time that is due unto more serious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It is reported, that *Siripo* the Philosopher, finding himselfe surcharged with age, did purposely hasten his end, by drinking of pure wine. The like cause (though not wittingly) did also suffocate the vital forces, crazed through old age of the Philosopher *Arcefilaus*. But it is an old and pleasant question, whether a wisemans mind were like to yeeld unto the force of wine.

*Si munita adhibet vim sapientie.*

If unresistd force it bends,

Gainst wisdom which it selfe defends.

Od. 28. 4.

Unto what vanity doth the good opinion we have of our selves provoke us? The most temperate and perfectest minde of the world, findes it too great a taske to keep herselfe upright, lest she fall by her owne weaknesse. Of a thousand there is not one perfectly righteous and settled but one instant of her life, and question might be made, whether according to her naturall condition she might at any time be so. But to joyne constancie unto it in her last perfection: I meane if nothing should shooke her: which a thousand accidents may doe. *Lucretius* that famous Poet, may Philosophie and bandie at his pleasure: Loe where he lieth senselesse of an amorous potion. Thinks any man, that an Apoplexie cannot as soone astonish *Socrates*, as a poore labouring man? Some of them have by the force of a sicknesse forgot their owne names, and a slight hurt hath overthrowne the judgement of others. Let him be as wise as he can, in the end he is but a man; what is more fraile, more miserable, or more vaine? Wisdom forceth not our naturall conditions.

*Sudores isaque, & pallorem existere toto*

*Corpore, & infringi linguam vocemque aboriri*

*Caligare oculos, sonare aures, succidere artus,*

*Denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus.*

We see therefore, palenesse and sweats ore-grow,

Our bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth breake,

Eyes dazle, cares buzze, joints doe shrinke below,

Lastly we swoune by hart-fright, terrours weak.

He must feele his eyes against the blow that threatneth him, being neere the brimme of a percipise, he must cry out like a child. Nature having purposed to reserve these light markes of her authoritie unto herselfe, inexpugnable unto our reason, and to the Stoicke vertue: to teach him his mortalitie, and our insipiditie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blusheth for shame, he groaneth feeling the cholike, if not with a desperate and lowd-roaring voyce, yet with a low, smothered and hoarse-sounding noyse.

*Humani a se nihil alienum putat,*

He thinkes, that nothing strange be can,

To him, that long to any man,

Giddy-headed Poets, that faine what they list, dare not so much as discharge their He-

nces from teares.

*Sic fatur lachrymans, clausique immitis habenas.*

Ter. Heaut.

act. 5. sc. 1. 25.

Virg. Æn. 6. 1.

So



So said he weeping, and so saide,  
Himselfe hand to the sterage laide.

Let it suffice him to bridle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for, it is not in him to beare them away. *Plutarke* himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing *Pyrrhus* and *Torquatus* to kill their owne children, remaineth doubtfull, whether vertue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. *All actions beyond the ordinarie limits, are subiect to some sinister interpretation:* Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come unto that which is above it, than to that which is under it. Let us omit that other sect, which maketh open profession of fierces. But when in the very same sect, which is esteemed the most demisse, we heare the bragges of *Meirodorus*: *Occupavite, Fortuna, atque cepi: omnesque aditus tuos interclusi ut ad me aspirare non posses.* Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overtaken thee: I have mured and ramd up all thy passagis, whereby thou mightest attaine unto mee. When *Anaxareus*, by the appointment of *Nicocreon*, the tyrant of *Cyprus*, being laid along in a trough of stone, and knoten with yron sledges, ceaseth not to crie out, strecke, smite & breake; it is not *Anaxareus*, it is but his vaile you martyr so. When we heare our martyrs, in the midst of a flame crie aloude unto the Tyrant, this side is roasted enough, chop it, eat it, it is full roasted, now begin on the other. When in *Iosephus* wee heare a childe all to rent with biting snippers, and pierced with the breath of *Antiochus*, to desie him to death, crie with a lowde-assured and undimaid voyce; Tyrant thou lovest time, loe I am still at mine ease; where is that smarting paine, where are those torments, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My constancie doth more trouble thee, than I have feeling of thy crueltie: Oh faint hearted varlet, doest thou yeeld when I gather strength? Make mee to faint or shrink, cause me to moane or lament, force me to yeeld and sue for grace if thou canst; encourage thy satellities, harden thy executioners; loe how they droope and have no more power; arme them, strengthen them, flesh them. Verely wee must needs confesse there is some alteration, and some furie (how holy soever) in those mindes. When we come unto these Stoick evasions; I had rather be furious than voluptuous: the saying of *Aristophanes*. *Μακρὸν μᾶλλον ἢ σθεῖν*, *Rather would I be mad, than merry.* When *Sextius* telleth us, he had rather be surprised with paine, than sensuality; when *Epicurus* undertakes to have the goute, to wantonize and faune upon him, and refusing ease and health, with a hearty cheerefulnesse desie all evils, and scornefully despising lesse sharpe griefes, disdayning to grapple with them, he blithely desireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible, and worthy of him:

*Metr. Cic. Tus.*  
9. ch. 1. 5

*Antist. Diogen.*  
*Lacrt. 16. c. 1.*

*Virg. En. 14.*  
158.

*Spumantemque dari pecora inter iner ia votis*  
*Optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem:*  
He wisht, mongst hartlesse beasts some foming Bore,  
Or mountaine-Lyon would come downe and rore.

Who would not judge them to be pranks of a courage removed from his wonted seate? Our minde cannot out of her place attaine so high. She must quit it and raise her selfe aloft, and taking the bridle in her teeth, carry and transport her man so farre, that afterward hee wonder at himselfe, and rest amazed at his actions. As in exploits of warre, the heat and earnestnesse of the fight doth often provoke the noble minded souldiers, to adventure on so dangerous passages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at it. As also Poets, are often surprised and rapt with admiration at their owne labours, and forget the trace, by which they past so happy a career. It is that, which some terme a fury or madnesse in them. And as *Plato* saith, that a settled and reposed man, doth in vaine knocke at Poesies gate. *Aristotle* likewise saith, that no excellent minde is freely exempted from some or other entermixture of folly. And he hath reason, to call any starting or extraordinarie conceit (how commendable soever) and which exceedeth our judgement and discourse, folly. Forasmuch as *wisdome, is an orderly and regular managing of the minde, and which she addresseth with measure, and conducteth with proportion;* And take her owne word for it. *Plato* disputeth thus; that the facultie of prophelying and divination is far above us, and that when wee treat it, we must be besides our selves: our wisdome must be darkened and over shadowed by sleepe, by sickenesse, or by drowziness; or by some celestiall fury, ravished from her owne seat.



## CHAP. III.

*A customs of the Ile of Cea.*

**I**F, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt; with much more reason, to rave and fantastique, as I doe, must necessarily be to doubt: For, to enquire and debate, belongeth to a scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedrall master. But know, my cathedrall, it is the authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth sway us, and hath her ranke beyond these humane and vaine contestations. *Philip* being with an armed hand entered the Countrey of *Peloponnesus*, some one told *Damidas*, the Lacedemonians were like to endure much, if they sought not to reobtaine his lost favour. Oh varlet as thou art (answered he.) And what can they suffer, who have no feare at all of death? *Agis* being demanded, how a man might do to live free, answered; *D espising and contemning to die*. These and a thousand like propositions, which concur in this purpose, do evidently inferre something beyond the patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life: witness the Lacedemonian child, taken by *Antigonus*, and sold for a slave, who urged by his master, to performe some abject service; Thou shalt see (said he) whom thou hast bought; for, it were a shame for me to serve, having libertie so neere at hand, and therewithall threw himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house. *Antipater*, sharply threatning the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld to a certaine request of his; they answered, Shouldest thou menace us worse than death, we will rather die. And to *Philip*, who having written unto them, that he would hinder all their enterprises; What? (say they) wilt thou also hinder us from dying? That is the reason, why some say, that the wiseman liveth as long as he ought, and not so long as he can. And that the favourablest gift, nature hath bequeathed us, and which removeth all meanes from us to complaine of our condition, is, that she hath left us the key of the fields. She hath appointed but one entrance unto life, but many a thousand wayes out of it: *Well may we want ground to live upon, but never ground to die in*. As *Boiocatus* answered the Romanes. Why dost thou complaine against this world? It doth not containe thee: If thou livest in paine and sorrow, thy base courage is the cause of it, To die there wanteth but will.

*Ubique mors est: oprime hoc cavet Deus,*

*Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest:*

*At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent.*

Each where death is: God did this well purvay,

No man but can from man life take away,

But none bair's death, to it lies many a way.

*Sen. Theb.*

*Ag. 1. sc. 1.*

And it is not a receipt to one malady alone; *Death is a remedy against all evils*: It is a most assured haven, never to be feared, and often to be sought: All comes to one period, whether man make an end of himselfe, or whether he endure it; whether he run before his day, or whether he expect it: whence soever it come, it is ever his owne, where ever the threed be broken, it is all there, it's the end of the web. The voluntariest death, is the fairest. *Life dependeth on the will of others, death on ours*. In nothing should we so much accommodate our selves to our humors, as in that. Reputation doth nothing concerne such an enterprise, it is folly to have any respect unto it. *To live is to serve, if the libertie to dye be wanting*. The common course of curing any infirmicie, is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into us, we are canterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let blood, we are dieted. Goe we but one step further, we need no more phyicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat-veine as much at our command as the mediane? To extreme sicknesses, extreme remedies. *Servius* the Grammarian being troubled with the govt, found no better meanes to be rid of it, than to apply poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether they were *Podagrees* or no, so they were insensible. God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth us in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us. *It is weakness to yeeld to evils, but folly to foster them*. The Stoikes say, it is a convenient naturall life,

for



for a wise man, to forgoe life, although he abound in all happinesse; if he doe it opportunely: And for a foole to prolong his life, albeit he be most miserable, provided he be in most part of things, which they say to be according unto nature. As I offend not the lawes made against theeves, when I cut mine owne purse, and carry away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers when I burne mine owne wood: so am I nothing tied unto lawes made against murderers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. *Hegeſias* was wont to say, that even as the condition of life, so should the qualitie of death depend on our election. And *Diogenes* meeting with the Philosopher *Spensippus*, long time afflicted with the dropſie, and therefore carried in a litter, who cried out unto him; All haile *Diogenes*: And to thee no health at all, (replied *Diogenes*) that endureſt to live in so wretched an estate. True it is, that a while after, *Spensippus* as overtired with so languishing a condition of life, compassed his owne death. But this goeth not without some contradiction: For, many are of opinion, that without the expresse commandement of him, that hath placed us in this world, we may by no meanes forsake the garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God only, who therein hath placed us, not for our selves alone, but for his glory, and others service, when ever it shall please him to discharge us hence, and not for us to take leave: *That we are not borne for our selves, but for our Converse*: The Lawes for their owne interest require an accompt at our hands for our selves, and have a just action of murder against us. Else as forsakers of our owne charge, we are punished in the other world.

*Virg. Æn. li. 6.*  
434

*Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum  
Insones pepotere manu, lucemque perosi  
Projecere animas.*

Next place they lamentable hold in hell,  
Whose hand their death caus'd causelesse, (but not well)  
And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constancie in using the chaine that holds us, than in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in *Regulus*, than in *Cato*. It is indiscretion and impatience that hastneth our way. *No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively vertue*: She seeketh out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment. The threats of fell tyrants, tortures and torments; executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

*Hor. l. 4. od. 4. 57.*

*Duris ut illex tonsa bipennibus  
Nigra feraci frondis in Algido  
Per damna, per cades, ab ipso  
Ducit opes animumque ferro.*  
As holme-tree doth with hard axe lopt  
On hills with many holme-trees topt,  
From losse, from cuttings it doth feele,  
Courage and store rise ev'n from Steele.

And as the other saith.

*Sen. Theb.*  
*Act. 1. sc. 1.*

*Non est ut putas virtus, pater,  
Timere vitam, sed magis ingentibus  
Obstare, nec se vertere ac retro dare.*  
Sir, 'tis not vertue, as you understand,  
To feare life, but grosse mischiefe to withstand,  
Not to retire, turne backe, at any hand.

*Mart. lib. 12. ep.*  
57. 15.

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere mortem.  
Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*  
Tis easie in crosse chance death to despise:  
He that can wretched be, doth stronger rise.

It is the part of cowardlinesse, and not of vertue, to seek to squat it selfe in some hollow-lurking hole, or to hide her selfe under some massie tombe, thereby to shun the strokes of fortune. She never forsakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormie weather soever crosse-her.

*Hor. l. 3. od. 3. 7.*

*Si fractus illabatur orbis,  
Impavidam ferient ruina.*  
If the world broken should upon her fall,



The ruines may her strike, but not appall,  
The avoyding of other inconveniences doth most commonly drive us into this, yea, some-  
times the shunning of death, makes us to run into it.

*Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriari, mori?*

Madnesse is't not, say I,

To dye, lest you should dye?

*Mart. lib. 2. epig.  
80.2.*

As those who for feare of a break-neck downe-fall, doe headlong cast themselves into it.

*— multos in summa pericula misse*

*Venturi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est,*

*Lucan. l. 7. 104.*

*Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,  
Et differre potest.*

The very feare of ils to come, hath sent  
Many to mighty dangers: strongest they,  
Who fearfull things endure are ready bent,  
If they confront them, yet can them delay.

*— usque adeo moris formidine, vita*

*Lucr. l. 3. 79.*

*Percipit humanos odium, lucisque videnda,*

*Ut sibi consciscant mœrenti pectore lœthum,*

*Obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.*

So far by feare of death, the hate of life,  
And seeing-light, doth men as men possesse,  
They grieving kill themselves to end the strife,  
Forgetting, feare is spring of their distresse.

Plato in his lawes, alots him that hath deprived his neereft and deereft friend of life (that  
isto say, himselfe) and abridged him of the destinies course, not constrained by any publike  
judgement, nor by any lewd and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame  
or infamy, but through basenesse of minde, and weaknesse of a faint-fearfull courage, to have  
a most ignominious, and ever-reproachfull buriall. And the opinion which disdaineth our  
life, is ridiculous: For, in fine it is our being. It is our all in all. Things that have a nobler and  
richer being, may accuse ours: But it is against nature, we should despise, and carelesly set  
our selves at naught: It is a particular infirmitie, and which is not seene in any other crea-  
ture, to hate and disdain himselfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other, than we are.  
The fruit of such a desire doth not concerne us, forasmuch as it contradicteth and hindereth  
it selfe in it selfe. He that desireth to be made of a man an Angell, doth nothing for himselfe:  
He should be nothing the better by it: And being no more, who shall rejoyce or conceive  
any gladnesse of this change or amendment for him?

*Debet enim miserè cui forte agreeque futurum est,*

*ib. 905.*

*Ipse quoque esse in eodem tempore, cum male possit*

*Accidere.*

For he, who shall perchance prove miserable,

And speed but ill, should then himselfe be able

To be himselfe, when ils may chance unstable.

The security, indolencie, impassibility, and privation of this lives evils, which we purchase  
at the price of death, bring us no commoditie at all. In vaine doth he avoid warre, that can-  
not injoy peace; and bootlesse doth he shun paine, that hath no meanes to feelereft. Amongst  
those of the first opinion, great questioning hath beene, to know what occasions are suffi-  
ciently just and lawfull to make a man undertake the killing of himselfe, they call that  
*λογον ἔταρον λόγῳ*, a reasonable orderly out-let. For, although they say, a man must often dye  
for slight causes, since these that keepe us alive, are not very strong; yet is some measure re-  
quired in them. There are certaine fantastick and braine-sicke humors, which have not on-  
ly provoked particular men, but whole Nations to defeat themselves. I have heretofore alea-  
ged some examples of them: And moreover we read of certaine Milesian virgins, who upon  
a furious conspiracie hanged themselves one after another, untill such time as the Magi-  
strate provided for it, appointing that such as should be found so hanged, should with their  
owne haltes be dragged naked thorow the streets of the Citie. When Threicion perswa-  
deth Cleomenes to kill himselfe, by reason of the bad and desperate estate his affaires stood

*Alex. Aprob.*



in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battell which he had lately lost, moveth him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the Conqueror no leisure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shamefull life. *Cleomenes* with a Lacedemonian and Stoike courage, refuseth this counsell as base and effeminate: It is a receipt, (saith he) which can never faile me, and whereof a man should make no use, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancie and valour; That he will have his very death serve his Countrey, and by it, shew an act of honour and of vertue. *Threicion* then beleev'd, and killed himselfe. *Cleomenes* did afterwards as much, but not before he had tried and assayed the utmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth, that a man should dye to eschue them. Moreover, there being so many sudden changes, and violent alterations in humane things, it is hard to judge in what state or point we are justly at the end of our hope:

*Sperat & in seua victim gladiator arena,*

*— Sic licet infesto pollice turba minax.*

The Fencer hopes, though downe in lists he lye,  
And people with turn'd hand threat's he must dye.

All things, saith an ancient Proverb, may a man hope for, so long as he liveth: yea, but answereth *Seneca*, wherefore shall I rather have that in minde; that fortune can do all things for him that is living, than this; that fortune hath no power at all over him, who knoweth how to dye? *Ioseph* is scene engaged in so an apparent-approaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reason, there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he saith) counselled by a friend of his, at that instant, to kill himselfe, it fell out well for him to opinionate himselfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond all mans discourse, did so turne and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himselfe delivered: whereas on the contrarie *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by reason of the down-fall and rashnesse, wherewith before due time and occasion, they killed themselves; did utterly lose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord of *Anguien* in the battell of *Serifolles*, as one desperate of the combats successe, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twice to run himselfe thorow the throat with his rapier, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of so notable a victorie. I have scene a hundred Hares save themselves even in the Grey-hounds jawes: *Aliquis carnisfici suo superstes fuit. Some man hath out-lived his Hang-man.*

*Sen. epist. 13.*

*Virg. Aen. li. 11.*  
426.

*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis evi  
Retulit in melius, multos alterna revivens  
Lusit, & in solido rursus fortuna locavit.*  
Time, and oft turning age the divers straine,  
Hath much to better brought, fortunes turn'd traine,  
Hath many mock't, and set them fast againe.

*Plinie* saith, there are but three sorts of sicknesses, which to avoid, a man may have some colour of reason to kill himselfe. The sharpest of all is the stone in the bladder, when the urine is there stopped. *Seneca*, those onely, which for long time disturbe and distract the offices of the minde. To avoid a worse death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. *Democritus* chiefe of the *Aetolians*, being led captive to *Rome*, found meanes to escape by night: but being pursued by his keepers, rather than he would be taken againe, ran himselfe thorow with his Sword. *Antiochus* and *Theodotus*, their Citie of *Epirus* being by the Romans reduced unto great extremitie, concluded, and perswaded all the people to kill themselves. But the counsell, rather to yeeld, having prevailed: they went to seeke their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickest of their enemies, with an intention, rather to strike, than to ward themselves. The Island of *Gosa*, being some yeares since surpris'd and over-run by the Turkes, a certaine Sicilian therein dwelling, having two faire daughters ready to be married, killed them both with his owne hands, together with their mother, that came in to help them. That done, running out into the streets, with a crosse-bow in one hand, and a caliver in the other, at two shoote, slew the two first Turkes that came next to his gates, then resolutely drawing his Sword, ran furiously among them; by whom he was suddenly hewen in peeces: Thus did he save himselfe from slavish bondage, having first delivered his owne from it. The Jewish women, after they had caused their children to



be circumcized, to avoid the crueltie of *Antiochus*, did headlong precipitate themselves and them unto death. I have heard it credibly reported, that a Gentleman of good qualitie, being prisoner in one of our Gaoles, and his parents advertized that he should assuredly be condemned, to avoid the infamie of so reproachfull a death, appointed a Priest to tell him; that the best remedie for his deliverie, was to recommend himselfe to such a Saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight dayes without taking any sustenance, what faintnesse or weaknesse soever he should feele in himselfe. He beleev'd them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered both of life and danger. *Scribonia* perswading *Libo* his nephew to kill himselfe, rather than to expect the stroke of justice, told him, that for a man to preserve his owne life, to put it into the hands of such as three or foure dayes after should come and seek it, was even to dispatch another mans businesse, and that it was no other, than for one to serve his enemies, to preserve his bloud, therewith to make food. We read in the Bible, that *Nicanor* the persecutor of Gods Law, having sent his Satellites to apprehend the good old man *Rafias*, for the honour of his vertue, surnamed the father of the *Jewes*; when that good man saw no other meanes left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies ready to lay hold on him, chose, rather than to fall into the hands of such villaines, and be so basely abused, against the honour of his place, to dye nobly, and so snote himselfe with his owne sword; but by reason of his haste, having not throughly slaine himselfe, he ran to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making him roome, he fell right upon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, he tooke heart againe; and getting up on his feet, all goared with bloud, and loaden with strokes, making way through the prease, came to a craggy and downe-steepy rocke, where unable to go any further, by one of his wounds, with both his hands he pulled out his guts, and tearing and breaking them, cast them amongst such as pursued him, calling and attesting the vengeance of God to light upon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the most in mine opinion to be avoided, is that which is offered against the chastitie of women, forasmuch as there is naturally some corporall pleasure commixt with it: And therefore the dissent cannot fully enough be joyned thereunto: And it seemeth, that force is in some sort, intermixed with some will. The ecclesiasticall Storie hath in especiall reverence, sundry such examples of devout persons, who called for death to warrant them from the out-rages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and consciences. *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, both canonized; the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some souldiers, threw her selfe into a river; the other, to shun the force of *Maxentius* the Emperour, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wise Author of these dayes, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to perswade the Ladies of our times, rather to hazard upon any resolution, than to embrace so horrible a counsell of such desperation. I am sorie, that to put amongst his discourses, he knew not the good saying I learnt of a woman at *Tholouse*, who had passed through the hands of some souldiers: God be praised (said she) that once in my life, I have had my belly-full without sinne. Verily these cruelties are not worthy of the French curtesie. And God be thanked, since this good advertisement; our ayre is infinitely purged of them. Let it suffice, that in doing it, they say, *No, and take it*, following the rule of *Maro*. The historie is very full of such, who a thousand wayes have changed a lingering-toylsome life with death. *Lucius Aruntius* killed himselfe (as he said) to avoid what was past, and eschue what was to come. *Granius Sylvanus*, and *Statius Proximus*, after they had beene pardoned by *Nero*, killed themselves, either because they scorned to live by the favour of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yeelding unto suspicions and accusations against honest men. *Spargapises* sonne unto Queene *Tomiris*, prisoner by the law of warre unto *Cyrus*, employed the first favour that *Cyrus* did him, by setting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reap other fruit by his liberty, than to revenge the infamie of his taking upon himselfe. *Boges* a Governour for King *Xerxes* in the country of *Ionia*, being besieged by the *Athenians* army under the conduct of *Cymon*, refused the composition, to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure into *Asia*, as one impatient to survive the losse of what his Master had given him in charge; and after he had stoutly and even to the last extremity, defended the Towne, having no manner of victuals left him; first he cast all the gold, and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might



reap any commoditie by, into the river *Serimon*; Then having cauted a great pile of wood to be set on fire, and made all women, children, concubines and servants to be stripped and throwne into the flames, afterward ran-in himselfe, where all were burned. *Ninachesnen* a Lord in the East *Indies*, having had an inkling of the King of *Portugales* Viceroyes deliberation to dispossesse him, without any apparant cause, of the charge he had in *Malaca*, for to give it unto the King of *Campar*; of himselfe resolved upon this resolution: First, he caused an high scaffold to be set up, somewhat longer than broad, underpropped with pillars, all gorgeously hanged with rich tapestrie, strewed with flowers, and adorned with pretious perfumes: Then having put-on a sumptuous long roabe of cloth of gold, richly beset with store of pretious stones of inestimable worth, he came out of the palace into the street, and by certaine steps ascended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof, was a pile of aromaticall wood set afire. All the people of the Citie were flocked together, to see what the meaning of such unaccustomed preparation might tend unto. *Ninachesnen* with an undanted-bold, yet seeming-discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations, which the *Portugal* Nation was endebted unto him for; expostulated how faithfully and truly he had dealt in his charge; that having so often witnessed, armed at all assayes for others; that his honour was much dearer unto him than life, he was not to forsake the care of it for himselfe; that fortune refusing him all meanes to oppose himselfe against the injurie intended against him, his courage, at the least willed him to remove the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing stocke unto the people, and a triumph to men of lesse worth than himselfe: which words as he was speaking, he cast himselfe into the fire. *Sextilia* the wife of *Scannus* and *Praxea* wife unto *Labeo*, to encourage their husbands, to avoid the dangers, which pressed them, wherein they had no share (but in regard of the interest of their conjugal affection) voluntarily engaged their life, in this extreme necessitie, to serve them, as an example to imitate, and company to regard. What they performed for their husbands; *Cocceius Nerva* acted for his countrie, and though lesse profitable, yet equall in true love. That famous Interpreter of the lawes, abounding in riches, in reputation, in credit, and flourishing in health about the Emperour, had no other cause to rid himselfe of life, but the compassion of the miserable estate, wherein he saw the Romane common-wealth. There is nothing can be added unto the daintinesse of *Fulvius* wives death, who was so inward with *Augustus*. *Augustus* perceiving he had blabbed a certaine secret of importance, which he on trust had revealed unto him; one morning comming to visit him, he seemed to frowne upon him for it; whereupon as guilty, he returneth home, as one full of despaire, and in piteous sort told his wife, that sithence he was false into such a mischief, he was resolved to kill himselfe; shee as one no whit dismayed, replied unto him; Thou shalt doe but right, since having so often experienced the incontinence of my tongue, thou hast not learnt to beware of it, yet give me leave to kill my selfe first, and without more adoe, ran her selfe thorow with a sword. *Vibius Virius* despairing of his Citie's safetie, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting their mercie; in their Senates last consultation, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded, that the best and fairest way, was to escape fortune by their owne hands. The very enemies should have them in more honour, and *Hanniball* might perceive what faithfull friends he had forsaken: Enviting those that should allow of his advice, to come, and take a good supper, which was prepared in his house, where after great cheere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be presented unto him: a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our mindes from injuries, and release our eyes and eares from seeing and hearing so many horrible mischiefes, which the conquered must endure at the hands of most cruell and offended conquerors: I have (quoth he) taken order, that men fit for that purpose shall be ready, when we shall be expired, to cast us into a great burning pile of wood. Diverse approved of his high resolution, but few did imitate the same. Seven and twentie Senators followed him; who after they had attempted to stifle so irksome, and suppress so terror-moving a thought, with quaffing and swilling of wine, they ended their repast by this deadly messe: and entre-embracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries mis-fortunes; some went home to their owne houses, othersome stayed there, to be entombed with *Vibius* in his owne fire; whose death was so long and lingring, for so much as the vapor of the wine having possessed their veines, and slowed the effect and operation of the poyson, that some lived an houre after they had scene their enemies enter *Capua*, which they



they caried the next day after, and incurred the miseries, and saw the calamities, which at so high a rate they had sought to eschue. *Tanrea Iubellius*, another citizen there, the Consull *Fulvius* returning from that shameful slaughter, which he had committed of 225. Senators, called him churlishly by his name, & having arreited him; Command (quoth he) unto him, that I also be massacred after so many others, that so thou maist brag to have murdered a much more valiant man than ever thou wast. *Fulvius*, is one enraged, disdainning him; forasmuch as he had newly received letters from *Rome* contrarie to the inhumanitie of his execution, which inhibited him to proceed any further; *Iubellius* continuing his speech, said; sithence my Countrie is taken, my friends butchered, and having with mine owne hands slaine my wife and children, as the onely meane to free them from the desolation of this ruine; I may not dye the death of my fellow-citizens, let us borrow the vengeance of this hatefull life from vertue: And drawing a blade, he had hidden under his garments, therewith ran himselfe thorow, and falling on his face, died at the Consuls feet. *Alexander* besieged a Citie in *India*, the inhabitants whereof, perceiving themselves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the pleasure he might get of his victorie, and together with their Citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the Towne and themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kinde of warring, where the enemies did all they could, and sought to save them, they to looke themselves, and to be assured of their death, did all a man can possible effect to warrant his life. *Asapa* a Citie in *Spaine*, being very weake of wals, and other defences, to withstand the Romanes that besieged the same; the inhabitants drew all their riches, and wealth into the market-place, whereof having made a heap, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and covered the same with drie brush wood, that it might burne the easier, and having appointed fifty lusty young men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a sally, where following their determined vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves to be slaine every mothers childe. The fifty, after they had massacred every living soule remaining in the Citie, and set fire to the heap, joyfully leaped there-into, ending their generous liberty in a state rather insensible, than dolorous and reprochfull; shewing their enemies, that if fortune had beene so pleased, they should aswell have had the courage to bereave them of the victory, as they had to yeeld it them both vaine and hideous, yea, and mortall to those, who allured by the glittering of the gold, that moulten ran from out the flame, thicke and threefold approaching greedily unto it, were therein smothered and burned, the formost being unable to give bace, by reason of the throng that followed them. The *Abideans* pressed by *Philip*, resolved upon the very same, but being prevented, the King whose heart yerned and abhorred to see the fond-rash precipitation of such an execution (having first seized-upon and saved the treasure, and moveables, which they had diversly condemned to the flames and utter spoyle) retiring all the Souldiers, granting them the full space of three dayes to make themselves away, that so they might doe it with more order and leasure; which three dayes they replenished with bloud and murder beyond all hostile cruelty: And which is strange, there was no one person saved, that had power upon himselfe. There are infinite examples of such-like popular conclusions, which seeme more violent, by how much more the effect of them is more universall. They are lesse than severall, what discourse would not doe in every one, it doth in all: The vehemence of societie, ravishing particular judgements. Such as were condemned to dye in the time of *Tiberius*, and delaid their execution any while, lost their goods, and could not be buried; but such as prevented the same, in killing themselves, were solemnly enterred, and might at their pleasure, bequeath such goods as they had to whom they list. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good. I desire (saith Saint *Paul*) to be out of this world, that I may be with *Iesus Christ*: and who shal release me out of these bonds? *Cleombrotus Ambraciota* having read *Platoes Phason*, was so possessed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or more ado, he went and headlong cast himselfe into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how improperly we call this voluntarie dissolution, despaire; unto which the violence of hope doth often transport us, and as often a peacefull and settled inclination of judgement. *Iagues du Castell* Bishop of *Soissons*, in the voyage which Saint *Lewes* undertooke beyond the Seas, seeing the King and all his Army ready to returne into *France*, and leave the affaires of Religion imperfect, resolved with himselfe rather to goe to heaven; And having bidden his friends



friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the enemies troops of whom he was forthwith hewen in peeces. In a certaine kingdome of these late-discovered *Indies*, upon the day of a solemne procession, in which the Idols they adore, are publikely carried up and downe, upon a chariot of exceeding greatnesse: besides that, there are many scene to cut and slice great mammocks of their quicke flesh, to offer the said Idols; there are numbers of others scene, who prostrating themselves alongst upon the ground, endure very patiently to be mouldred and crushed to death, under the Chariots wheeles, thinking thereby to purchase after their death, a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not defrauded. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, argueth more generositie, and lesse sence: the heat of the combat amusing one part of it. Some common-wealths there are, that have gone about to sway the justice, and direct the opportunitie of voluntarie deaths. In our Citie of *Marseille*, they were wont in former ages, ever to keepe some poison in store, prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Cities charge, for such as would upon any occasion shorten their daies, having first approved the reasons of their enterprise unto the six hundred Elders of the Towne, which was their Senate: For, otherwise it was unlawfull for any body, except by the Magistrates permission, and for very lawfully-urgent occasions, to lay violent hands upon himselfe. The very same law was likewise used in other places. *Sextus Pompeius* going into *Asia*, passed thorow the Island of *Cea*, belonging to *Negropont*; it fortun'd whilst he abode there, (as one reporteth that was in his companie) that a woman of great authority, having first yeelded an accompt unto her Citizens, and shewed good reasons why she was resolved to end her life, earnestly entreated *Pompey* to be an assistant at her death, that so it might be esteemed more honourable, which he assented unto; and having long time in vaine sought, by vertue of his eloquence (wherein he was exceeding ready) and force of perswasion, to alter her intent, and remove her from her purpose, in the end yeelded to her request. She had lived foure score and ten yeares in a most happy estate of minde and body, but then lying on her bed, better adorned than before she was accustomed to have it, and leaning on her elbow, thus she bespake: The Gods, Oh *Sextus Pompeius*, and rather those I forgoe, than those I goe unto, reward and appay thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to be both a counsellor of my life, and a witnesse of my death. As for my part, having hitherto ever tasted the favourable visage of fortune, for feare the desire of living overlong should make me taste of her frownes, with an happy and successfull end, I will now depart, and licence the remainder of my soule, leaving behind me two daughters of mine, with a legion of grand-children and nephewes. That done, having preached unto, and exhorted all her people and kinsfolks to an unitie and peace, and divided her goods amongst them, and recommended her household Gods unto her eldest daughter, with an assuredly-staide hand she tooke the cup, wherein the poyson was, and having made her vowes unto *Mercurie*, and prayers, to conduct her unto some happy place in the other world, roundly swallowed that mortall potion; which done, she intertained the company with the progresse of her behaviour, and as the parts of her body were one after another possessed with the cold operation of that venom; untill such time as shee said, shee felt it worke at the heart and in her entrals, shee called her daughter to doe her the last office, and close her eyes. *Plinie* reporteth of a certaine *Hiperborcan* nation, wherein, by reason of the milde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof, commonly never dye, but when they please to make themselves away, and that being weary and tired with living, they are accustomed at the end of a long-long age; having first made merry and good cheare with their friends, from the top of an high-steepe rocke, appointed for that purpose, to cast themselves headlong into the Sea. Grieving-sinart, and a worse death seeme to me the most excusable incitations.

## CHAP. IV.

*Tomorrow is a new day.*

I Do with some reason, as me seemeth, give pricke and praise unto *Iaques Amiot* above all our French writers, not only for his natural purity, and pure elegancie of the tongue, wher-  
in



In he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancie of so long and toyle-some a labour, nor for the unsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successfullly-happy been able to explaine an Author so close and thorny, and unfold a writer so mysterious and entangled (for, let any man tell me what he list; I have no skill of the Greeke, but I see thorow-out al his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithily-continued, that either he hath assuredly understood and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the Author, or having through a long and continuall conversion, lively planted in his minde a generall Idea of that of *Plutarke*, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belye him, or mis-seeme him) but above all, I kon him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and knowledge to cull-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so unvaluable a present unto his Countrie. We that are in the number of the ignorant had beene utterly confounded, had not his booke raised us from out the dust of ignorance: God-a-mercy his endeours we dare not both speake and write: Even Ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our breviarie. If so good a man chance to live, I bequeath *Xenophon* unto him, to doe as much. It is an easier peece of worke, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disintangle himselfe from hard passages, that notwithstanding his stile is more close and neerer it selfe, when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place, where *Plutarke* speaketh of himselfe, that *Rusticus* being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour, which he temporized to open untill he had made an end: wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravitie of the man. Verily, being on the instance of curiositie, and on the greedy and insatiate passion of newes, which with such indiscreet impatience, and impatient indiscretion, induceth us to neglect all things, for to entertaine a new-come guest, and forget al respect and countenance, whersoever we be, suddenly to break up such letters as are brought us; he had reason to commend the gravitie of *Rusticus*: to which he might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtesie, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation; But I make a question, whether he might be commended for his wisdom: for, receiving unexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might very well have fortun'd, that his deferring to read them, might have caused some notable inconvenience. *Recklesnes is the vice contrarie unto curiositie*; towards which I am naturally inclined, and wherein I have seen many men so extremely plunged, that three or foure dayes after the receiving of letters, which hath beene sent them, they have beene found in their pockets yet unopened, I never opened any, not only of such as had beene committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience, standing neare some great person, if mine eyes chance, at unwares, to steale some knowledge of any letters of importance that he readeth. Never was man lesse inquisitive, or pryed lesse into other mens affaires, than I. In our fathers time; the Lord of *Boutieres* was like to have lost *Turin*, forsomuch as being one night at supper in very good company, he deferred the reading of an advertisement, which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and comploted against that Citie, where he commanded. And *Plutarke* himselfe hath taught me, that *Julius Caesar* had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house, that day wherein he was murdered by the Conspirators, he had read a memorial which was presented unto him. Who likewise reporteth the storie of *Archias*, the Tyrant of *Thebes*, how the night fore-going the execution of the enterprize that *Pelopidas* had complotted to kill him, thereby to let his Countrie at libertie: another *Archias* of *Athens* writ him a letter, wherein he particularly related unto him all that was conspired and complotted against him; which letter being delivered him whilst he sate at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word: *To morrow is a new day*, which afterward was turned to a Proverb in *Greece*. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not unmannerly to breake companie, like unto *Rusticus*, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importance, remit and defer to understand such newes as are brought him: but for his owne private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if he regard his dinner so much, that he will not break it off, or his sleepe, that he will not interrupt it: to doe it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consulare-place in *Rome*, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accessible for such as might casually come in, to enter-



entertain him that should be there placed. Witnesse, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affaires, and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune doe not sway, and keepe her right in them.

## C H A P. V.

## Of Conscience.

**M**Y brother the Lord of *Bronze* and my selfe, during the time of our civill warres, travelling one day together, we fortun'd to meet upon the way with a Gentleman, in outward semblance, of good demeanour: He was of our contrarie faction, but forasmuch as he counterfeited himselfe otherwise; I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intestine broyles, is, that the cards are so shuffled (your enemy being neither by language nor by fashion, nor by any other apparent marke distinguished from you; nay, which is more, brought up under the same lawes and customes, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a very hard matter to avoid confusion and shun disorder. Which consideration, made me not a little fearefull to meet with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be urged to tell my name, and haply doe worse. As other times before it had befall me; for, by such a chance, or rather mistaking, I fortun'd once to lose all my men and horses, and hardly escaped my selfe: and amongst other my losses, and servants that were slaine, the thing that most grieved me, was the untimely and miserable death of a young Italian Gentleman, whom I kept as my Page, and very carefully brought up, with whom dyed, as forward, as budding and as hopefull a youth as ever I saw. But this man seemed so fearfully-dismaid, and at every encounter of horsemen, and passage, by, or thorow any Towne that held for the King, I observed him to be so strangely distracted, that in the end I perceived, and ghesse'd they were but guilty alarums that his conscience gave him. It seemed unto this feely man, that all might apparently, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crosses he wore upon his upper garments, read the secret intentions of his faint heart. Of such marvellous-working power is the sting of conscience: which often induceth us to bewray, to accuse, and to combat our selves; and for want of other evidences shee produceth our selves against our selves.

*Inven. Sat. 13.*  
195.

*Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.*  
Their minde, the tormentor of sinne,  
Shaking an unscene whip within.

The storie of *Bessus* the *Poenian* is so common, that even children have it in their mouths, who being found fault withall, that in mirth he had beaten downe a nest of young Sparrowes, and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to doe it; forasmuch as those young birds ceased not falsly to accuse him to have murdered his father, which parricide was never suspected to have beene committed by him; and untill that day had layen secret; but the revengefull furies of the conscience, made the same partie to reveale it, that by all right was to doe penance for so hatefull and unnaturall a murder. *Hesiodus* correcteth the saying of *Plato*, That punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at hand: for, he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instant, and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. *Whosoever expects punishment, suffereth the same, and whosoever deserveth it, he doth expect it. Impietie doth invent, and iniquitie doth frame torments against it selfe.*

*Traschil. 1. cent.*  
2. ad 14.

*Malum consilium consultori pessimum.*  
Bad counsell is worst for the counsellor that gives the counsell.

Even as the Waspe stingeth and offendeth others, but her selfe much more; for, in hurting others, she loseth her force and sting for ever.

*Virg. Georg. 1. 4.*  
238.

*vis atque in vulnere ponunt.*

They



They, while they others sting,  
Death to themselves doe bring.

The *Cantharides* have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antidot or counterpoison against their poison: so likewise, as one taketh pleasure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeasure engendred in the conscience, which by sundry irksome and painfull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth us, both waking and asleepe.

*Quippe ubi se multi per somnia sepe loquentes;  
Aut morbo delirantes procraxe ferantur,  
Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse.*

*Lucr. l. 5. 1168.*

Many in dreames oft speaking, or unhealed,  
In sicknesse raving have themselves revealed,  
And brought to light their sinnes long time concealed.

*Apolodorus* dreamed he saw himselfe first dead by the Scythians, and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murmured, saying; I only have caused this mischief to light upon thee. *Epicurus* was wont to say, that no lurking hole can shroud the wicked; for, they can never assure themselves to be sufficiently hidden, since conscience is ever ready to disclose them to themselves.

*— prima est hac ultio, quod se  
Iudice nemo nocens absolvitur.*  
This is the first revenge, no guilty mind  
Is quitted, though it selfe be judge assign'd.

*Juv. Sat. 13. 5.*

Which as it doth fill us with feare and doubt, so doth it store us with assurance and trust. And I may boldly say, that I have waded thorow many dangerous hazards, with a more untired pace, only in consideration of the secret knowledge I had of mine owne will, and innocencie of my desseignes.

*Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit ingra  
Pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo.*  
As each mans minde is guiltie, so doth he  
Inlie breed hope and feare, as his deeds be.

*Ovid. fast. l. 2.  
485.*

Of examples, there are thousands; It shall suffice us to alleage three only, and all of one man. *Scipio* being one day accused before the Romane people, of an urgent and capitall accusation; in stead of excusing himselfe, or flattering the Judges; turning to them, he said. It will well besee me you to undertake to judge of his head, by whose meanes you have authority to judge of all the world. The same man, another time, being vehemently urged by a Tribune of the people, who charged him with sundry imputations, in lieu of pleading or excusing his cause gave him this sudden and short answer. Let us goe (quoth he) my good Citizens; let us forthwith goe (I say) to give hartie thanks unto the Gods for the victorie, which even upon such a day as this is, they gave me against the Carthaginians. And therewith advancing himselfe to march before the people, all the assembly, and even his accuser himselfe did undelayedly follow him towards the Temple. After that, *Perilius* having bene animated and stirred up by *Cato* to sollicite and demand a strict accompt of him, of the money he had managed, & which was committed to his trust, whilst he was in the Province of *Antioch*; *Scipio* being come into the Senate-house, of purpose to answer for himselfe, pulling out the booke of his accompts from under his gowne, told them all, that that booke contained truly, both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver the same unto a Clarke to register it, he refused to doe it, saying he would not doe himselfe that wrong or indignitie; and thereupon with his owne hands, in presence of all the Senate, tore the booke in peeces. I cannot apprehend or beleeve, that a guiltie-cauterized conscience could possibly dissemble or counterfer such an undisimayd assurance: His heart was naturally too great, and enured to overhigh fortune (saith *Tim Livius*) to know how to be a criminall offender, and stoopingly to yeeld himselfe to the basenesse, to defend his innocencie. Torture and racking are dangerous inventions, and seeme rather to be trials of patience than Essayes of truth. And both he that can, and he that cannot endure them, conceale the truth. For wherefore shall paine or smart, rather compell me to confesse that, which is so, indeed, than force me to tell that which is not? And contrariwise, if he who hath not done that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patient to endure those torments; why shall not he

be



be able to tolerate them, who hath done it, and is guilty indeed; so deare and worthy a reward as life being proposed unto him? I am of opinion, that the ground of his invention, proceedeth from the consideration of the power and facultie of the conscience. For, to the guilty, it seemeth to give a kinde of furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse his fault, and weakneth and disinayeth him: and on the other part, it encourageth and strengtheneth the innocent against torture. To say truth, it is a meane full of uncertainty and danger. What would not a man say; nay, what not doe, to avoid so grievous paines, and shun such torments?

*Sen. prover.*

*Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.*  
Torment to lye sometimes will drive,  
Ev'n the most innocent alive.

Whence it followeth, that he whom the Judge hath tortured, because he shall not dye an innocent, he shall bring him to his death, both innocent and tortured. Many thousands have thereby charged their heads with false confessions. Amongst which I may well place *Phylotas*, considering the circumstances of the enditment that *Alexander* framed against him, and the progresse of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evill humane weaknesse could invent: though, in my conceit, very inhumanely, and therewithall most unprofitably. Many Nations lesse barbarous in that, than the Gracian, or the Romane, who terme them so, judge it a horrible and cruell thing, to racke and torment a man for a fault whereof you are yet in doubt. Is your ignorance long of him? What can he doe withall? Are not you unjust, who because you will not put him to death without some cause, you doe worse than kill him? And that it is so, consider but how often he rather chuseth to dye guiltlesse, than passe by this information, much more painfull, than the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sharpnesse of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea, and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this story, but it exactly hath reference unto the conscience of our Justice. A cuntry woman accused a souldier before his Generall, being a most severe Justicer, that he, with violence, had snatched from out her poore childrens hands, the small remainder of some pap or water-guell, which shee had onely left to sustaine them, forsomuch as the Army had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman had neither witnesse nor prooofe of it; It was but her yea, and his no; which the Generall perceiving, after he had summoned her to be well advised what shee spake, and that shee should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if shee spake an untruth, shee should then be culpable of his accusation: But shee constantly persisting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be thoroughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faulty, and the poore woman to have said true; whereupon shee was discharged.

A condemnation instructive to others.

## CHAP. VI.

### Of Exercise or Practice.

IT is a hard matter (although our conceit doe willingly apply it selfe unto it) that Discourse and Instruction, should sufficiently be powerful, to direct us to action, and addresse us to performance, if over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercise and frame our minde, to the traine whereunto we will range it: otherwise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doublelesse finde it selfe much engaged and empeached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, those that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not beene content, at home, and at rest to expect the rigors of fortune, for feare she should surpriseth them unexperienced and finde them novices, if she should chance to enter fight with them; but have rather gone to meet and front her before, and wittingly earnestly cast themselves to the triall of the hardest difficukies. Some have thereby voluntarily forsaken great riches, onely to practise a voluntarie povertie: others have willingly found out labour, and an austeritie of a toyle some life, thereby to harden and enure themselves



to evill, and travell: other some have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes, and members of generation, lest their over-pleasing, and too. too wanton service, might in any sort mollifie and distract the constant resolution of their minde. But to dye, which is the greatest worke we have to doe, exercise can nothing availe us thereunto. A man may, by custome and experience, fortifie himselfe against griefe, sorrow, shame, want, and such like accidents: But concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the same. We are all novices, and new to learne when we come unto it. There have, in former times, beene found men so good husbands and thrifty of time, that even in death they have assayed to taste and savor it; and bent their minde to observe and see, what manner of thing that passage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell us tidings of it.

— *nemo ex pergitus extat*

*Frigida quem semel est vitæ pausa sequuta.*

Lucr. 3. 973.

No man doth ever-after wake,

Whom once his lifes cold rest doth take.

*Caninus Iulius*, a noble Romane, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having beene condemned to death by that lewdly-mischievous monster of men, *Caligula*: besides many marvelous evident assurances he gave of his matchlesse resolution, when he was even in the nick to endure the last stroke of the executioner; a Philosopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this question, saying: *Caninus*, in what state is your soule now; what doth she; what thoughts possesse you now; I thought (answered he) to keepe me ready and prepared with all my force, to see whether in this instant of death, so short and so neere at hand, I might perceive some dislodging or distraction of the soule, and whether it will shew some feeling of her sudden departure; that (if I apprehend or learne any thing of her) I may afterward, if I can, returne, and give advertisement thereof unto my friends. Lo, here a Philosopher, not only untill death, but even in death it selfe: what assurance was it, and what fiercenes of courage, to will that his owne death should serve him as a lesson, and have leasure to thinke else where in a matter of such consequence;

— *ius hoc animi morientis habebas.*

This power of minde had he,

Lucan. 1. 8. 636.

When it from him did flee.

Me seemeth neverthelesse, that in some sort there is a meane to familiarize our selves with it, and to assay it. We may have some experience of it, if not whole and perfect, at least such as may not altogether be unprofitable, and which may yeelde us better fortified and more assured. If we cannot attaine unto it, we may at least approach it, and discern the same: And if we cannot enter her fort, yet shal we see and frequent the approaches unto it. It is not without reason we are taught to take notice of our sleepe, for the resemblance it hath with death. How easily we passe from waking to sleeping; with how little interest we lose the knowledge of light, and of our selves. The facultie of sleepe might haply seeme unprofitable, and against nature, sithence it depriveth us of all actions, and barreth us of all sense, were it not that nature doth thereby instruct us, that she hath equally made us, as well to live, as to die; and by life presenteth the eternal state unto us, which she after the same reserveth for us; so to accustome us thereunto, and remove the feare of it from us. But such as by some violent accident are falne into a faintnes of heart, and have lost all senses, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene, where they might behold her true and naturall visage: For, touching the instant or moment of the passage, it is not to be feared, it should bring any travell or displeasure with it, forasmuch as we can have, nor sense, nor feeling without leasure. Our sufferances have need of time, which is so short, and plunged in death, that necessarily it must be insensible. It is the approaches that lead unto it we should feare; and those may fall within the compasse of mans experience. Many things seeme greater by imagination, than by effect. I have passed over a good part of my age in sound and perfect health. I say, not only sound, but blithe and wantonly-lustfull. That state full of lust, of prime and mirth, made me deeme the consideration of sicknesses so yrkesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fits but weake, and their assaults but faint, in respect of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I daily prove. Let me be under a roofoe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well at ease in some tempestuous and stormy

T

night;



night. I am exceedingly perplexed, and much grieved for such as are abroad, and have no shelter: But let me be in the storme my selfe, I doe not so much as desire to be else-where. Only to be continually pent up in a chamber, seemed intolerable to me. I have now enured my selfe to live a whole weeke, yea a moneth in my chamber full of care, trouble, alteration and weaknesse; and have found, that in the time of my best health I moaned such as were sicke, much more than I can well moane my selfe when I am ill at ease: and that the power of my apprehension did well-nigh halfe endear the essence and truth of the thing it selfe. I am in good hope the like will happen to me of death: and that it is not worth the labour I take for so many preparations as I prepare against her; and so many helpes as I call to sustaine, and assemble to endure the shooke and violence of it. But hab or nab we can never take too much advantage of it. During our second or third troubles (I doe not well remember which) I fortun'd one day, for recreation sake, to goe forth and take the ayre, about a league from my house, who am seated even in the bowels of all troubles of our civill warres of France, supposing to be most safe, so neere mine owne home and petreite, that I had no need of better attendance or equipage. I was mounted upon a very easie-going nag, but not very sure. At my returning home againe, a sudden occasion being offered me, to make use of this nag in a peece of service, whereto he was neither trained nor accustomed, one of my men (a strong sturdy fellow) mounted upon a young strong-headed horse, and that had a desperate hard mouth, fresh, lusty and in breath; to shew his courage, and to out-goe his fellows, fortun'd with might and maine to set spurres unto him, and giving him the bridle, to come right into the path where I was, and as a *Colossus* with his weight riding over me and my nag, that were both very little, he overthrew us both, and made us fall with our heeles upward: so that the nag lay along astonied in one place, and I in a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelke paces wide of him; my face all torne and brused, my sword which I had in my hand a good way from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion or sense in me than a stocke. It is the only swooning that ever I felt yet. Those that were with me, after thy had assayed all possible meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, supposing me dead, tooke me in their armes, and with much adoe were carying me home to my house, which was about halfe a french league thence: upon the way, and after I had for two houres space, by all, beene supposed dead and past all recoverie, I began to stir and breathe: for, so great abundance of blood was false into my stomake, that to discharge it, nature was forced to rowze up her spirits. I was immediately set upon my feet, and bending forward, I presently cast up, in quantitie as much clottie pure blood, as a bucket will hold, and by the way was constrained to doe the like divers times before I could get home, whereby I began to recover a little life, but it was by little and little, and so long adoe, that my chiefe senses were much more enclining to death than to life.

*Perche dubbiosa ancor del suo ritorno*

*Non s'assicura attonita la mente.*

For yet the minde doubtfull it's returne

Is not assured, but astonished.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me her visage and *Idea* so lively and so naturally, doth in some sort reconcile me unto her. And when I began to see, it was with so dim, so weake and so troubled a sight, that I could not discern any thing of the light,

*— come quel c'hor' apre, hor chiude*

*Gli occhi, mezzo tra'l sonno el esser desto.*

As he that sometimes opens, sometimes shuts

His eyes, bewene sleepe and awake.

Touching the function of the soule, they started up and came in the same progresse as those of the body. I perceived my selfe all bloody; for my doublet was all sullied with the blood I had cast. The first conceit I apprehended, was, that I had received some shot in my head; and in truth, at the same instant, there were divers that shot round about us. Me thought, my selfe had no other hold of me, but of my lips-ends. I closed mine eyes, to helpe (as me seemed) to send it forth, and tooke a kinde of pleasure to linger and languishingly to let my selfe goe from my selfe. It was an imagination swimming superficially in my minde, as weake and as tender as all the rest: but in truth, not only exempted from displeasure,



sure, but rather commixt with that pleasant sweetnesse, which they feele that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-slumbring and sense-entrancing sleepe. I beleeve it is the same state, they find themselves in, whom in the agony of death we see to droop & faint thorow weakness: and art of opinion, we plaine and moane them without cause, esteeming that either they are agitated with grievous pangs, or that their soule is pressed with painfull cogitations. It was ever my conceit, against the opinion of many, yea and against that of *Stephanus In Boetie*, that those whom we see, so overwhelmed, and faintly-drooping at the approaches of their end, or utterly cast downe with the lingering tediousnesse of their diseases, or by accident of some apoplexie, or falling-evil, ——— (*vi morbi saepe coactum*)

Lucr. li. 3. 490.

*Ante oculos aliquis nostros ut fulminis ictu,  
Concidit, & spumas agit, ingemit, & fremit artus,  
Desipit, extertat nervos, orquetur, anhelat,  
Inconstanter & in jactando membra fatigat*  
(Some man by force of sicknesse driv'n doth fall,  
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes;  
He fomes, he grones, he trembles over all,  
He raves, he stretches, he's vext, panting lyes,  
He tyr's his limmes by tossing,  
Now this now that way crossing.)

or hurt in the head, whom we heare throb and rattle, and send forth grones and gaspes, although we gather some tokens from them, whereby it seemeth, they have yet some knowledge left and certaine motions we see them make with their body: I say, I have ever thought, they had their soule and body buried and asleepe.

*Vivat & est viva nescius ipso sua.*  
He lives yet knowes not he,  
That he alive should be.

Ovid. trist. lib. 4.  
643. 12.

And I could not beleeve, that at so great an astonishment of members, and defaillance of senses, the soule could maintaine any force within, to know herselfe; and therefore had no manner of discourse tormenting them, which might make them judge and feele the misery of their condition, and that consequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my selfe, I imagine no state so intolerable nor condition so horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted soule, void of meanes to disburthen and declare her selfe: As I would say of those we send to execution, having first caused their tongue to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death, the most dumbe seemes unto me the fittest, namely, if it be accompanied with a resolute and grave countenance. And as those miserable prisoners which light in the hands of those hard-hearted and villenous Souldiers of these times, of whom they are tormented with all manner of cruell entreatie, by compulsion to drawe them unto some excessive and impossible rancome, keeping them al that while in so hard a condition and place, that they have no way left them to utter their thoughts and expresse their miserie. The Poets have fained, there were some Gods, that favoured the release of such as suffered so languishing deaths. ——— *hunc ego Diti*

*Sacrum iussa fero, sequi isto corpore solus.*  
This to death sacred, I, as was my charge,  
Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

Virg. Æn. lib. 4  
703. 11.

And the faltering speeches and uncertaine answers, that by continuall ringing in their eares and incessant urging them, are sometimes by force wrested from them or by the motions which seeme to have some sympathy with that whereof they are examined, is notwithstanding no witnes that they live at least a perfect sound life. We do also in yawning, before sleep fully seizes upon us, apprehend as it were in a slumber, what is done about us, and with a troubled & uncertaine hearing, follow the voyces, which seeme to sound but on the outward limits of our soule; & frame answers according to the last words we heard, which taste more of chance than of sense: which thing now I have proved by experience, I make no doubt, but hitherto, I have well judged of it. For, first lying as in a trance, I laboured even with my nailes to open my doublet (for I was unarmed) and well I wot, that in my imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are severall motions in us, which proceed not of our free wil.

*Semianimesque micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.*

T 2

The lib. 10. 396.



The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,  
(Though it they cannot stirre) for steele.

Those that fall, doe commonly by a naturall impulsion cast their armes abroad before their falling, which sheweth, that our members have certaine offices, which they lend one to another, and possesse certaine agitations, apart from our discourse :

*Lucr. lib. 3.*

*Falciferos memorant currus abscindere membra,  
Ut tremere in terra videatur ab artubus, id quod  
Decidit abscissum, cum mens tamen atque hominis vis  
Mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem.*

They say, sith-bearing chariots limbes bereave,  
So as on earth, that which cut-off they leave,  
Doth seeme to quake; when yet mans force and minde  
Doth not the paine, through so quicke motion, finde.

My stomacke was surcharged with clotted blood, my hands of themselves were still running to it, as often they are wont (yea against the knowledge of our will) where we feele it to itch. There are many creatures, yea and some men, in whom after they are dead, we may see their muskles to close and stirre. All men know by experience, there be some parts of our bodies, which often without any consent of ours doe stirre, stand and lye downe againe. Now these passions, which but exteriorly touch us, cannot properly be termed ours; For, to make them ours, a man must wholly be engaged unto them: And the paines that our feet or hands feele whilst we sleepe, are not ours. When I came neere my house, where the tidings of my fall was already come, and those of my household met me, with such outcries as are used in like times, I did not only answer some words, to what I was demanded, but sometell me, I had the memory to command my men to give my wife a horse, whom I perceived to be over-tired, and labouring in the way, which is very hilly, foule, and rugged. It seemeth this consideration proceeded from a vigilant soule: yet was I cleane distracted from it, they were but vaine conceits, and as in a cloud, only moved by the sense of the eyes and eares: They came not from my selfe. All which notwithstanding, I knew neither whence I came, nor whither I went, nor could I understand or consider what was spoken unto me. They were but light effects, that my senses produced of themselves, as it were of custome. Whatsoever the soule did assist it with, was but a dreame, being lightly touched, and only sprinkled by the soft impression of the senses. In the meane time my state was verily most pleasant and easfull. I felt no manner of care or affliction, neither for my selfe nor others. It was a slumbering, languishing and extreme weaknesse, without any paine at all. I saw mine owne house and knew it not; when I was laid in my bed, I felt great ease in my rest. For I had bene vilely hurried and haled by those poore men, which had taken the paines to carry me upon their armes a long and wearysome way, and to say truth, they had all bene wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to shift severall times. Many remedies were presently offered me, but I tooke none, supposing verily I had bene deadly hurt in the head. To say truth, it had bene a very happy death: For, the weaknesse of my discourse hinderd me from judging of it, and the feeblenesse of my body from feeling the same. Me thought I was yeelding up the ghost so gently, and after so easie and indolent a manner, that I feele no other action lesse burthenesome than that was. But when I began to come to life againe and recover my former strength,

*Ovid. Triß. lib. 1.  
el. 3. 14.*

*Vix tandem sensus convalescere mei,  
At last when all the sprites I beare,  
Recall'd and recollected were,*

which was within two or three houres after, I presently felt my selfe full of aches and paines all my body over; for, each part thereof was with the violence of the fall much brused and tainted; and for two or three nights after I found my self so ill, that I verily supposed I should have had another fit of death: But that a more lively, and sensible one: (and to speak plaine) I feele my bruses yet, and feare me shall do while I live: I will not forget to tell you, that the last thing I could rightly fall into againe, was the remembrance of this accident, and I made my men many times to repeat me over and over againe, whither I was going, whence I came, and at what houre that chance befell me, before I could thoroughly conceive it. Concerning the manner of my falling, they in favour of him who had bene the cause of it, concealed



cealed the truth from me, and told me other slim slim tales. But a while after, and the morrow next when my memorie began to come to it selfe againe, and represent the state unto me, wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horse riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chanced to espy him, and helde my selfe for dead; yet was the conceit so sudden, that feare had no leasure to enter my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning, that smote my soule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourte of so slight an accident, is but vaine and frivolous, were not the instructions I have drawne from thence for my use: For truly, for a man to acquaint himselfe with death, I finde no better way than to approach unto it. Now as *Plinie* saith, every man is a good discipline unto himselfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my study; And nor another mans lesson, but mine owne; Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne, may haply serve another mans; otherwise I marie nothing; what I make use of, is mine owne; And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodys interest. For it is but a kind of folly, that dyes in me, and hath no traine. We have notice but of two or three former ancients, that have trodden this path; yet can we not say, whether altogether like unto this of mine, for we know but their names. No man since hath followed their steps: it is a thorny and crabbed enterprize, and more than it makes shew of, to follow so strange and vagabond a path, as that of our spirit: to penetrate the shady, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding cranks; To chuse so many, and settle so severall aires of his agitations: And tis a new extraordinary amusing, that distracts us from the common occupation of the world, yea and from the most recommended: Many yeares are past since I have no other aime, whereto my thoughts bend, but my selfe, and that I controule and study nothing but my selfe. And if I study any thing else, it is immediatly to place it upon, or to say better, in my selfe. And me thinks I erre not, as commonly men doe in other sciences, without all comparison lesse profitable. I impart what I have learn't by this, although I greatly content not my selfe with the progresse I have made therein. *There is no description so hard, nor so profitable, as is the description of a mans owne life;* Yet must a man handsomely trimme-up, yea and dispose and range himselfe to appeare on the Theatre of this world. Now I continually tricke up my selfe; for I uncessantly describe my selfe. Custome hath made a mans speech of himselfe vicious. And obstinately forbids it in hatred of boasting, which over seemeth closely to follow ones selfe witnesses, whereas a man should wipe a childes nose, that is now called to un-nose himselfe,

*In viciū ducit culpa fuga.*

Some shunning of some sinne,

Doe draw some further in.

*Hor. lib. 6. poet. 37.*

I finde more evill than good by this remedy: But suppose it were true, that for a man to entertaine the company with talking of himselfe, were necessarily presumption: I ought not following my generall intent, to refuse an action that publisheth this crazed quality, since I have it in my selfe: and I should not conceale this fault, which I have not only in use, but in profession. Nevertheless to speake my opinion of it, this custome to condemne wine is much to blame, because many are therewith made drunke. Only good things may be abused. And I beleeeve this rule hath only regard to popular defects: They are snaffles wherewith neither Saints, nor Philosophers, nor Divines, whom we heare so gloriously to speake of themselves, will in any sort be bridled. No more doe I, though I be no more the one than other. If they write purposely or directly of it, yet when occasion doth conveniently leade them unto it, faine they not, headlong to cast themselves into the lists? Whereof doth *Socrates* treat more at large, than of himselfe? To what doth he more often direct his Disciples discourses, than to speake of themselves, not for their bookes lesson, but of the essence and moving of their soule? We religiously shrive our selves to God and our Confessor, as our neighbours to all the people. But will some answer me, we report but accusation; wee then report all: For, even our vertue it selfe is faulty and repentable; My art and profession, is to live. Who forbids me to speake of it, according to my sense, experience, and custome; Let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himselfe, but his neighbours, according to anothers skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory, for a man to publish his owne worth himselfe, why doth not *Cicero* prefer the eloquence of *Horrensus*, and *Horrensus* that of *Cicero*? Some may peradventure suppose that by deeds and effects, and not simply



simply by words, I witnesse of my selfe. I principally set forth my cogitations; a shaplesse subject, and which cannot fall within the compasse of a worke-manlike production; with much adoe can I set it downe in this ayrie body of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devour, have lived avoiding all apparent effects. Effects would speake more of fortune, than of me. They witnesse their part, and not mine; unlesse it be conjecturally and uncertainly: Parcels of a particular shew: I wholly set forth and expose my selfe: It is a *Sceletos*; where at first sight appeare all the vaines, muskles, gristles, sinnewes, and tendons, each severall part in his due place. The effect of the cough produceth one part, that of palensie or panting of the heart another, and that doubtfully. I write not my geists, but my selfe and my essence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to esteeme himselfe, and equally consciencious to give testimony of it: be it low, be it high indifferently. If I did absolutely seeme good and wise unto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake lesse of himselfe than he possesseth, is folly and not modesty. To pay himselfe for lesse than he is worth, is basenesse and pusillanimity, saith *Aristotle*. No vertue aids it selfe with false-hood; and truth is never a matter of error. And yet for a man to say more of himselfe, than he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often sottishnesse. For a man to over-weene, and please himselfe exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indiscreet love with himselfe, is in my conceit, the substance of this vice. The best remedy to cure him, is to doe cleane contrary to that which those appoint, who in forbidding men to speake of themselves, doe consequently also inhibit more to thinke of themselves. *Pride consisteth in conceit*: The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to amuse on himselfe, is in their imagination to please himselfe: And for a man to frequent and practise himselfe, is at an over-deare rate to please himselfe. But this excesse doth only breed in them, that but superficially feele and search themselves, that are scene to follow their affaires, which call idlenesse and fondnesse, for a man to entertaine, to applaud and to endear himselfe, and frame Chimeraes, or build Castles in the ayre; deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be haunted with his owne knowledge, looking upon himselfe, let him cast his eyestowards the ages, his pride shall be abated, his ambition shall be quailed; for there shall he finde many thousands of men that will cleane suppress and tread him under. If he fortune to enter into any feare, presumption of his owne worth, let him but call to remembrance the lives of *Scipio* and *Epaminondas*; so many armies, and so many Nations, which leave him so far behind them. No particular quality shall make him proud, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfect and weak qualities that are in him, and at last the nullity of humane condition. For so much as *Socrates* had truly only nibled on the precept of his God, to know himselfe, and by that study had learned to contemne himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wise. Whosoever shall so know himselfe, let him boldly make himselfe knowne by his owne mouth:

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the recompences or rewards of Honour.*

Those which write the life of *Augustus Caesar*, note this in his military discipline, that he was exceeding liberall and lavish in his gifts to such as were of any desert; but as sparing and strait-handed in meere recompences of honour. Yet is it that himselfe had bene liberally gratified by his Unkle with militarie rewards, before ever he went to warres. It hath bene a witty invention, and received in most parts of the worlds Common-wealths, to establish and ordaine certaine vaine and worthles markes, therewith to honor and recompence vertue: As are the wreathes of Lawrell, the Chaplets of Oake, and the Gariands of Myrtle, the forme of a certaine peculiar garment; the privilege to ride in Coach thorow the City; or by night to have a Torch carried before one: Some particular place to sit-in in common assemblies; the prerogatives of certaine surnames and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the use whereof hath bene diversly received according to the opinions



opinions of Nations, which continueth to this day. We have for our part, together with divers of our neighbour-Nation, the orders of Knight-hood, which only were established to this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable use, and profitable custome, to finde meanes to reward the worth, and acknowledge the valour of rare and excellent men, to satisfie and content them with such payments, as in no sort charge the common-wealth, and put the Prince to no cost at all. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times we have plainly perceived amongst our selves, that men of qualitie, were ever more jealous of such recompences, than of others, wherein was both gaine and profit: which was not without reason and great apparence. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of honour, there be other commodities and riches joyned, this kinde of commixing, in stead of encreasing the estimation thereof, doth empaire, dissipate, and abridge it. The order of the Knights of Saint Michael in France, which of so long continuance hath bene in credit amongst us, had no greater commoditie than that it had no manner of communication with any other advantage or profit, which hath heretofore bene the cause, that there was no charge or state of what quality soever, whereto the nobilitie pretended with so much desire, or aspired with more affection, as it did to obtaine that order; nor calling, that was followed with more respect or greatnesse. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more willingly aspiring after a recompence, that is meerly and simply her owne, and which is rather glorious, than profitable. For, to say truth, other gifts have no use so worthy; inasmuch, as they are employed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doth reward the service of a groome, the diligence of a messenger, the hopping of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the breath of a Lawyer, and the basest offices a man may receive; yea, with the same paultry pelfe mony, vice is payed and sinne requited, as flatterey, murder, treason, *Maquorelage*, and what not? It is then no marvell, if vertue doth lesse willingly desire this kinde of common trash, mony, than that which is onely proper and peculiar to her selfe, and is altogether noble and generous. *Augustus* had therefore reason, to be much more niggardly and sparing of this last, than of the former, forasmuch as honour is a privilege which drawes his principall essence from rarenesse: And so doth vertue it selfe.

*Cui malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest?*

To him who good can seeme,

Who doth none bad esteeme?

*Advt. l. 12. epig.*  
82, 2.

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or extraordinarily commended, that is curiously carefull to have his children well nurtured, because it is a common action, how just and worthy praise soever it be: no more than one great tree, where the Forrest is full of such. I doe not thinke that any Spartane Citizen did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valor, because it was a popular vertue in that Nation: And as little for his fidelity, and contempt of riches. There is no recompence fals unto vertue, how great soever it be, if it once have past into custome: And I wot not whether we might call it great, being common. Since then the rewards of honour, have no other prize and estimation than that few enjoy it, there is no way to disannull them, but to make a largesse of them. Were there now more men found deserving the same than in former ages, yet should not the reputation of it be corrupted. And it may easily happen that more deserve it: For, there is no vertue, doth so easily spread it selfe as military valiancie. There is another, true, perfect, and Philosophicall, whereof I speake not (I use this word according to our custome) farre greater and more full than this, which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally contemning all manner of contrarie accidents, upright, uniforme, and constant, whereof ours is but an easie and glimmering raie. Custome, institution, example and fashion, may effect what ever they list in the establishing of that I speake of, and easily make it vulgare, as may plainly bee seene by the experience our civill warres give us of it. And whosoever could now joyne us together, and eagerly fledge all our people to a common enterprize, we should make our ancient military name and chivalrous credit to flourish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order did not in former times only concerne prowis, and respect valour; it had a further aime. It was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier; but of a famous Captaine. The skill to obey could not deserve so honorable an hire: for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquity, we shall perceive, that for the worthy obtaining thereof, there was required more universall warre-like expertnesse, and which might imbrace the greatest part, and most parts of a military



litary man; *Neque enim eadem militares & imperatoria artes sunt*; For the same arts and parts belong not to a generall and common Souldier; and who besides that, should also bee of a fit and accommodable condition for such a dignitie. But I say, that if more men should now adayes be found worthy of it, than have beene heretofore, yet should not our Princes be more liberall of it: and it had beene much better, not to bestow it upon all them to whom it was due, than for ever to lose, (as of late we have done) the use of so profitable an invention. *No man of courage vouchsafeth to advantage himselfe of that which is common unto many.* And those which in our dayes, have least merited that honourable recompence, seeme, in all apparence, most to disdaine it, by that meanes to place themselves in the ranke of those to whom the wrong is offered by unworthy bestowing and vilifying of that badge, which particularly was due unto them. Now by defacing and abolishing this to suppose, suddenly to be able to bring into credit, and renew a semblable custome, is no convenient enterprise, in so licentious, so corrupted, and so declining an age, as is this wherein we now live. And it will come to passe that the last shall even from her birth incur the incommodities, which have lately ruined and overthrowne the other. The rules of this new orders-dispensation had need to be otherwise wrested and constrained, for to give it authority: and this tumultuous season is not capable of a short and ordered bridle. Besides, before a man is able to give credit unto it, it is requisite a man lose the memory of the first, and of the contempt whereinto it is fallen. This place might admit some discourse upon the consideration of valour, and difference betwene this vertue and others: But *Plutarch* having often spoken of this matter, it were in vaine here for mee to repeat what he sayes of it. This is worthy to be considered, that our nation giveth the chiefe preheminance of all vertue unto valiancie, as the Etymology of the word sheweth, which commeth of valour, or worth: and that according to our received custome, when after the phrase of our court and nobility we speake of a worthy man, or of an honest man, we thereby inferre no other thing than a valiant man; after the usuall Roman fashion. For, the generall denomination of vertue doth amongst them take her Etymology, of force or might. The only proper and essentiall forme of our nobility in *France*, is military vocation. It is very likely, that the first vertue that ever appeared amongst men, and which to some hath given preheminance over others, hath beene this by which the strongest and more courageous have become masters over the weakest, and purchased a particular ranke and reputation to themselves: Whereby this honour and dignity of speech is left unto it: or else these nations being very warlike, have given the price unto that of vertues, which was the worthiest and more familiar unto them. Even as our passion, and this heart-panting, and mind-vexing carefull diligence, and diligent carefulnesse, which we continually apprehend about womens chastity, causeth; also that a good woman, an honest woman, a woman of honour and vertue, doth in effect and substance, signifie no other thing unto us, than a chaste wife or woman; as if to bind them to this duty, we did neglect all others, and gavethem free liberty to commit any other fault, to covenant with them, never to quit or forsake this one.

## CHAP. VIII.

### *Of the affection of fathers to their children. To the Lady of Estillac.*

**M**Adame, if strangenesse doe not save, or novelty shield mee, which are wont to give things reputation, I shall never, with honesty, quit my selfe of this enterprise; yet is it so fantastickall, and beares a shew so different from common custome, that that may haply purchase it free passage. It is a melancholy humor, and consequently a hatefull enemy to my naturall complexion, bred by the anxietie, and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some yeares since I cast my selfe, that first put this humorous conceipt of writing into my head. And finding my selfe afterward wholly unprovided of subject, and void of other matter. I have presented my selfe unto my selfe for a subject to write, and argument



gument to descant upon. It is the only booke in the world of this kinde, and of a wilde extravagant deligne. Moreover, there is nothing in it worthy the marking but this fantasticalness. For, to so vaine a ground and base a subject, the worlds best workman, could never have given a fashion deserving to be accounted of. Now (worthy Lady) sithence I must pourtray my selfe to the life, I should have forgotten a part of importance, if therewithall I had not represented the honour I have ever yeilded to your deserts, which I have especially beene willing to declare in the forefront of this Chapter; Forasmuch as amongst your other good parts, and commendable qualities, that of loving amity, which you have shewen to your children, holdeth one of the first rankes. Whosoever shall understand and know the age, wherein your late husband the Lord of *Estissac* left you a Widdow, the great and honorable matches have beene offered you (as worthy and as many as to any other Lady in *France* of your condition) the constant resolution, and resolute constancie, wherewith so many yeares you have sustained, and even in spight, or athwart so manifold thorny difficulties; the charge and conduct of their affaires, which have toiled, turmoyled and removed you in all corners of *France*, and still hold you besieged; the happy and succesfull forwardnes you, which only through your wisdom or good fortune, have given them, he will easily say with mee, that in our age we have no patterne of motherly affection more exemplare, than yours. I praise God (Madam) it hath beene so well employed: For, the good hopes, which the young Lord of *Estissac*, your sonne giveth of himselfe, fore-shew an undoubted assurance, that when he shall come to yeares of discretion, you shall reape the obedience of a noble, and finde the acknowledgement of a good childe. But because, by reason of his child-hood, he could not take notice of the exceeding kindnesse and many-fold offices he hath received from you, my meaning is, that if ever these my compositions shall happily one day come into his hands (when peradventure I shall neither have mouth nor speech to declare it unto him) he receive this testimonie in all veritie from me; which shall also more lively be testified unto him by the good effects, (whereof, if so it please God, he shall have a sensible feeling) that there is no Gentleman in *France*, more indebted to his mother, than he; and that hereafter he cannot yeeld a more certaine prooffe of his goodnes, and testimonie of his vertue, than in acknowledging and confessing you for such. If there be any truly-naturall law, that is to say, any instinct, universally and perpetually imprinted, both in beasts and us, (which is not without controversie) I may, according to mine opinion, say, that next to the care, which each living creature hath to his preservation, and to flie what doth hurt him; the affection which the engenderer beareth his off-spring, holds the second place in this ranke. And forasmuch as nature seemeth to have recommended the same unto us, aiming to extend, encrease, and advance, the successive parts or parcels of this her frame. It is no wonder if back-again it is not so great from children unto fathers. This other Aristotelian consideration remembred: That *hee who doth benefite another, loveth him better than hee is beloved of him againe*: And hee to whom a debt is owing, loveth better, than hee that oweth: And every workman loveth his worke better, than hee should bee beloved of it againe, if it had sense or feeling. Forasmuch as we love to be; and being consisteth in moving and action. Therefore is every man, in some sort or other in his owne workmanship. *Whosoever doth a good deed, exerciseth a faire and honest action: Whosoever receiveth, exerciseth only a profitable action*. And profit is nothing so much to be esteemed or loved as honesty. Honesty is firme and permanent, affording him that did it, a constant gratification. Profit is very slipperie, and easily lost, nor is the memorie of it so sweet, or so fresh. Such things are dearest unto us, that have cost us most: And to give, is of more cost than to take. Since it hath pleased God to endow us with some capacite of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntary liberty apply our selves unto them; we ought somewhat to yeeld unto the simple auctoritie of Nature: but not suffer her tyrannically to carry us away: only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. As for me, my tast is strangely distasted to it's propensions, which in us are produced without the ordinance and direction of our judgement. As upon this subject I speak of, I cannot receive this passion, wherewith some embrace children scarcely borne, having neither motion in the soule, nor forme well to be distinguished in the body, whereby they might make themselves lovely or amiable. And I could never well endure to have them brought up or nursed neere about me. A true and well ordered affection.

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ought to be borne and augmented, with the knowledge they give us of themselves; and then, if they deserve it (naturall inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love and loving friendship, and conformably to judge of them if they be otherwise, alwayes yeelding our selves unto reason, notwithstanding naturall power. For the most part; it goeth cleane contrary, and commonly we feele our selves more moved with the sports, idlenesse, wantonnesse, and infant-trifles of our children, than afterward we do with all their actions, when they bee men: As if we had loved them for our pastimes, as we do apes, monkies, or perokitoes, and not as man. And some that liberally furnish them with sporting bables while they be children, will miserably pinch it in the least expence for necessities when they grow men. Nay, it seemeth that the jealousie we have to see them appeare into, and enjoy the world, when we are ready to leave them, makes us more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieveth us when we see them following us at our heeles, supposing they solícite us to be gone hence: And if we were to feare that since the order of things beareth, that they cannot indeed, neither be, nor live, but by our being and life, we should dot meddle to be fathers. As for mee, I deceme it a kind of cruelty and injustice, not to receive them into the share and society of our goods, and to admit them as Partners in the understanding of our domestical affaires (if they be once capable of it) and not to cut off and shut-up our commodities to provide for theirs, since we have engendred them to that purpose. It is meere injustice to see an old, crazed, sinnow-shronken, and nigh dead father sitting alone in a Chimny-corner, to enjoy so many goods as would suffice for the preferment and entertainment of many children, and in the meane while, for want of meanes, to suffer them to lose their best dayes and yeares, without thrusting them into publike service and knowledge of men; whereby they are often cast into dispaire, to seeke, by some way how unlawfull soever to provide for their necessities. And in my dayes, I have seene divers yong-men, of good houses so given to stealing and filching, that no correction could divert them from it. I know one very well alied, to whom, at the instance of a brother of his (a most honest, gallant, and vertuous Gentleman) I spake to that purpose, who boldly answered and confessed unto me, that only by the rigor and covetise of his father he had beene forced and driven to fall into such lewdnesse and wickednesse. And even at that time he came from stealing certaine jewels from a Lady, in whose bed-chamber he fortun'd to come with certaine other Gentlemen when she was rising, and had almost beene taken. He made me remember a tale I had heard of another Gentleman, from his youth so fashioned and inclined to this goodly trade of pilfering, that coming afterward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods, resolved to give over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if he chanced to come neere a shop, where he saw anything he stood in need of) not chuse but steale the same, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene diverse so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions, they would ordinarily steale such things, as they would restore againe. I am a Gascoine, and there is no vice wherein I have lesse skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion, than I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as desire another mans goods.

And although my Countrey-men be indeed somewhat more taxed with this fault, than other Provinces of *France*, yet have we seene of late dayes, and that sundry times, men well borne and of good parentage in other parts of *France*, in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion that in regard of these debauches and lewd actions, fathers may, in some sort, be blamed, and that it is only long of them. And if any shall answer mee, as did once a Gentleman of good worth and understanding, that he thriftily endeavoured to hoard up riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any use and commodity of them, than to be honoured, respected and suingly sought unto by his friends and kinsfolkes, and that age having bereaved him of all other forces, it was the onely remedy he had left to maintaine himselfe in authority with his household, and keepe him from falling into contempt and disdain of all the world. And truly according to *Aristotle*, not only old-age, but each imbecillity, is the promoter, and motive of covetousnesse. That is something, but it is a remedy for an evill, whereof the birth should have beene hindered, and breeding avoyded. That father may truly be said miserable, that holdeth the affection of his children tied unto him by no other meanes than by the need they have of his helpe, or want of his assistance, if that may be termed affection: *A man should yeeld him-  
selfe*



selfe respectable by vertue and sufficiency, and amiable by his goodnesse, and gentlenesse of manners. The very cinders of so rich a matter, have their value: so have the bones and reliques of honourable men, whom we hold in respect and reverence. No age can be so crazed and drooping in a man that hath lived honourably, but must needs prove venerable, and especially unto his children, whose mindes ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdom, not necessity and need, nor rudenesse and compulsion, may make them know and performe their dutie.

— & errat longe, mea quidem sententia;  
*Qui imperium credat esse gravitas aut stabilis;  
 Vi quod sit, quam illud quod amicitia adiungitur.*

Ter. Adelph. act.  
 1. sc. 1. 39.

In mine opinion he doth much mistake,  
 Who, that command more grave, more firme doth take,  
 Which forcedoth get, than that which friendships make.

I utterly condemne all manner of violence in the education of a young spirit, brought up to honour and liberty. There is a kind of slavishnesse in churlish-rigor, and servility in compulsion; and I hold, that *that which cannot be compassed by reason, wisdom and discretion, can never be attained by force and constrain.* So was I brought up: they tell mee, that in all my youth, I never felt rod but twice, and that very lightly. And what education I have had my selfe, the same have I given my children. But such is my ill hap, that they dye all very yong: yet hath *Leonora* my only daughter escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six yeares, and somewhat more: for the conduct of whose youth, and punishment of her childish faults (the indulgence of her mother applying it selfe very mildly unto it) was never other meanes used but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate, there are diverse other causes to take hold of, without reproving my discipline, which I know to be just and naturall. I would also have beene much more religious in that towards male-children, nor borne to serve as women, and of a freer condition. I should have loved to have stored their minde with ingenuity and liberty. I have seene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens mindes more remisse, or more maliciously head-strong. Desire we to be loved of our children? Will we remove all occasions from them to with our death? (although no occasion of so horrible and unnaturall wishes, can either be just or excusable) *nullum scelus rationem habet*; no ill deed hath a good reason.

Let us reasonably accommodate their life, with such things as are in our power. And therefore should not we marry so young, that our age do in a manner confound it selfe with theirs. For, this inconvenience doth unavoidably cast us into many difficulties, and encombrances. This I speake, chiefly unto nobility, which is of an idle disposition, or loitering condition, and which (as we say) liveth only by her lands or rents: for else, where life standeth upon gain; plurality and company of children is an easfull furtherance of husbandry. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty yeares of age, and commend the opinion of thirty-five, which is said to be *Aristoteles*. *Plato* would have no man married before thirty, and hath good reason to scotte at them that will defer it till after fifty-five, and then marry; and condemneth their breed as unworthy of life and sustenance. *Thales* appointed the best limits, who by his mother, being instantly urged to marry whilest he was young, answered that it was not yet time; and when he came to be old, he said, it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunity to every importunate action. The ancient *Gauls* deemed it a shamefull reproach, to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeares; and did especially recomend unto men that sought to be trained up in warres, the carefull preservation of their maiden-head, untill they were of good yeares, forsomuch as by losing it in youth, courages are thereby much weakened and greatly empaired, and by copulation with women, diverted from all vertuous action.

*Ma hor cogiunto à gio vinetta sposa,  
 Lieto homai de' figli' era irvilito  
 Ne gli affetti di padre & di marito.*  
 But now conjoyn'd to a fresh-springing spouse,  
 Joy'd in his children, he was thought-abased,  
 In passions twixt a Sire, and husband placed.

*Muleasses* King of *Thunes*, he whom the Emperour *Charles* the fifth restored unto his



owne state againe, was wont to upbraid his fathers memorie, for so dissolutely-frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children. The Greeke story doth note *Iecus* the *Tarentine*, *Chryso*, *Astylus*, *Diopomus* and others, who to keep their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympicke courses, wrestlings and such bodily exercises, they did, as long as they were possessed with that care, heedelessly abstaine from all venerian acts, and touching of women. In a certaine country of the Spanish *Indies*, no man was suffered to take a wife, before he were fortie yeares old, and women might marry at ten yeares of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeares, should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then is the father as seemely, and may aswell appeare, and set himselfe forward, in all manner of voyages of warres, aswell by land as sea, and doe his Prince as good service, in court, or elsewhere, as his sonne: He hath need of all his parts, and ought truly to impart them, but so, that he forget not himselfe for others: And to such may justly that answer serve, which fathers have commonly in their mouthes: *I will not put off my clothes before I be ready to goe to bed.* But a father over-burthend with yeares, and crazed through sicknesse, and by reason of weaknesse and want of health, barred from the common societie of men, doth both wrong himselfe, injure his, idely and to no use to hoord up, and keepe close a great heape of riches, and deale of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. I will not say to his shirt, but to a good warme night-gowne, As for other pompe and trash whereof hee hath no longer use or need; hee ought willingly to distribute and bestow them amongst those, to whom by naturall decree they ought to belong. It is reason he should have the use, and bequeath the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwise without doubt there is both envy and malice stirring. The worthiest action, that ever the Emperour *Charles* the fifth performed was this, in imitation of some ancients of his quality, that he had the discretion to know, that reason commanded us, to strip or shift our selves when our cloathes trouble and are too heavy for us, and that it is high time to goe to bed, when our legs faile us. He resigned his meanes, his greatnesse and Kingdome to his Sonne, at what time he found his former undanted resolution to decay, and force to conduct his affaires, to droope in himselfe, together with the glory he had thereby acquired.

Hor. 1. l. ep. 1. 8.

*Solve senescerem mature sanus equum, ne  
Pescet ad extremum ridendum, & ilia ducat.*

If you be wise, the horse growne-old betimes cast-off,  
Lest he at last fall lame, foulter, and breed a skoffie.

This fault, for a man not to be able to know himselfe betimes, and not to feele the impuissance and extreme alteration, that age doth naturally bring, both to the body and the minde (which in mine opinion is equall, if the minde have but one halfe) hath lost the reputation of the most part of the greatest men in the world. I have in my dayes both seene and familiarly knowen some men of great authority, whom a man might easily discern, to be strangely fallen from that ancient sufficiency, which I know by the reputation they had thereby attained unto in their best yeares. I could willingly for their honors sake have wisht them at home about their owne buisnesse, discharged from all negotiations of the common-wealth and employments of war, that were no longer fit for them. I have sometimes beene familiar in a Gentlemans house, who was both an old man and a widdower, yet lusty of his age. This man had many daughters marriageable, and a sonne growne to mans state, and ready to appeare in the world; a thing that drew-on, and was the cause of great charges, and many visitations, wherein he tooke but little pleasure, not only for the continuall care hee had to save, but more by reason of his age, hee had betaken himselfe to a manner of life farre different from ours. I chanced one day to tell him somewhat boldly (as my custome is) that it would better becom him to give us place, and resigne his chiefe house to his sonne (for he had no other mannor-house conveniently well furnished) and quietly retire himselfe to some farme of his, where no man might trouble him, or disturbe his rest, since he could not otherwise avoid our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell, and found great ease by it. It is not to be said, that they have anything given them by such a way of obligation, which a man may not recall againe: I, that am ready to play such a part, would give over unto them the full possession of my house,



house, and enjoying of my goods; but with such libertie and limited condition, as if they should give me occasion, I might repent my selfe of my gift, and revoke my deed. I would leave the use and fruition of all unto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weald the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in grosse, I would reserve what I pleased unto my selfe. Having ever judged, that it must be a great contentment to an aged father, himselfe to direct his children in the government of his household affaires, and to be able whilst himselfe liveth, to checke and controule the demeanors, storing them with instruction and advised counsell, according to the experience he hath had of them, and himselfe to adreſſe the ancient honour and order of his house in the hands of his successours, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after successe. And to this effect, I would not shun their company. I would not be far from them, but as much as the condition of my age would permit, enjoy and be a partner of their sports, mirths, and feasts, if I did not continually live amongst them (as I could not wel without offending their meetings and hindering their recreation, by reason of the peevish fro-wauness of my age, and the trouble of my infirmities, and also without forcing their rules, and resisting the forme of life, I should then follow) I would at least live neere them, in some corner of my house, not the best and fairest in the view, but the most easfull and commodious. And not as some yeares since, I saw a Deane of *S. Hillarie* of Poitiers, reduced by reason and the incommodie of his melancholy to such a continuall solitarinesse, that when I entered into his chamber he had never removed one step out of it in two and twenty yeares before: yet had all his faculties free and easie, onely a rheume excepted that fell into his stomacke. Scarſe once a weeke would he suffer any body to come & see him. Hee would ever be shut up in his chamber all alone, where no man should come, except a boy, who once a day brought him meat, and who might not tarry there, but as soone as he was in, must goe out againe. All his exercise was sometimes to walke up and downe his chamber, and now and then reade on some booke (for he had some understanding of letters) but obstinately refused to live and dye in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endeavour by a kinde of constant and milde conversation, to breede and settle in my children a true-harted friendship, and unfained good wil towards me. A thing easily obtained amongst the mindes; For, if they prove, or be such surly-furcus beasts, or given to churlish obedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as beasts be hated, as churlish neglected, and as degenerate avoided. I have this custome, to forbid children to call their fathers father, and to teach them another strangename, as of more reverence: As if nature had not sufficiently provided for our authoritie. We call God-almighty by the name of father, and likewise our children should call us so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne household. It is also folly and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiaritie, and ever to shew them a surly, austere, grim, and disdainfull countenance, hoping thereby to keepethem in awfull feare and dutious obedience. For, it is a very unprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrkesome unto children; and which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strength in their hands, and consequently, the breath and favour of the world: and doe with mockerie and contempt receive these churlish fierces, and tyrannicall countenances, from a man that hath no lusty blood left him, neither in his heart, nor in his vaines; meeke bug-beares, and fear-crowes, to feare birdes with all. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sorts of defect in age, and so much impuissance: It is so subject to contempt, that the best purchase it can make, is the good will, love and affection of hers. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowen one whose youth had bene very imperious and rough, but when he came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chafeth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boistrous and tempestuous matter of *France*, he frets and consumes himselfe with carke and care and vigilancy (al which is but a jugling and ground for his familiar to play upon, and cozen him the more) as for his goods, his garners, his cellers, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keepe the keyes of them close in his bosome, and under his boulder, as charily as he doth his eyes, other enjoy and command the better part of them; whilst he pleaseth and flattereth himselfe, with the niggardly sparing of his table, all goth to wracke, and is lavishly wasted in divers corners of his house, in play, in riotous spending,



and in soothingly entertaining the accompts or tales of his vaine chafing, foresight and providing. Every man watcheth and keepeth sentinell against him, if any silly or heedlesse servant doe by fortune apply himselfe unto it, he is presently made to suspect him: A quality on which age doth immediately bite of it selfe. How many times hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe told me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandry, of the awe he kept his household in, and of the exact obedience, and regardfull reverence he received of all his family, and how cleare-sighted he was in his owne businesse:

Ter. Adel act. 4.  
scen. 2. 9.

*Ille solus nescit omnia.*  
Of all things none but he,  
Most ignorant must be.

I know no man that could produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, fit to preserve his masterie, and to maintaine his absolutenesse, than he doth; yet is hee cleane false from them like a childe. Therefore have I made choice of him, amongst many such conditions that I know, as most exemplare. It were a matter becomming a scholasticall question, whether it be better so, or otherwise. In his presence all things give place unto him. This vaine course is ever left unto his authority, that he is never gaine-said. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleev'd, he is respected his belly-full. Doth he discharge any boy or servant? he presently trusseth up his packe, then is he gone; but whither? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are so slow, the senses so troubled, the minde so distracted, that he shall live and doe his office, a whole yeare in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fit time or occasion serveth, Letters are produced from farre places, humbly suing, and pittifully complayning, with promises to doe better, and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office againe. Doth the master make any bargaine, or dispatch that pleaseth not? it is immediatly smothered and suppressed, soone after forging causes, and devising colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer, No forraigne Letters being first presented unto him, he seeth but such as are fit for his knowledge. If peradventure they come unto his hands, as he that trusteth some one of his men to reade them unto him, he will presently devise what he thinketh good, whereby they often invent, that such a one seemeth to aske him forgiveness, that wrongeth him by his Letter. To conclude, he never lookes into his owne businesse, but by a disposed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not stirre up his choler, move his impatience, and exasperate his frowardnesse. I have scene under different formes, many long and constant, and of like effect oeconomies. It is ever proper unto women, to be readily bent to contradict and crosse their husbands. They will with might and maine hand over head, take hold of any colour to thwart and withstand them: the first excuse they meet with, serves them as a plenary justification. I have scene some, that would in grosse steale from their husbands, to the end (as they told their Confessors) they might give the greater almes. Trust you to such religious dispensations. They thinke no liberty to have, or managing to possesse sufficient authority, if it come from their husbands consent: They must necessarily usurpe it, either by wily craft or maine force, and ever injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and authoritie. As in my Discourse, when it is against a poore old man, and for children, then take they hold of this Title, and therewith gloriously serve their turne and passion, and as in a common servitude, easily usurpe and monopolize against his government and domination. If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit and forward, then they presently suborne, either by threats, force or favour, both Steward, Bailiffe, Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers, and Servant. Such as have neither wife nor children, doe more hardly fall into this mischiefe: but yet more cruelly and unworthily. Old Cato was wont to say, *So many servants, so many enemies.* Note whether according to the distance, that was betwene the purity of his age, and the corruption of our times, he did not fore-warne us, that *Wives, Children, and Servants are to us so many enemies.* Well fits it decrepitude to store us with the sweet benefit of ignorance and unperceiving facility where-with we are deceived.

If we did yeeld unto it, what would become of us? Doe we not see that even then, if we have any suits in law, or matters to be decided before Judges, both Lawyers and Judges, will commonly take part with, and favour our childrens causes against us, as men interessed in the same? And if I chance not to spy, or plainly perceive how I am cheated, cozened and beguiled,



beguiled, I must of necessity discover in the end, how I am subject and may be cheated, be-  
 guiled, and cozened. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to expatiate the invaluable  
 worth of a friend, in comparison of these civill bonds? The lively image and Idea whereof,  
 I perceive to be amongst beasts so unsupported. Oh with what religion doe I respect and ob-  
 serve the same! If others deceive me, yet do I not deceive my selfe, to esteeme my selfe capa-  
 ble, and of power to looke vnto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yeeld my selfe vnto  
 it. I doe beware and keepe my selfe from such treasons, and cunny-catching in mine owne  
 bosome, not by an vnquiet, and tumultuary curiosity, but rather by a diversion and resolu-  
 tion. When I heare the state of any one reported or discoursed of, I amuse not my selfe on  
 him, but presently cast mine eyes on my selfe, and all my wits together, to see in what state I  
 am, and how it goeth with me. Whatsoever concerneth him, the same hath relation to me.  
 His fortunes forewarne me, and summon vp my spirits that way. *There is no day nor houre,*  
*but we speake that of others, we might properly speake of our selves, could we as well unfold, as we*  
*can unfold our consideration.* And many Authours doe in this manner wound the protection of  
 their cause, by over-rashly running against that which they take hold-of, thrusting such darts  
 at their enemies, that might with much more advantage be cast at them. The Lord of *Mon-*  
*Inc*, late one of the Lord Marshalls of *France*, having lost his sonne, who died in the Island of  
*Madera*, a worthy, forward and gallant young gentleman, and truly of good hope; amongst  
 other his griefes and regrets, did greatly move me to condole, the infinite displeasure and  
 hearts-sorrow that he felt, inasmuch as he had never communicated and opened himselfe  
 vnto him: for, with his austere humour and continuall endeavoring to hold a grimme, stem-  
 fatherly gravity over him, he had lost the meanes, perfectly to finde and throughly to know  
 his sonne, and so to manifest vnto him the extreme affection he bare him, and the worthy  
 judgement he made of his vertue. Alas (was he wont to say) the poore lad saw never any  
 thing in me, but a severe-surly-countenance, full of disdain, and haply was possessed with  
 this conceit, that I could neither love nor esteeme him according to his merits. Ay-me, to  
 whom did I reserve, to discover that singular and loving affection, which in my soule I bare  
 vnto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleasure and acknowledgement there-  
 of? I have forced and tormented my selfe to maintaine this vaine maske, and have vtterly  
 lost the pleasure of his conversation, and therewithal his good will, which surely was but faint-  
 ly cold towards me, forso much as he never received but rude entertainment of mee, and ne-  
 ver felt but a tyrannical proceeding in me towards him. I am of opinion, his complaint was  
 reasonable and well grounded. For, as I know by certaine experience, there is no comfort so  
 sweet in the losse of friends, as that our owne knowledge or conscience tels vs, we never o-  
 mitted to tell them everything, and expostulate all matters vnto them, and to have had a  
 perfect and free communication with them. Tell me my good friend, am I the better or the  
 worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His griefe doth both comfort and  
 honour mee. Is it not a religious and pleasing office of my life, for ever to make the obse-  
 quies thereof? Can there be any pleasure worth this privation? I doe unfold and open my  
 self as much as I can to mine owne people, and willingly declare the state of my will and judg-  
 ment toward them, as commonly I doe towards all men: I make haste to produce and pre-  
 sent my selfe, for I would have no man mistake me, in what part soever. Amongst other  
 particular customes, which our ancient Gaules had, (as *Cesar* affirmeth) this was one, that  
 children never came before their fathers, nor were in any publike assembly seene in their  
 company, but when they began to beare armes; as if they would infer, that then was the  
 time, fathers should admit them to their acquaintance and familiarity. I have also observed  
 another kinde of indiscretion in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life, would  
 never be induced to acquaint or impart vnto their children, that share or portion, which by  
 the Law of Nature, they were to have in their fortunes: Nay, some there are, who after  
 their death bequeath and commit the same auctority, over them and their goods, vnto  
 their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleasure. And my selfe have  
 knowen a Gentleman, a chiefe officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession  
 (had he lived vnto it) was to inherit above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who  
 at the age of more then fifty yeeres fell into such necessity and want, and was run so farre in  
 debt, that he had nothing left him, and as it is supposed died for very need; whilest his mo-  
 ther in her extreme decrepitude, enjoyed all his lands and possessed all his goods, by vertue



of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very neere foure-score years. A thing (in my conceit) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinke, that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate, who is able to liue of himselfe, and is out of debt, especially if he have children, and goeth about to marry a wife, that must have a great joynter out of his lands, assuredly there is no other debt, that brings more ruine vnto houses then that. My predecessors have commonly followed this counsell, and so have I, and all have found good by it. But those that dissuade vs from marrying of rich wives, lest they might prooue over disdainfull and peevish, or lesse tractable and loving, are also deceived to make vs neglect and for-goe a reall commoditie, for so frivolous a conjecture. To an unreasonable woman, it is all one cost to her, whether they passe vnder one reason, or vnder another. *They love to be where they are most wronged.* Injustice doth allure them; as the honour of their vertuous actions enticeth the good. And by how much richer they are, so much more milde and gentle are they: as more willingly and gloriously chaste, by how much fairer they are. Some colour of reason there is, men should leave the administration of their goods and affaires vnto mothers, whilst their children are not of competent age, or fit according to the lawes to manage the charge of them: And ill hath their father brought them vp, if he cannot hope, these comming to yeares of discretion, they shal have no more wit, reason, and sufficiencie, than his wife, considering the weaknesse of their sexe. Yet truly were it as much against nature, so to order things, that mothers must wholly depend of their childrens discretion. They ought largely and competently to be provided, wherewith to maintaine their estate, according to the quality of their house and age: because *need and want is much more unseemely and hard to be indured in women, than in men:* And children rather than mothers ought to be charged therewith. In generall, my opinion is, that the best distribution of goods, is when we die, to distribute them according to the custome of the Country. The Lawes have better thought vpon them than we: And better it is to let them erre in their election, than for vs rashly to hazard to faile in ours. They are not properly our owne, since without vs, and by a civil prescription, they are appointed to certaine successours. And albeit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should be a great and most apparant cause to induce vs to take from one, and barre him from that, which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common Lawes and Iustice hath called him unto: And that against reason wee abuse this liberty, by furing the same unto our priuate humours and frivolous fantasies. My fortune hath bene good, inasmuch as yet it never presented mee with any occasions, that might tempt or divert my affections from the common and lawful ordinance. I see some, towards whom it is but labour lost, carefully to endeavour to doe any good offices. *A word ill taken defaceth the merit of ten yeeres.* Happy he, that at this last passage is ready to sooth and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freshest and present worke the deed. They are people that play with their wils and testaments, as with apples and rods, to gratifie or chastize every action of those who pretend any interest thereunto. It is a matter of over-long pursure, and of exceeding consequence, at every instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wiser sort establish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason, and publike observance. We somewhat over-much take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a ridiculous eternitie unto our names. We also over-weight such vaine future conjectures, which infant-spirits give-vs. It might peradventure have bene deemed injustice, to displace me from out my rancke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the vnwillingest, and most leaden-pated to learne my lesson or any good, that ever was, not onely of all my brethren, but of all the children in my Countrey; were the lesson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is follie to trie any extraordinary conclusions vpon the trust of their divinations, wherein we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicted, and the destinies corrected, in the choice they have made of our heires, with so much more appareance, may it be done in consideration of some remarkable and enormous corporall deformitie; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to vs great esteemers of beautie; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasant dialogue of Plato the law-giver, with his citizens, will much honor this passage. Why then (say they) perceiving their end to approach, shall we not dispose of that which is our owne, to whom and according as we please? Oh Gods what cruelty is this? That it shall not be law full for us, to give or bequeath more or lesse according to our fantasies, to such as have served



served us, and taken paines with us in our sicknesses, in our age, and in our busines? To whom the Law-giver answereth in this manner; My friends (saith he) who doubtlesse shall shortly see, it is a hard matter for you, both to know your selves, and what is yours, according to the *Delphike* inscription: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither your selves are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, past and to come, belong to your familie; and moreover both your families and your goods are the common wealths: Wherefore, lest any flatterer, either in your age, or in time of sickness, or any other passion, should vnadvisedly induce you to make any unlawfull conveyance or unjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from it. But having an especiall respect both to the universall interest of your Citie, and particular state of your houses, I will establish lawes, and by reason make you perceive and confesse that a particular commoditie ought to yeeld to a publike benefit. Follow that course meerely, whereto humane necessitie doth call you. To me it belongeth, who have no more regard to one thing, than to another, and who as much as I can, take care for the general, to have a regardfull respect of that which you leave behind you. But to returne to my former discourse, methinks, we seldome see that woman borne, to whom the superioritie or majestie over men is due, except the motherly and naturall; vlesse it be for the chastisement of such, as by some fond-febricitant humor have voluntarily submitted themselves unto them: But that doth nothing concerne old women, of whom we speake here. It is the apparence of this consideration, hath made us to frame, and willingly to establish this law (never seene elsewhere) that barreth women from the succession of this crowne, and there are few principalities in the world, where it is not alleaged, as well as here, by a likely and apparant reason, which authoriseth the same. But fortune hath given more credit unto it in some places, than in other some. It is dangerous to leave the dispensation of our succession unto their judgement, according to the choise they shall make of their children, which is most commonly unjust and fantastical. For, the same unrulie appetite, and distasted relish, or strange longings, which they have when they are great with child, the same have they at all times in their minds. They are commonly seene to affect the weakest, the simplest and most abject, or such (if they have any) that had more need to sucke. For, wanting reasonable discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought, they rather suffer themselves to be directed, where natures impressions are most single, as other creatures, which take no longer knowledge of their young ones, than they are sucking. Moreover, experience doth manifestly shew unto us, that the same naturall affection, to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very small gaine, we early take mothers owne children from them and induce them to take charge of ours; Doe we not often procure them to bequeath their children to some fond, filthy, fluttish, and vnhaltie nurse, to whom we would be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish Goat, not onely forbidding them to nurse and feed their owne children (what danger soever may betide them) but also to have any care of them, to the end they may the more diligently follow, and carefully attend the service of ours? Whereby wee soone see through custome a certaine kinde of bastard-affection to be engendred in them, more vehement than the naturall, and to be much more tender and carefull for the welfare and preservation of other mens children, than for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of Goats, is, because it is an ordinarie thing round about me where I dwell, to see the cuntry women, when they have not milke enough to feed their infants with their owne breasts, to call for Goats to helpe them. And my selfe have now two lackies wayting upon me, who except it were eight daies never sucke other milke than Goats; They are presently to come at call, and give young infants sucke, and become so well acquainted with their voice, that when they heare them crie, they runne forthwith unto them. And if by chance they have any other child put to their teats, than their nursing, they refuse and reject him, and so doth the childe a strange Goat. My selfe saw that one not long since, from whom the father tooke a Goat, which he had sucked two or three daies, because he had but borrowed it of one of his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died; and as I verily thinke, of inere hunger. *Beasts as well as we doe soone alter, and easily bastardize their naturall affection.* I beleeve, that in that, which *Herodorus* reporteth of a certaine province of *Libia*, there often followeth great error and mistaking. He saith, that men doe indifferently use, and as it were in common frequent women;



And that the childe as soone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemne meetings and great assemblies, led by a naturall instinct, findeth out his owne father: where being turned loose in the midst of the multitude, looke what man the childe doth first address his steps unto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shall duly consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them, for which we call them our other selves. It seemes there is another production coming from us, and which is of no lesse recommendation and consequence. For what we engender by the minde, the fruits of our courage, sufficiency, or spirit, are brought forth by a far more noble part, than the corporall, and are more our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation: such fruits cost us much dearer, and bring us more honour, and chiefly if they have any good or rare thing in them. For the value of our other children, is much more theirs, than ours. The share we have in them is but little; but of these all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore doe they represent, and resemble us much more lively than others. *Plato* addeth moreover, that these are immortall issues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and desie them, as *Licurgus*, *Solon*, and *Minos*. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it amisse to set downe some choice one of this kinde. *Heliodorus* that good Bishop of *Tricea*, loved rather to lose the dignity, profit and devotion of so venerable a Prelateship, than to for-goe his daughter, a young woman to this day commended for her beaurie, but haply somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked-up than becomed the daughter of a churchman and a Bishop, and of over-amorous behaviour. There was one *Labienus* in *Rome*, a man of great worth and authority, and amongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all manner of learning, who (as I thinke) was the sonne of that great *Labienus*, chiefe of all the captaines that followed and were under *Cesar* in the warres against the *Gauls*, and who afterward taking great *Pompeys* part, behaved himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him untill *Cesar* defeated him in *Spain*. This *Labienus* of whom I spake, had many that envied his vertues; But above all (as it is likely) courtiers, and such as in his time were favored of the Emperors, who hated his franknesse, his fatherly humors, and distaste he bare still against tyrannie, wherewith it may be supposed he had stuffed his bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehemently pursued him before the Magistrate of *Rome*, and prevailed so far, that many of his works which he had published were condemned to be burned. He was the first on whom this new example of punishment was put in practice, which after continued long in *Rome*, and was executed on divers others, to punish learning, studies, and writings with death and consuming fire. There were neither meanes enough, or matter sufficient of crueltie, unlesse we had entermingled amongst them things, which nature hath exempted from all sense and sufferance, as reputation, and the inventions of our minde: and except we communicated corporall mischiefs unto disciplines and monuments of the Muses. Which losse *Labienus* could not endure, nor brooke to survive those his deare, and highly-esteemed issues: And therefore caused himselfe to be carried, and shut up alive within his auncestors monument, where, with a dreadlesse resolution, he at once provided, both to kill himselfe and be buried together. It is hard to shew any more vehement fatherly affection, than that. *Cassius Severus*, a most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, seeing his Bookes burnt, exclaimed, that by the same sentence hee should therewithall be condemned to be burned alive, for hee still bare and kept in minde, what they contained in them. A like accident happened to *Germanicus Cordus*, who was accused to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius* in his Bookes. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and worthie of a farre worse matter than *Tiberius*, adjudged his writings to be consumed by fire. And he was pleased to accompany them in their death; for, he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meat. That notable man, *Lucano*, being adjudged by that lewd varlet *Nero* to death; at the latter end of his life, when all his blood was well-nigh spent from out the veines of his arme, which by his Physitian he had caused to be opened, to hasten his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the uttermost parts of his limbes, and approach his vital spirits, the last thing he had in memory, was some of his owne verses, written in his booke of the *Pharsalian* warres, which with a distinct voice hee repeated, and so yeilded up the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farewell which he tooke of his children? representing the last



last adiewes, and parting imbraceiments, which at our death we give vnto our dearest issues? And an effect of that naturall inclination, which in that last extremity puts us in minde of those things, which in our life-time we have held dearest and most precious? Shall we imagine that *Epicurus*, who (as himselfe said) dying tormented with the extreme paine of the chollik, had all his comfort in the beauty of the doctrine which he left behinde him in the world, would have received as much contentment of a number of well-borne, and better-bred children (if he had had any) as he did of the production of his rich compositions? And if it had beene in his choise, to leave behind him, either a counterfeit, deformed, or ill-borne childe, or a foolish, triviall, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world besides of like learning and sufficiency, would much rather have chesen to incurre the former than the later mischiefe. It might peradventure be deemed impiety, in Saint *Augustine* (for example sake) if on the one part one should propose unto him, to bury all his bookes, whence our religion receiveth so much good, or to interie his children (if in case he had any) that he would not rather chuse to bury his children, or the issue of his loynes, than the fruits of his minde. And I wot not well, whether my selfe should not much rather desire to beget and produce a perfectly-well-shaped, and excellently-qualified infant, by the acquaintance of the Muses, than by the copulation of my wife. Whatsoever I give to this, let the world allow of it as it please, I give it as purely and irrevocable, as any man can give to his corporal children. That little good which I have done him, is no longer in my disposition. He may know many things, that my selfe know no longer, and hold of me what I could not hold my selfe: and which (if need should require) I must borrow of him as of a stranger. If I be wiser than he, he is richer than I. There are few men given unto Poesie, that would not esteeme it for a greater honour, to be the fathers of *Virgils Aeneidos*, than of the goodliest boy in *Rome*, and that would not rather endure the losse of the one than the perishing of the other. For, according to *Aristotle*. Of all workemen, the Poet is principally the most amorous of his productions and conceits of his Labours. It is not easie to be beleev'd, that *Epaminondas*, who wanted to leave some daughters behind him, which unto all posterity, should one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories, which he had gained of the Lacedæmoniâs) would ever have given his free consent, to change them, with the best-borne, most gorgeous, and goodliest damfels of all *Greece*: or that *Alexander*, and *Cesar*, did ever wish to be deprived of the greatnesse of their glorious deeds of warre, for the commodity to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how absolutely-perfect, and well accomplished to ever they might be. Nay, I make a great question, whether *Phidias* or any other excellent Statuary, would as highly esteeme, and dearly love the preservation, and successful continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and match-lesse-wrought Image, that with long study, and diligent care he had perfected according unto art. And as concerning those vicious and furious passions, which sometimes have inflamed some fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their sonnes; the very same, and more partially, earnest is also found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and alliance. Witnesse that which is reported of *Pigmalion*, who having curiously framed a goodly statue, of a most singularly-beauteous woman, was so strange-fondly, and passionately surpris'd with the lustfull love of his owne workmanship, that the Gods through his raging importunity were faine in favour of him to give it life.

*Tentatum mollescit ebur, postoque rigore  
Subsidit digitis.*

As he assaid it, thy yvorie softened much,  
And (hardnesse left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

*Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 10. 283.*

## CHAP. IX.

### Of the Parthians Armes.

IT is a vicious, fond fashion of the Nobility and Gentry of our age, and full of nice-tenderness, never to betake themselves to armes, except upon some urgent and extreme necessity:



Liv. dec. 1. l. 10.

Virg. Æn. lib.  
744.

fatig; and to quit them as soone as they perceive the least hope or apparance, that the danger is past: Whence ensue many disorders, and inconveniences: For, every one running and calling for his armes when the alarum is given, some have not yet buckled their cuirace, when their fellowes are already defeated. Indeed our forefathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gantlets, and Shields carried, but so long as the service lasted, themselves would never leave-off their other peeces. Our troopes are now all confounded and disordered, by reason of bag and baggage, of carriages, of lackies, and foot-boies, which because of their masters armes they carry, can never leave them. *Titus Livius*, speaking of the French, saith, *Intolerantissima laboris corpora vix arma humeris gerebant. Their bodies most impatient of labour could hardly beare armour on their backs.* Divers Nations, as they did in former times, so yet at this day, are seene to goe to the warres, without any thing about them, or if they had, it was of no defence; but were all naked and bare.

*Tegmina queis capitum raptus de subere cortex.*  
Whose caske to cover all their head,  
Was made of barke from Corke-tree flea'd.

*Alexander* the most daring and hazardous Captain that ever was, did very seldome arme himselfe: And those which amongst us neglect them, doe not thereby much empaire their reputation. If any man chance to be slaine for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscary with the over-heavy burthen of their armes, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbuffe are brused, or otherwise defeated. For in truth to see the unweildy weight of our and their thicknesse, it seemeth we but endeavour to defend our selves, and we are rather charged than covered by them. We have enough to doe, to endure the burthen of them, and are so engived and shackled in them, as if we were to fight but with the shooke or brunt of our armes: And as if we were as much bound to defend them, as they to shield us. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth pleasantly quip and jest at the men of war of our ancient Gaules, so armed, only to maintaine themselves, as they that have no meane, either to offend or to be offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. *Lucullus* seeing certaine Median men at armes, which were in the front of *Tigranes* Army, heavily and vnweildily armed, as in an iron prison, apprehended thereby an opinion, that he might easily defeat them, and began to charge them first, and got the victory. And now that our Muskettiers, are in such credit, I thinke we shall have some invention found to immure us up, that so we may be warranted from them, and to traine us to the warres in Skonces and Bastions, as those which our fathers caused to be carried by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of *Scipio* the younger, who sharply reprooved his souldiers, because they had scattered certaine Calthrops under the water alongst a dike, by which those of the Towne that he besieged might sally out upon him, saying; that those which assailed, should resolve to enterprize and not to feare: And had some reason to feare, that this provision might secure and lull their vigilancy asleepe to guard themselves. Moreover he said to a young man, that shewed him a faire shield he had; Indeed good youth, it is a faire one, but a Roman souldier ought to have more confidence in his right hand, than in his left. It is onely custome that makes the burthen of our armes intolerable unto us.

Ariosto Or. can.  
12. Stan. 30.

*L'usbergo in dosso haveano, & l'elmo in testa,*  
*Due di quelli guerrier de i quali io canto.*  
*Ne notte o di dopo ch'entraro in questa*  
*Stanza, gl'havean mai messi da canto;*  
*Che facile à portar come la vesta*  
*Eralor, perche in uso l'havean canto.*  
Cuirasse on backe did those two warriors beare,  
And caske on head, of whom I make report,  
Nor day, nor night, after they entred there,  
Had they them laid aside from their support:  
They could with ease them as a garment weare,  
For long time had they usde them in such sort.

The Emperour *Caracalla* in leading of his Army was ever wont to march afoot armed at all assaies. The Roman footmen caried not their morions, sword and target only, as for other armes (saith *Cicero*) they were so accustomed to weare them continually, that they hindered them



them no more than their limbs: *Arma enim, membra militis esse dicunt*: for they say armor and weapon, are a souldiers limbs. But therewithal such victuals as they should need for a fortnight and a certaine number of stakes, to make their rampards or palisadoes with; so much as weighed threescore pound weight. And *Marinus* his souldiers thus laden, marching in battal-array, were taught to march five leagues in five houres, yea six if need required. Their military discipline was much more laboursome than ours: So did it produce far different effects. *Scipio* the younger reforming his army in *Spaine*, appointed his souldiers to eat no meat but standing, and nothing sodden or roasted. It is worth the remembrance how a Lacedemonian souldier being in an expedition of warre, was much noted and blamed, because hee was once seene to seeke for shelter vnder a house: They were so hardened to endure all manner of labour and toyle, that it was counted a reprochfull infamy for a souldier to be seene vnder any other rooffe than that of heavens vault, in what weather soever: Were we to doe so, we should never lead our men far. *Marcellinus* a man well trained in the Roman wars, doth curiously observe the manner which the Parthians vsed to arme themselves, and noteth it so much the more, by how much it was far different from the Romans. They had (saith he) certaine armes so curiously enter-wrought as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the stirring of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them, did rather rebound, or glance by, than hurt them (they be the scales our ancestors were so much wont to vse.) In another place, they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, couered with thicke hides and themselves armed from head to foot, with massie iron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the stirring. A man would have said, they had been men made of yron: For they had peeces so handsomly fitted and so lively representing the forme and parts of the face; that there was no way to wound them, but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinckes about their nostrils, by which they hardly drew breath.

*Flexilis inductis hamatur lamina membris,  
Horribilis visu, credas simulacra moveri  
Ferreâ, cognatoque viros spirare metallo.  
Par Vestitus equis, ferrata fronte minatur,  
Ferratosque mouent securi vulneris armos.  
The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,  
Fearefull to sight, Steele images seem'd lead,  
And men to breathe in mettall with them bred,  
Like furniture for horse, with steeled head,  
They threat, and safe from wound,  
With barr'd limbs tread the ground;*

*Glaud. in Russ.  
l. 1. 358.*

Loc-heere a description, much resembling the equipage of a compleat French-man at armes, with all his bards. *Plutarke* reporteth that *Demetrius* caused two Armours to be made, each one weighing six score pounds, the one for himselfe, the other for *Alcinus*, the chiefe man of war, that was next to him, whereas all common Armours weighed but threescore.

## CHAP. X.

### Of Bookes.

**I** Make no doubt but it shall often befall me to speake of things, which are better, and with more truth handled by such as are their crafts-masters. Here is simply an Essay of my naturall faculties, and no whit of those I have acquired. And he that shall tax me with ignorance, shall have no great victory at my hands; for hardly could I give others reason for my discourses, that give none vnto my selfe, and am not well satisfied with them. He that shall make search after know ledge, let him seeke it where it is: there is nothing I professe lesse.

These



These are but my fantasies, by which I endeavour not to make things knowne, but my selfe. They may haply one day be knowne vnto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or manifested. But I remember them no more. And if I be a man of some reading, yet I am a man of no remembering, I conceive no certainty, except it bee to give notice, how farre the knowledge I have of it, doth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be suruaied, and then tell me whether I have made good choice of ornaments, to beautifie and set forth the invention, which ever comes from mee. For, I make others to relate (not after mine owne fantasie, but as it best falleth out) what I cannot so well expresse, either through vnskill of language, or want of judgement. I number not my borrowings, but I weigh them. And if I would have made their number to prevaile, I would have had twice as many. They are all, or almost all of so famous and ancient names, that me thinks they sufficiently name themselves without mee. If in reasons, comparisons and arguments, I transplant any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the Author, thereby to bridle the rashnesse of these hastic censures, that are so headlong cast vpon all manner of compositions, namely young writings, of men yet living; and in vulgare, that admit all the world to talke of them, and which seemeth to convince the conception and publike designe alike. I will have them to give *Plutarch* a bob vpon mine owne lips, and vex themselves, in wronging *Seneca* in mee. My weakenesse must be hidden vnder such great credits. I will love him that shal trace, or over-leave me; I meane through clearnesse of judgement, and by the onely distinction of the force and beautie of my Discourses. For my selfe, who for want of memorie, am ever to seeke, how to trie and refine them, by the knowledge of their country, knowe perfectly, by measuring mine owne strength, that my soyle is no way capable, of some over-pretious flowers, that therein I find set, and that all the fruits of my encrease could not make it amends. This am I bound to answer-for, if I hinder my selfe, if there be either vanitie, or fault in my Discourses, that I perceive not or am not able to discern, if they be shewed me. For, many faults doe often escape our eyes; but the infirmities of judgement consisteth in not being able to perceive them, when another discovereth them vnto vs. Knowledge and truth may be in vs without judgement, and we may have judgement without them: Yea, the acknowledgement of ignorance, is one of the best and surest testimonies of judgement that I can finde. I have no other Sergeant of band to marshall my rapsodies, than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceites present them-selves, so I shuffle them vp. Sometimes they prease out thicke and three-fold, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my naturall and ordinarie pace scene as loose, and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, these are matters, that a man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and casually to speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect vnderstanding of things, but I will not purchase it so deare, as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly, and not laboriously, in rest, and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vex my selfe about, no not for Science it selfe, what esteeme soever it be-of. I doe not search and tosse over Books, but for an honest recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selfe: or if I studie, I onely endeavour to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the knowledge of my selfe, and which may instruct me how to die well, and how to live well.

*Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equum.*

My horse must sweating runne,  
That this goale may be wonne.

*Propert. l. 4. el.*  
1. 70.

If in reading I fortune to meet with any difficult points, I fret not my selfe about them, but after I have given them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod vpon them I should loose both time and my selfe; for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall lesse see it, if I opionate my selfe vpon it. I doe nothing without blithnesse; and an over obstinate continuation and plodding contention, doth dazle, dull and weary the same. My sight is thereby confounded and diminished. I must therefore withdraw-it, and at fittes goe to it againe. Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet we are taught to cast our eyes ouer it, in running it over by divers glances, so daime glimpses, and reiterated reprisings. If one booke seeme tedious vnto me, I take another, which I follow not with



with any earnestnesse, except it be at such houres as I am idle, or that I am weary with doing nothing. I am not greatly affected to new books, because ancient Authors are in my judgement more full and pithy: nor am I much addicted to Greeke books, forasmuch as my understanding can well rid his worke with a childish and apprentice intelligence. Amongst moderne bookes meerly pleasant, I esteeme *Bocace* his *Decameron*, *Rabelais*, and the kisses of *John* the second (if they may be placed under this title) worth the paines-taking to reade them. As for *Amadis* and such like trash of writings, they had never the credit so much as to allure my youth to delight in them. This I will say more, either boldly or rashly, that this old and heauie-pated minde of mine, will no more be pleased with *Aristotle*, or tickled with good *Ouid*: his facility, and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now a dayes scarcely entertaine me. I speake my minde freely of all things, yea of such as peradventure exceed my sufficiency, and that no way I hold to be of my jurisdiction. What my conceit is of them, is also to manifest the proportion of my insight, and not the measure of things. If at any time I finde my selfe distasted of *Platoes Axiochus*, as of a forceles worke, due regard had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing beleeeve it selfe: It is not so fond, hardy, or selfe-conceited, as it durst dare to oppose it selfe against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he reputeth his regents and masters, and with whom hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himselfe, either to rely on the superficiall sense, being unable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some false lustre. He is pleased only to warrant himselfe from trouble and unrulinesse: As for weaknesse he acknowledgeth and ingeniously avoweth the same. He thinkes to give a just interpretation to the apparences which his conception presents unto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of *Aesopes* fables have diuers senses, and severall interpretations: Those which *Mythologize* them, chuse some kinde of colour well-futing with the fable; but for the most part, it is no other than the first and superficiall glosse: There are others more quicke, more sinnowie, more essentiall and more internall, into which they could never penetrate: and thus thinke I with them. But to follow my course; I have ever deemed that in Poetrie, *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Caullus*, and *Horace*, doe doubtles by far hold the first ranke: and especially *Virgil* in his *Georgike*, which I esteeme to be the most accomplished peece of worke of Poetrie: In comparison of which one may easily discerne, that there are some passages in the *Aeneidos*, to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: The fifth booke whereof is (in my mind) the most absolutely perfect. I also love *Lucan*, and willingly read him, not so much for his stile, as for his owne worth, and truth of his opinion and judgement. As for good *Terence*, I allow the quaintnesse and grace of his Latine tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to represent the motions and passions of the minde, and the condition of our manners: our actions make me often remember him. I can never reade him so often, but still I discover some new grace and beautie in him. Those that lived about *Virgil*'s time, complained that some would compare *Lucretius* unto him, I am of opinion, that verily it is an unequall comparison; yet can I hardly assure my selfe in this opinion whensoever I finde my selfe entangled in some notable passage of *Lucretius*. If they were moved at this comparison, what would they say now of the fond, hardy and barbarous stupiditie of those which now a dayes compare *Ariosto* unto him? Nay what would *Ariosto* say of it himselfe?

*O saeculum insipiens & infacetum.*

O age that hath no wit,

And small conceit in it.

*Caenul. epig. 40. 8.*

I thinke our ancestors had also more reason to cry out against those that blushed not to equall *Plautus* unto *Terence* (who makes more shew to be a Gentleman) than *Lucretius* unto *Virgil*. This one thing doth greatly advantage the estimation and preferring of *Terence*, that the father of the Roman eloquence, of men of his quality doth so often make mention of him; and the censure, which the chiefe Judge of the Roman Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come unto my minde, how such as in our dayes give themselves to composing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happy in them) employ three or foure arguments of *Terence* and *Plautus* to make up one of theirs. In one onely comedy they will huddle up five or six of *Bocace*'s tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to under-  
dergoe



dergoe so heaue a burthen with their owne strength. They are forced to finde a body on which they may rely and leane themselves : and wanting matter of their owne wherewith to please us, they will haue the story or tale to butie and amuse us : where as in my Authors it is cleane contrary : The elegancies, the perfections and ornaments of his manner of speech, make us neglect and lose the longing for his subject. His quaintnesse and grace doe still retaine us to him. He is every where pleasantly conceited,

Hor. ii. epist. 2.  
120.

*Liquidus puroque simillimus amni,*  
So clearely-neate, so neatly-cleare,  
As he a fine-pure River were.

Mart. pref. 1.8.

and doth so replenish our minde with his graces, that we forget those of the fable. The same consideration drawes me somewhat further. I perceiue that good and ancient Poets haue shunned the affectation and enquest, not only of fantastically new fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchistickall elevations, but also of more sweet and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the Poeticall workes of succeeding ages. Yet is there no comperent Judge, that findeth them wanting in those Ancient ones, and that doth not much more admire that smoothly equall neatnesse, continued sweetnesse, and flourishing comelinesse of *Catullus* his Epigrams, than all the sharpe quips, and witty girds, wherewith *Martiall* doth whet and embellish the conclusions of his. It is the same reason I spake of ere while, as *Martiall* of himselfe. *Minus illi ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia successerat. He needed the lesse worke with his wit, in place whereof matter came in supply.* The former without being moved or pricked cause themselves to be heard lowd enough. they haue matter to laugh at every where, and need not tickle themselves; where as the latter must haue foraine helpe: according as they haue little spirit, they must haue more body. They leape on horse-backe: because they are not sufficiently strong in their legs to march on foot. Even as in our dances, those base conditioned men that keepe dancing-schools, because they are unfit to represent the port and decencie of our nobilitie, endeavour to get commendation by dangerous lofty trickes, and other strange tumbler-like friskes and motions. And some Ladies make a better shew of their countenances in those dances, wherein are diuers changes, cuttings, turnings, and agitations of the body, than in some dances of state and gravity, where they need but simply to tread a naturall measure, represent an unaffected cariage, and their ordinary grace; And as I haue also seene some excellent Lourdans, or Clownes attired in their ordinary worky-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, afford us all the pleasure that may be had from their art: Prentises and learners that are not of so high a forme, to besmeare their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions to counterfeit strange visages, and antickes, to enduce us to laughter. This my conception is no were better discerned, than in the comparison betweene *Virgils Aeneidos*, and *Orlando Furioso*. The first is seene to soare aloft with full-spread wings, and with so high and strong a pitch, ever following his point; the other faintly to hover and flutter from tale to tale, and as it were skipping from bough to bough, alwayes distrustful of his owne wings, except it be for some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to sit downe at every fields-end,

Virg. Æn. l. 4.  
194.

*Excursusque breues tentat*  
Out-lobes sometimes he doth assay,  
But very short, and as he may.

Loe herethen, concerning this kinde of subjects, what Authors please me best: As for my other lesson, which somewhat more mixeth profit with pleasure, whereby I learne to range my opinions, and addresse my conditions; the Bookes that serue me thereunto, are *Plutarke* (since he spake French,) and *Seneca*; Both haue this excellent commodity for my humour, that the knowledge I seeke in them, is there so scatteringly and loosely handled, that who-soever readeth them is not tied to plod long upon them, whereof I am incapable. And so are *Plumarke*s little workes, and *Seneca*s Epistles, which are the best and most profitable parts of their writings. It is no great matter to draw mee to them, and I leave them where I list. For, they succeed not, and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and suit together, in most true and profitable opinions: And fortune brought them both into the world in one age. Both were Tutors unto two Roman Emperours: Both were strangers, and came from farre Countries; both rich and mighty in the common-wealth, and in credit with their masters. Their instruction is the prime and creame of Philosophy, and presented with a plaine, unaffected,



affected, and pertinent fashion. *Plutarke* is more uniforme and constant; *Seneca* more waving and diverse. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to arme and strengthen vertue against weaknesse, feare, and vitious desires; the other seemeth nothing so much to feare their force or attempt, and in a manner scorneth to hasten or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe upon his guard. *Plutarke's* opinions are Platonicall, gentle and accommo- dable unto civill societie: *Seneca's* Stoicall and Epicurian, further from common use, but in my conceit, more proper, particular, and more solid. It appeareth in *Seneca*, that he some- what inclineth and yeeldeth to the tyrannie of the Emperors which were in his daies; for, I verily beleeve, it is with a forced judgement, he condemneth the cause of those noblie- minded murderers of *Cesar*: *Plutarke* is every where free and open-hearted; *Seneca*, full- fraught with points and sallies, *Plutarke* stuf with matters. The former doth move and en- flame you more; the latter, content, please, and pay you better: This doth guide you, the other drive you on. As for *Cicero*, of all his works, those that treat of Philosophie (namely morall) are they which best serve my turne, and square with my intent. But holdly to con- fesse the trueth, (For, *Since the bars of impudencie were broken downe, all curbing is taken away*) his manner of writing semeth verie tedious unto me, as doth all such-like stuf. For, his prefaces, definitions, divisions, and Etymologies, consume the greatest part of his Works; whatsoever quick, wittie, and pithie conceit is in him, is surcharged, and confounded by those his long and far-fetcht preambles. If I bestow but one houre in reading him, which is much for me; and let me call to minde what substance, or juice I have drawne from him, for the most part, I find nothing but wind & ostentation in him: for he is not yet come to the arguments, which make for his purpose, and reasons that properly concerne the knot or pith I seek-after. These Logicall and Aristotelian ordinances are not availfull for me, who onely endeavour to become more wise and sufficient, and not more wittie or eloquent. I would have one begin with the last point: I vnderstand sufficiently what death and vo- luptuousnesse are: let not a man buttie himselfe to anatomize them. At the first reading of a Booke, I seeke for good and solid reasons, that may instruct me how to sustaine their assaults. It is neither grammaticall subtilties, nor logicall quiddities, nor the wittie contexture of choice words, or arguments, and syllogismes, that will serve my turne. I like those dis- courses that give the first charge to the strongest part of the doubt; his are but flourishes, and languish every where. They are good for Schooles, at the barre, or for Orators and Preachers, where we may slumber: and though we wake a quarter of an houre after, we may find and trace him soone enough. Such a manner of speech is fit for those Iudges, that a man would corrupt by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, or for children and the com- mon people, unto whom a man must tell all, and see what the event will be. I would not have a man go about, and labour by circumlocutions, to induce and win me to attention, and that (as our Herolds or Criers do) they shall ring out their words. Now heare me, now listen, or he-yes. The Romanes in their Religion were wont to say, *Hoc age*; which in ours we say, *Sursum corda*. There are so many lost words for me. I come readie prepared from my house. I need no allurement nor sawce; my stomacke is good enough to digest raw meat: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinke to sharpen my taste, or stir my stomacke, they cloy and make it wallowish. Shall the priviledge of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnesse, to deeme *Platoes* Dialogismes to be as languishing, by over-filling and stuffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man, who had so many thousands of things to utter, spends about so many, so long, so vaine, and idle interloquutions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beautie of his language. I generally enquire after Bookes, that use sciences, and not after such as institute them. The two first, and *Plinie*, with others of their ranke, have no *Hoc age* in them, they will have to doe with men, that have forewarned themselves; or if they have, it is a materiall and substantiall *Hoc age*, and that hath his bodie a part. I likewise love to read the Epistles and *ad Atticum*, not onely because they containe a most ample in- struction of the Historie, and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I descrie his private humours. For, (as I have said elswhere) I am wonderfull curious, to discover and know, the minde, the soule, the genuine disposition, and naturall judgement of my Authors. A man ought to judge their sufficiencie, and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings, which they set forth on this worlds Theatre. I have sorrowed a



thousand times, that ever we lost the booke, that *Brutus* writ of Vertue. *Oh it is a goodly thing to learne the Theorike of such as understand the practice well.* But forsomuch as the Sermon is one thing, and the Preacher another: I love as much to see *Brutus* in *Plutarke*, as in himselfe: I would rather make choice to know certainly, what talke he had in his Tent with some of his familiar friends, the night fore-going the battel, than the speech he made the morrow after to his Armie: and what he did in his chamber or closet, than what in the Senate or market place. As for *Cicero*, I am of the common judgement, that besides learning, there was no exquisite excellencie in him: He was a good Citizen, of an honest-gentle nature, as are commonly fat and burly men; for so was he: But to speake truly of him, full of ambitious vanitie and remisse nicenesse. And I know not well how to excuse him, in that hee deemed his Poesie worthy to be published. It is no great imperfection, to make bad verses, but it is an imperfection in him, that he never perceived how unworthy they were of the glorie of his name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond all comparison, and I verily beleeve, that none shall ever equall it. *Cicero* the younger, who resembled his father in nothing, but in name, commanding in *Asia*, chanced one day to have many strangers at his board, and amongst others, one *Castus* sitting at the lower end, as the manner is to thrust in at great mens tables: *Cicero* inquired of one of his men what he was, who told him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answer his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because he would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance make him to know him better, It is, said he, the same *Castus*, of whom some have told you, that in respect of his owne, maketh no accompt of your fathers eloquence: *Cicero* being suddainly mooved, commaunded the said poore *Castus* to be presently taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo- heere an unciwill and barbarous host. Even amongst those, which (all things considered) have deemed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable others there have been, who have not spared to note some faults in it: As great *Brutus* said, that it was an eloquence, broken, halting, and disjoynted, *fractam & clumbem: Incoherent and sinnowlesse.* Those Orators that lived about his age, reproved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence, at the end of his clauses, and noted these words, *Esse videatur*, which he so often useth. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth shorter, cut like Iambikes: yet doth he sometimes confound his numbers; but it is seldome: I have especially observed this one place. *Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem, antequam essem.* But I had rather, not be an old man so long as I might be, than to be old before I should be. Historians are my right hand; for they are pleasant and easie: and therewithall, the man with whom I desire generally to be acquainted, may more lively and perfectly be discovered in them, than in any other composition: the varietie and truth of his inward conditions, ingrosse and by retale: the diversitie of the meanes of his collection and composing, and of the accidents that threaten him. Now, those that write of mens lives, forasmuch as they amuse and busie themselves more about counsels than events, more about that which cometh from within, than that which appeareth outward; they are fittest for me: And that's the reason why *Plutarke* above all in that kind, doth best please me. Indeed I am not a little grieved that we have not a dozen of *Laerij*, or that he is not more knowne, or better understood: for, I am no lesse curious to know the fortunes and lives of these great masters of the world, than to understand the diversitie of their decrees and conceits. In this kind of studie of Historie, a man must, without distinction, rōsse and turne over all sorts of Authors, both old and new, both French and others, if he will learne the things they so diversly treat-of. But me thinks that *Cesar* above all doth singularly deserve to be studied, not onely for the understanding of the Historie, as of himselfe; so much perfection and excellencie is there in him more than in others, although *Salust* be reckoned one of the number. Verily I read that Author with a little more reverence and respect, than commonly men reade profane and humane Workes: sometimes considering him by his actions, and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times waighing the puritie and imitable polishing and elegancie of his tongue, which (as *Cicero* saith) hath not onely exceeded all Historians, but haply *Cicero* himselfe: with such sinceritie in his judgement. Speaking of his enemies, that except the false colours, wherewith he goeth about to cloake his bad cause, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition, I am perswaded there is nothing in him to be found fault-with: and that he hath been

over-

Cic. de Senect.



over-sparing to speak of himselfe: for, so many notable and great things could never be executed by him, unless he had put more of his owne unto them, than he setteth downe. I love those Historians that are either verie simple, or most excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde unto the storie, and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever come unto their knowledge, and sincerely and faithfully to register all things, without choice or culling, by the naked truth leave our judgement more entire, and better satisfied.

Such amongst others (for example sake) plaine and well-meaning Froisard, who in his enterprise, hath marched with so free and genuine a puritie, that having committed some oversight; he is neither ashamed to acknowledge, nor afraid to correct the same, wheresoever he hath either notice or warning of it: and who representeth unto us the diversitie of the newes then currant, and the different reports, that were made unto him. The subject of an historie should be naked, bare, and formelesse; each man according to his capacite or understanding may reap commoditie out of it. The curious and most excellent have the sufficiencie to cull and chuse that, which is worthe to be knowne, and may select of two relations, that which is most likely: of the condition of Princes, and of their humors, thereby they conclude their counsels, and attribute convenient words unto them: they have reason to assume authoritie unto them, to direct and shapen our beliefe unto theirs. But truly that belongs not to many. Such as are betwene both, which is the most common fashion, it is they that spoile all; they will needs chew our meat for us, and take upon them a law to judge, and by consequence to square and encline the storie according to their fantasie; for, where the judgement benderh one way, a man cannot chuse but wrest and turne his narration that way. They undertake to chuse things worthy to bee knowne, and now and then conceal either a word or a secret action from us, which would much better instruct us: omitting such things as they understand not, as incredible: and haply such matters, as they know not how to declare, either in good Latin, or tolerable French. Let them boldly enstall their eloquence, and discourse: Let them censure at their pleasure, but let them also give us leave to judge after them: And let them neither alter nor dispence by their abridgements and choice, any thing belonging to the substance of the matter; but let them rather send it pure and entire with all her dimensions unto us. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed unto base, ignorant, and mechanicall kind of people, only for this consideration that they can speak well; as if we sought to learne the Grammer of them; and they have some reason, being only hyred to that end, and publishing nothing but their tittle-tattle to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choice and quaint words, and wyre-drawne phrases they huddle up, and make a hodge-pot of a laboured contexture of the reports, which they gather in the market-places, or such other assemblies. *The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded, or were imployed themselves in weighty affaires, or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie.* Such in a manner are all the Græcians and Romans. For, many eye-witnesses having written of one same subject (as it hapned in those times, when Greatnesse and Knowledge did commonly mee) if any fault or oversight have past them, it must be deemed exceeding light, and upon some doubtfull accident. *What may a man expect at a Physicians hand, that discourseth of warre, or of a bare Scholler, treating of Prince's secret designs?* If we shall but note the religion, which the Romans had in that, we need no other example: *Asinius Polio* found some mistaking or oversight in *Cæsars* Commentaries, whereinto he was false, only because he could not possible oversee all things with his owne eyes, that hapned in his Armie, but was faine to relye on the reports of particular men, who often related untruths unto him; or else because he had not been curiously advertised, and distinctly enformed by his Lieutenants and Captaines, of such matters as they in his absence had managed or effected. Whereby may be seen, that nothing is so hard, or so uncertaine to be found-out, as the certaintie of a Truth, thence no man can put any assured confidence concerning the truth of a battel, neither in the knowledge of him, that was Generall, or commanded over it, nor in the soldiers that fought, of any thing, that hath hapned amongst them; except after the manner of a strict point of law, the severall witnesses are brought and examined face to face, and that all matters benicely and thorowly sifted by the objects and trials of the successe of every accident. Verily the knowledge we have of our own affaires is much more barren and feeble. But this hath sufficiently



been handled by *Bodine*, and agreeing with my conception. Somewhat to aid the weaknesse of my memorie, and to assitt her great defects; for it hath often been my chance to light upon bookes, which I supposed to be new, and never to have read, which I had not understanding diligently read and run-over many yeares before, and all bescribed with my notes: I have a while since accustomed my selfe; to more at the end of my booke (I meane such as I purpose to read but once) the time I made an end to read it, and to set downe what censure or judgement I gave of it; that so, it may at least, at another time represent unto my mind, the aire and generall Idea, I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Copie of some of mine annotations, and especially what I noted upon my *Guicciardine* about ten yeares since: (For what language soever my bookes speake unto me, I speake unto them in mine owne.) He is a diligent Historiographer, and from whom in my conceit, a man may as exactly learne the truth of such affaires as passed in his time, as of any other writer whatsoever: and the rather because himselfe hath been an Actor of most part of them, and in verie honourable place. There is no signe or apparance, that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour, or vanitie; whereof the free and impartiall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had been advanced or imployed in his important charges, as of Pope *Clement* the seaventh, beareth undoubted testimonie. Concerning the parts wherewith he most goeth about to prevaile which are his digressions and discourses, many of them are verie excellent, and enriched with faire ornaments, but he hath too much pleased himselfe in them: for, endeavouring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and large a subject, and almost infinite, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a tast of a kind of scholasticall tedious babling. Moreover, I have noted this, that of so severall and divers armes, successes, and effects he judgeth of; of so many and variable motives, alterations, and counsels, that he relateth, he never referreth any one unto vertue, religion, or conscience: as if they were all extinguished and banished the world: and of all actions, how glorious soever in apparance they be of themselves, he doth ever impute the cause of them, to some vicious and blame-worthie occasion, or to some commoditie and profit. It is impossible to imagine, that amongst so infinite a number of actions, whereof he judgeth, some one have not been produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so universally, but that some one must of necessity escape the contagion; which makes me to feare, he hath had some distaste or blame in his passion, and it hath haply fortunied, that he hath judged or esteemed of others according to himselfe. In my *Philip de Comines*, there is this: In him you shall find a pleasing-sweet, and gently-gliding speech, fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and unaffected, and wherein the Authours unspotted-good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all manner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affection or envie speaking of others: his discourses and perswasions, accompanied more with a well-meaning zeale, and meere veritie, than with any laboured and exquisit sufficiencie, and all-through, with gravitie and authoritie, representing a man well borne, and brought up in high negotiations. Upon the memories and historie of Monsieur du *Bellay*: It is ever a well-pleasing thing, to see matters written by those, that have assaid how, and in what manner they ought to be directed and managed: yet can it not be denied, but that in both these Lords, there will manifestly appeare a great declination from a free libertie of writing, which clearely shineth in ancient writers of their kind: as in the Lord of *Ionuille*, familiar unto Saint *Lewis*, *Eginard*, Chancellor unto *Charlemaine*; and of more fresh memorie in *Philip de Comines*. This is rather a declamation or pleading for king *Francis* against the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, than an Historie. I will not beleieve, they have altered or changed any thing concerning the generalitie of matters, but rather to wrest and turne the judgement of the events, many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omit whatsoever they supposed, to be doubtfull or ticklish in their masters life: they have made profession of it, witness the recoylings of the Lords of *Memorancy* and *Byron*, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shall not so much as find the name of the Ladie of *Estampes* mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour, and haply hide secret actions, but absolutely to conceal that which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as have drawne-on publike effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexcusable defect, or as I may say unpardonable oversight. To conclude, whosoever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of King *Francis* the



the first, and of the things hapned in his time, let him addresse himselfe elsewhere, if he will give any credit unto me. The profit he may reap here, is by the particulat destruction of the battels and exploits of warre, wherein these Gentlemen were present; some privie conferences, speeches, or secret actions of some Princes, that then lived, and the practices managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of *Langeay*, in whom doubtlesse are verie many things, well-worthie to be knowne, and diverse discourses not vulgare.

## CHAP. XI.

## Of Crueltie.

**M**E thinks vertue is another manner of thing, and much more noble than the inclinations unto goodnesse, which in us are ingendered. Mindes well borne, and directed by themselves, follow one same path, and in their actions represent the same visage, that the vertue is doe. But vertue importeth, and soundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active, than by an happy complexion gently and peaceably, to suffer it selfe to be led or drawne, to follow reason. He that through a naturall facilitie, and genuine mildnesse, should neglect or contemne injuries received, should no doubt performe a rare action, and worthy commendation: But he who being toucht and stung to the quicke, with any wrong or offence received, should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously-blind desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict, yeeld himselfe master over-it, should doubtlesse doe much more. The first should doe well, the other vertuously: the one action might be termed goodnesse, the other vertue. For, *It seemeth, that the verie name of vertue presupposeth difficultie, and inferreth resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemy.* It is peradventure the reason why we call God good, mightie, liberall, and just, but we terme him not vertuous. His workes are all voluntarie, unforced, and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not onely Stoicks, but also Epicurians (which endearing I borrow of the common-received opinion, which is false) whatsoever the nimble saying or wittie quipping of *Arceilaus* implieth, who answered the man that upbraided him, how divers men went from his schoole to the Epicurian, but none came from thence to him: I easily beleve-it (said he) for, *Of cocks are many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a cocke of a eapon.* For truly, in constancie, and rigor of opinions, and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurian Sect doth in no sort yeeld to the Stoicke. And a Stoicke acknowledging a better faith, than those disputers, who to contend with *Epicurus*, and make sport with him, make him to infer and say what he never meant, wresting and wyre-drawing his words to a contrarie sense, arguing and filogizing by the Grammarians privilege, another meaning, by the manner of his speech, and another opinion, than that they know he had, either in his minde, or manner, saith, that he left to be an Epicurian, for this one consideration amongst others, that he findeth their pitch to be over-high and inaccessible: *Εἰ γὰρ οἱ φιλόδοξοι, vocantur, sunt φιλόδοξοι & οἱ φιλόδοξοι οὐδὲν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δόξῳ.* Sen. epist. 13. *And those that are called lovers of pleasure, are lovers of honestie and justice, and doe both reverence and retaine all sorts of vertue.* Of Stoicke and Epicurian Philosophers, I say, there are divers, who have judged, that it was not sufficient to have the minde well placed, well ordered, and well disposed unto vertue; it was not enough to have our resolutions and discourse beyond all the assaults and checks of fortune; but that moreover, it was verie requisite, to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the triall of it: They will diligently quest and seek out for paine, smart, necessitie, want, and contempt, that so they may combat them, and keep their minde in breath: *Multum sibi adyersus virtutem lacessita.* Vertue provoke'd addes much to it selfe. It is one of the reasons why *Epaminondas* (who was of a third sect, by a verie law full way refuseth some riches, fortune had put into his hands, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to thrive and resist povertie, in which want and extremitie he ever continued after.

*Socrates* did in my minde more undantedly enure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevisch frowardnesse of his wife, than which no essay can be more vex-full,



and is a continuall fighting at the sharpe. *Metellus* of all the Romane Senators (he onely having undertaken with the power of vertue, to endure the violence of *Saturninus Tribune* of the people in *Rome*, who by maine force went about to have a most unjust law passe in favor of the Communitie: by which opposition, having incurred all the capital paines, that *Saturninus* had imposed on such as should refuse it) intainted those that led him to the place of execution, with such speeches: That to doe evill was a thing verie easie, & too demissely base and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing but to doe well, where was both perill and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue. These words of *Metellus* doe clearly represent unto us, what I would have verified; which is, that vertue rejecteth facilitie to be her companion: And that an easfull, pleasant, and declining way, by which the regular steps of a good inclination of nature, are directed, is not the way of true vertue. She requireth a craggie, rough, and thornie way; She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall (as that of *Metellus*) by whose meanes fortune her selfe is pleased to breake the roughnesse of his course; or inward encombrances, as the disordinate appetites and imperfections of our condition bring unto her. Hitherto I have come at good ease; but at the end of this discourse, one thing cometh into my minde, which is, that the soule of *Socrates*, which is absolute the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my accompt, prove a soule deserving but little commendation: For, I can perceive no manner of violence or vicious concupiscence in him: I can imagine no manner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I know his reason so powerfull, and so absolute mistresse over him, that she can never give him way to any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breed in him. To a vertue so exquisit, and so high-raised as his is, I can perswade nothing. Me thinkes I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe, and at ease, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by resisting contrarie appetites, shall we then say, it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his meanes it attaineth to honour and credit? What should also betide of that glorious and generous Epicurian voluptuousnesse, that makes accompt, effeminately to pamper vertue in her lap, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for her recreation, shame, reproch, agues, povertie, death, and tortures? If I presuppose, that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow, and patiently under-going paine, by tolerating the fits and agonies of the gout, without stirring out of his place; if for a necessarie object, I appoint her sharpnesse and difficultie; what shall become of that vertue, which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not onely despise all manner of paine, but rather rejoyceth at it, and when a strong fit of the collike shall assaile it, to cause it selfe to be tickled; as that is which the Epicurians have established, and wherof divers amongst them have by their actions left most certaine proofes unto us? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the verie rules of their discipline; witnesse *Cato* the yonger; when I see him die, tearing and mangling his entrails; I cannot simply content my selfe to beleve, that at that time, he had his soule wholly exempted from all trouble, or free from vexation: I cannot imagine, he did onely maintaine himselfe in this march or course, which the rules of the Stoike sect had ordained unto him, settled, without some alteration or motion, and impassibilitie. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cheerefulnessse, and youthfulnessse to stay there. I verily beleve, he felt a kind of pleasure and sensualitie in so noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himselfe, than in any other, he ever performed in his life. *Sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi natum se esse gauderet.* So departed he his life, that he rejoyced to have found an occasion of death. I doe so constantly beleve it, that I make a doubt, whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an exploit taken from him. And if the goodnessse which induced him to embrace publike commodities more than his owne, did not bridle me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding unto fortune, to have put his vertue unto so noble a triall, & to have favoured that robber, to tread the ancient libertie of his Countrie under foot. In which action me thinkes I read a kinde of unspeakable joy in his minde, and a motion of extraordinarie pleasure, joyned to a manlike voluptuousnesse, at what time it beheld the worthinesse, and considered the generositie and haughtinesse of his enterprise,

*Cic. Tusc. qu.  
lib. I.*

*Hor. lib. I. od. 27.  
29. Cleopatra.*

*Deliberata moris ferocior.*

Then most in fiercenesse did he passe,  
When he of death resolved was.

not



not urged or set on by any hope of glorie, as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged: For, that consideration is over base, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart; but for the beautie of the thing it selfe in it selfe, which he, who managed all the springs, and directed all the wards thereof, saw much more clearer, and in it's perfection, than we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge, that so honorable an action, had been undecently placed in any other life, than in *Catoes*, and that onely unto his it appertained to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason perswade both his sonne, and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide other wise for themselves. *Catois quum incredibilem naturam tribuisset gravitatem, eamque ipse perpetua constantia roboravisset, semperque in proposito consilio permanisset: moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspicieendus erat. Whereas nature had offered Cato an incredible gravitie, and he had strengthened it by continuall constancie, and ever had stood firme in his purposed desseignes, rather to die than behold the Tyrants face.* Each death should be such as the life hath been. By dying we become no other than we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shall tell me of any one undanted in apparence, joynd unto a weake life: I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and futable to his life. The ease therefore of his death, and the facilitie he had acquired by the vigor of his minde, shall we say, it ought to abate something of the lustre of his vertue? And which of those, that have their spirits touched, be it never so little, with the true tincture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine *Socrates*, onely, free from feare and passion, in the accident of his imprisonment, of his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceive in him, not onely constancie and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kinde of I wot not what new contentment, and carelesse rejoycing in his last behaviour, and discourse? By the startling at the pleasure, which he feelth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off; doth he not manifestly declare an equall glee and joy in his soule, for being rid of his former incommodities, & entering into the knowledge of things to come? *Cato* shall pardon me (if he please) his death is more tragicall, and further extended, whereas this in a certaine manner is more faire and glorious. *Aristippus* answered those, that bewailed the same; when I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death. A man shall plainly perceive in the minds of these two men, and of such as imitate them (for I make a question whether ever they could be matched) so perfect an habitude unto vertue, that it was even converted into their complexion. It is no longer a painfull vertue, nor by the ordinances of reason, for the maintaining of which, their minde must be strengthened: It is the verie essence of their soule; it is her naturall and ordinarie habit. They have made it such, by a long exercise and observing the rules and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted upon a faire and rich nature. Those vicious passions, which breed in us, finde no entrance in them. The vigor and constancie of their soules, doth suppress and extinguish all manner of concupiscences, so soone as they but begin to move. Now that it be not more glorious, by an undanted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, & for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; than by mayne force to hinder their progresse; and having suffied himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions, to arme and bandie himselfe, to stay their course and to supplet them: And that this second effect be not also much fairer, than to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousness and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For, this third and last manner, seeth in some sort, to make a man innocent, but not vertuous: free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. Seeing this condition is so neere unto imperfection and weaknesse, that I know not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The verie names of Goodnesse and innocentie, are for this respect in some sort names of contempt. I see that many vertues, as chastitie, sobriety, and temperance, may come unto us by meanes of corporall defects and imbecillitie. Constancie in dangers (if it may be termed constancie) contempt of death, patience in misfortunes, may happen, and are often seen in men, for want of Good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not apprehended for such as they are indeed. *Lacke of apprehension and stupidity, doe sometimes counterfeite verinow effects.* As I have often seen come to passe, that some men are commended, for things they rather deserve to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice and disadvantage of his nation; That the subtiltie of the Italians, and the vivacitie of their concepti-



ons was so great, that they foresaw such dangers and accidents as might betide them so far-off, that it was not to be deemed strange, if in times of warre, they were often seene to provide for their safetie, yea, before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so warie and subtrill, went further; and that before we could be frighted with any perill, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feel it with our hands, and that even then we had no more hold: But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advise themselves, at what time they were even overwhelmed with miserie, and the axe readie to fall on their heads. It was per-adventure but in jest, that he spake-it, yet is it most true, that in the art of warre-fare, new trained Souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong, and hand over head cast themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration, than after ward when they have seene and endured the first shooke, and are better trained in the schoole of perils.

— *haud ignarus, quantum nova gloria in armis,*

*Et prae dulce decus primo certamine possit.*

Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,

And sweetest honour, in first conflict weighes.

Lo here the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and thoroughly observe the man, that hath produced the same before we name and censure it. But to speake a word of my selfe: I have sometimes noted my friends to censure that wisdom in me, which was but meere fortune; and to deeme that advantage of courage and patience, that was advantage of judgement and opinion: and to attribute one title for another unto me, sometimes to my profit, and now and then to my losse. As for the rest, I am so far from attaining unto that chiefe and most perfect degree of excellencie, where a habitude is made of vertue, that even of the second, I have made no great triall. I have not greatly strived to bridle the desires, wherewith I have found my selfe urged and pressed. My vertue, is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidentall and casuall. Had I been borne with a lesse regular complexion, I imagine my state had been verie pittifull, and it would have gon hard with me: for, I could never perceive any great constancie in my soule, to resist and undergoe passions, had they been any thing violent. I cannot foster quarels, or endure cotentions in my house. So am I not greatly beholding unto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices:

— *si viris mediocribus, & meapauca*

*Mendosa est natura, alioquinecta velut si*

*Egregio inpersos reprehendas corpore navos.*

If in a few more fault's my nature faile,

Right otherwise: as if that you would raile

On prettie moles well placed,

On bodie seemely graced.

I am more endebted to my fortune, than to my reason for it: Shee hath made me to be borne of a race famous for integritie and honestie, and of a verie good father. I wot not well whether any part of his humours have descended into me, or whether the domestike examples, and good institution of my infancie have insensibly set their helping hand unto it; or whether I were otherwise so borne:

*Sen Libra, seu me Scorpium aspiciit*

*Formidolosus, pars violentior*

*Natalis hora, seu tyrannus*

*Hesperia Capricornus unda.*

Whether the chiefe part of my birth-houre were

Ascendent *Libra*, or *Scorpium* full of feare,

Or in my *Horoscope* were *Capricorne*,

Whose tyrannie neere western Seas is borne.

But so it is, that naturally of my selfe, I abhorre and detest all manner of vices. The answer of *Antisthenes* to one, that demanded of him, which was the best thing to be learned: *To unlearn evil*, seemed to be fixed on this image, or to have an ayme at this. I abhorre them (I say) with so naturall, and so innated an opinion, that the very same instinct and impression, which I suckt from my nurse, I have so kept, that no occasions could ever make me alter the

Hor. lib. 3. sat. 6.  
65.

Hor. lib. 2. od. 17.  
17.



the same: No, not mine owne discourses, which because they have been somewhat lavish in noting or taxing something of the common course, could easily induce me to some actions; which this my naturall inclination makes me to hate. I will tell you a wonder, I will tell it you indeed: I thereby find in many things, more stay and order in my manners, than in my opinion: and my concupiscence lesse debauched, than my reason. *Aristippus* established certaine opinions so bold, in favour of voluptuousnesse and riches, that he made all Philosophie to mutinie against him. But concerning his manners, *Dionysius* the tyrant, having presented him with three faire young Wenches, that he might chuse the fairest; he answered he would chuse them all three, and that *Paris* had verie ill successe, forsomuch as he had preferred one above her fellows. But they being brought to his owne house, he sent them backe againe, without tasting them. His servant one day carrying store of money after him, and being so over-charged with the weight of it, that he complained, his Master commanded him, to cast so much therof away, as troubled him. And *Epicurus*, whose positions are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life verie laboriously, and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entreated him to send him a piece of chesse, against the time he was to make a solemne feast. May it be true, that to be perfectly good, we must be so by an hidden, naturall, and universall proprietie, without law, reason, and example? The disorders and excesses, wherein I have found my selfe, engaged, are not (God be thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their worth; for, my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accuse them more rigorously in my selfe, than in another. But that is all: as for the rest, I applie but little resistance unto them, and suffer my selfe over-easily to encline to the other side of the Ballance, except it be to order and empeach them from being commixt with others, which (if a man take not good heed unto himselfe) for the most part entertaine and enterchaine themselves the one with the other. As for mine, I have as much as it bathaine in my power, abridged them, and kept them as single, and as alone as I could:

—*NECULITA*

*Errorem foveo.*—

Nor doe I cherish any more,  
The error which I bred before.

*Inv. sat. 8.*  
164.

For, astouching the Stoikes opinion, who say, that when the wise man worketh, he worketh with all his vertues together; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there be one more apparant than other (to which purpose the similitude of mans bodie might, in some sort, serve their turne; for, the action of choler cannot exercise it selfe, except all the humours set to their helping-hand, although choler be predominant) if thence they will draw alike consequence, that when the offender trespasseth, he doth it with all the vices together. I doe not so easily beleve them, or else I understand them not; for, in effect, I feel the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie subtilties, and without substance, about which Philosophie doth often busie it selfe. Some vices I shun; but other some I eschew as much as any Saint can doe. The Peripatetikes doe also disavow this connexitie, and indissoluble knitting together. And *Aristotle* is of opinion, *That a wise and iust man may be both intemperate and incontinent.* *Socrates* avowed unto them, who in his Physiognomie perceived some inclination unto vice, that indeed it was his naturall propension, but that by discipline he had corrected the same. And the familiar friends of the Philosopher *Silpo* were wont to say, that being boine subject unto wine and women, he had, by studie, brought himselfe to abstaine from both. On the other side, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my birth: I have it neither by law nor prescription, nor by any apprenticeship. The innocencie that is in me, is a kinde of simple-plaine innocencie, without vigor or art. Amongst all other vices, there is none I hate more, than crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the extremest of all vices. But it is with such an yearning and faint-heartednesse, that if I see but a chickens necke puld off, or a pigge sticke, I cannot chuse but grieve, and I cannot well endure a scellie dew-bedabled hare to groane, when she is seized upon by the houndes; although hunting be a violent sport. Those that are to withstand voluptuousnesse, doe willingly use this argument, to shew, it is altogether vicious and unreasonablenesse: That where she is in her greatest prime and chiefe strength, she doth so over-sway us, that reason can have no access unto us, and for a further triall, alleage the experience wee feel and have

¶



of it, in our acquaintance or copulation with women.

LUCY lib. 4. "  
1097. "

*cum iam præfagit gaudia corpus*  
*Atque in eo est Venus, ut muliebria conferat arua.*  
When now the bodie doth light-joyes fore-know,  
And Venus set the womans fields to sow.

Where they thinke pleasure doth so far transport us beyond our selves that our Discourse, then altogether overwhelmed, and our reason wholie ravished in the gulf of sensuality, cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I know it may be otherwise: And if a man but please, he may sometimes, even upon the verie instant, cast his mind on other conceits. But she must be strained to a higher key, and heedfully pursued: I know a man may gourmandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleasure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found Venus to be so imperious a Goddess, as many, and more reformed than my selfe witness her to be, I thinke it not a wonder, as doth the Queene of Navarre, in one of the Tales of her *Heptameron* (which respecting the subject it treateth of, is a verie prettie booke) nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreame difficultie, for a man to weare-out a whole night, in all opportunitie and libertie, in companie of a faire Mistresse, long time before sued-unto, and by him desired; religiously keeping his word, if he have engaged himselfe, to be contented with simple kisses and plaine touching. I am of opinion, that the example of the sport in hunting would more fit the same: wherein as there is lesse pleasure, so there is more distraction and surprizing, whereby our reason being amazed, looseth the leasure to prepare her selfe against it: when as after a long questing and beating for some game, the beast doth suddainly start, or rowze up before us, and haply in such a place, where we least expected the same. That suddaine motion, and riding, and the earnestnesse of showing, jubeting and hallowing, still ringing in our eares, would make it verie hard for those, who love that kind of close or chamber-hunting, at that verie instant, to withdraw their thoughts else-where. And Poets make Diana victoriously to triumph both over the firebrand and arrowes of Cupid.

Hor. epod. 2. "  
37. "

*Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet*  
*Hæc inter obliviscitur?*

While this is doing, who doth not forget  
The wicked cares wherewith Loves heart doth fret?

But to returne to my former discourse, I have a verie feeling and tender compassion of other mens afflictions, and should more easily weep for companie sake, if possible for any occasion whatsoever, I could shed teares. There is nothing sooner moveth teares in me, than to see others weepe, not onely fainedly, but howsoever, whether truly or forcedly. I do not greatly waile for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet doe I much waile and moane the dying. The Canibales and savage people do not so much offend me with roasting and eating of dead bodies, as those which torment and persecute the living. Let any man be executed by law, how deservedly soever, I cannot endure to behold the execution with an unrelenting eye. Some one going about to witness the clemencie of *Iulius Caesar*; He was (saith he) tractable and milde in matters of revenge. Having compelled the Pirates to yeeld themselves unto him, who had before taken him prisoner, and put him to ransom, forasmuch as he had threatned to have them all crucified, he condemned them to that kind of death, but it was after he had caused them to be strangled. *Philomon* his secretarie, who would have poysoned him, had no sharper punishment of him, than an ordinarie death. Without mentioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie daeth to alleage, the onely killing of those, by whom a man hath been offended, it may easily be ghesied, that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, such as Romane Tyrants brought into fashion. As for me, even in matters of justice, *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, I deeme it to be meeere crueltie*: And especially amongst us, who ought to have a regardfull respect, that their soules should be sent to heaven, which cannot be, having first by intolerable tozures agitated, and as it were brought them to dispaire. A Souldier, not long since, being a prisoner, and perceiving from a loft a Tower, where he was kept, that store of people flocked together on a greene, and Carpenters were busie at worke to erect a skaffold, supposing the same to be for him, as one desperat, resolved to kill himselfe, and searching up and downe for some thing to make himselfe away, found nothing but an old rustie cart-naile, which fortune presented



red him with; he tooke it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had, strooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throat, but seeing it would not rid him of life, he then thrust it into his bellie up to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers coming-in unto him, and yet living, finding him in that miserable plight, but weltring in his goare-blood, and readie to gaspe his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastned to pronounce sentence against him: which when he heard, and that he was onely condemned to have his head cut-off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be sorie for what he had done, and tooke some comfortable drinks, which before he had refused, greatly thanking the Iudges for his unhoped gentle condemnation: And told them, that for feare of a more sharply-cruell, and intolerable death by law, he had resolved to prevent-it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had seen the Carpenters make, and by gathering of people together, conceived an opinion, that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be delivered from death onely by the change of it. Were I worthie to give counsell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keep the common people in awe, to be onely exercised on the bodies of criminall malefactors: For, to see them deprived of christian buriall, to see them haled, disbowelled, parboyled, and quartered, might haply touch the common sort as much, as the paines, they make the living to endure: howbeit in effect it be little or nothing, as saith God, *Qui corpus occidunt, & postea non habent quod faciant.* Those that kill the bodie, but have afterwards no more to doe: And Poets make the horror of this picture greatly to prevaile, yea, and above death,

Luke 12 4.

*Hec reliquias semissi Regis, denudatis ossibus,*

Cic. Tusc. qu. lib. 1.

*Per terram sive delibutae fide divexarier.*

O that the reliques of an halfe-burn't King, bones bared,

On earth besneer'd which filth, should be so foully marred.

It was my fortune to be at Rome, upon a day that one *Catena*, a notorious high-way theefe, was executed: at his strangling no man of the companie seemed to be mooved to any ruth; but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blow that was not accompanied with a piteous voyce, and hartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling sympathie, or lent his senses to the poore mangled wretch. Such inhumane outrages and barbarous excesses should be exercised against the rinde, and not practised against the quicke. In a case somewhat like unto this, did *Artaxerxes* assuage and mitigate the sharpnesse of the ancient lawes of *Persia*, appointing that the Lords, which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they should be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them: and where they were accustomed to have their haire pulled-off, they should onely have their hat taken off. The Egyptians so devout and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Iustice, in sacrificing painted and counterfeited hogges unto it: An over-hardy invention, to go about with pictures and shadowes to appease God, a substance so essentiall and divine. I live in an age, wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnesse of our civill and intestine warres: And read all ancient stories, be they never so tragicall, you shall find none to equall those, we daily see practised. But that hath nothing made me acquainted with it. I could hardly be perswaded, before I had scene it, that the world could have afforded so marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murder would commit it; then cut, mangle; and hacke other members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wits, to invent unused tortures and unheard-of torments; to devise new and unknowne deaths and that in cold blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pitifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deep fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For, that is the extreamest point whereunto the cruelty of man may attaine. *Ut homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus occidat.* That one man should kill another, neither being angry, nor asfear'd, but onely to look on. As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and griefe, to see a poore, fillie, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmelesse and void of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commonly hapneth, that when the Stag begins to be embost, and finds his strength to faile him, having no other remedie,

Sen. Clem. lib. 2.

c. 4.

left



left him, doth yeeld and bequeath himselfe unto us that pursue him, with teares suing to us for mercie.

Verg. Æn. lib. 7.  
511.

— *questuque cruentus*

*Atque imploranti similis:*

With blood from throat, and teares from eyes,

It seemes that he for pittie cries.

was ever a grievous spectacle unto me. I seldom take any beast alive, but I give him his libertie. Pythagoras was wont to buy fishes of fishers, and birds of fowlers to set them free againe.

Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 15. 106.

— *primoque à cade ferarum*

*Incaluisse puto maculatum sanguine ferrum.*

And first our blades in blood embrude I deeme

With slaughter of poore beasts did reeking steeme.

Such as by nature shew themselves bloodie-minded towards harmlesse beasts, witness an naturall propension unto crueltie. After the ancient Romanes had once enured themselves without horror to behold the slaughter of wild beasts in their shewes, they came to the murther of men and Gladiators. Nature (I feare me) hath of her owne selfe added unto man a certaine instinct to humanitie. No man taketh delight to see wild beasts sport and wantonly to make much one of another: Yet all are pleased to see them tugge, mangle, and enterteare one another. And lest any bodie should jeast at this simphathie, which I have with them, Divinitie it selfe willeth us to shew them some favour: And considering, that one selfe-same master (I meane that incomprehensible worlds-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his wondrous palace for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his household: I say, it hath some reason to injoyne us, to shew some respect and affection towards them. Pythagoras borrowed Metempsychosis of the Egyptians, but since, it hath been received of divers Nations, and especially of our Druides:

158.

*Morte carent anima, semperque priore relicta*

*Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitamque recepta.*

Our death-lesse soules, their former seats refrained,

In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

The Religion of our ancient Gaules, inferred, that soules being eternall, ceased not to remove and change place, from one bodie to another: to which fantasie was also entermixed some consideration of divine justice. For, according to the soules behaviors, during the time she had been with Alexander, they sayd, that God appointed it another bodie to dwell-in, either more or lesse painfull, and futable to her condition.

Claud. in Ruf.  
lib. 1. 482.

— *muta ferarum*

*Cogit vincla pati, cruculemos ingeris arsis,*

*Predonesque lupis, fallaces vulpibus addis.*

*Atque ubi per varios annos per mille figuras*

*Egis letheos purgatos flumine tandem*

*Rursus ad humana revocat primordia forme.*

Dumbe bands of beasts he makes mens soules endure,

Blood-thirstie soules he doth to Beares enure,

Craftie to Foxes, to Woelves bent to rapes;

Thus when for many yeares, through many shapes,

He hath them driv'n in Lethe lake at last,

Them purg'd he turn's to mans forme whence they past.

If the soule had been valiant, they placed it in the bodie of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a Swine; if faint-hearted, in a Stagge, or a Hare; if malicious in a Foxe, and so of the rest, untill that being purified by this punishment, it reassumed and tooke the bodie of some other man againe.

Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 15. 160.

*Ipse ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli*

*Pantheides Euphorbus eram.*

When Troy was won, I, as I call to mind,

Euphorbus was, and Panthus sonne by kind.

As touching that alliance betweene us and beasts, I make no great accompt of it, nor do I greatly admit it; neither of that which divers Nations, and namely of the most ancient and noble



noble, who have not onely received beasts into their societie and companie, but allowed them a place farre above themselves; sometimes deeming them to be familiars and favoured of their Gods, and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and reverence more than humane, and others acknowledging no other God nor no other Divinity than they. *Belus à barbaris propter beneficium consecrata. Beasts by the Barbarians were made sacred for some benefit.*

Ch. Nat. Descri.  
lib. 1.

— *crocodilon adorant*

*Pars hac, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibi,*

*Effigies sacri hic niter aurea Cercopithecii.*

This Country doth the Crocodile adore,

That feares the Storke glutted with Serpents gore,

The sacred Babion here,

In gold shape doth appeare.

— *hic piscem fluminis, illic*

*Oppida tota canem venerantur.*

A fish here whole Townes reverence most,

A dog they honour in that coast.

Joven. sat. 15. A.

And the very same interpretation that *Plutarke* giveth unto this error, which is very well taken, is also honourable for them. For, he saith, that (for example sake) it was neither the Cat nor the Oxe that the Egyptians adored, but that in those beasts, they worshipped some image of divine faculties. In this patience and utility, and in that, vivacity, or (as our neighbours the Borgonians with all *Germany*) their impatience to see themselves shut up: Whereby they represented the liberty which they loved and adored beyond all other divine faculty, and so of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions, I meet with some discourses that goe about and labour to shew the neere resemblance betwene us and beasts, and what share they have in our greatest Privileges, and with how much likely-hood they are compared unto us, truly I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary soveraigntie that some give and ascribe unto us above all other creatures. If all that were to be contradicted, yet is there a kinde of respect, and a generall duty of humanity, which tieth us not only unto brute beasts that have life and sense, but even unto trees and plants. *Unto men we owe Justice, and to all other creatures that are capable of it, grace and benignity.* There is a kinde of enter-changeable commerce and mutuall bond betwene them and us. I am not ashamed nor afraid to declare the tendernes of my childish Nature, which is such, that I cannot well reject my Dog, if he chance (although out of season) to fawne upon me, or beg of me to play with him. The Turkes have almes, and certaine Hospitals appointed for brute beasts. The Romans had a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilancy their Capitoll had beene saved. The Athenians did precisely ordaine that all manner of Mules which had served or beene imploied about the building of their Temple called *Hecatompodon* should bee free, and suffered to feed wheresoever they pleased, without any let or impeachment. The Agrigentines had an ordinary custome, seriously and solemnly to bury all such beasts as they had held deare; as horses of rare worth and merit, speciall dogs, choice or profitable birds, or such as had but served to make their children sport. And the sumptuous magnificence which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar unto them, appeared also almost notably in the stately sumptuousness and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and been maintained in pride and state. The Egyptians were wont to bury their Wolves, their Dogs, their Cats, their Beares, and Crocodiles in holy places, embalming their carcasses, and at their deaths to weare mourning weeds for them. *Cymon* caused a stately honourable tombe to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gained the prize at running in the Olympike games. Ancient *Xantippus* caused his Dog to be enterred upon a hill by the Sea shore, which ever since hath beene named by him. And *Plutarch* (as himselfe saith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine, to sell or send an Oxe to the shambles that had served him a long time.



## CHAP. XII.

*An Apologie of Raymond Sebond.*

**K**nowledge is without all contradiction, a most profitable and chiefe ornament: Those who despise it declare evidently their foolishnesse: Yet doe not I value it at so excessive a rate as some have done; namely *Hexillus* the Philosopher, who grounded his chiefe felicity upon it, and held that it lay in her power to make us content and wise: which I cannot believe, nor that which others have said, that *Knowledge is the mother of all veritie*, and that all *vice proceedeth of ignorance*. Which if it be, it is subject to a large interpretation. My house hath long since ever stood open to men of understanding, and is very well knowne to many of them: for my father, who commanded the same fifty yeeres and upward, set on fire by that new kinde of earnestnesse wherewith King *Francis* the first imbraced Letters, and raised them unto credit, did with great diligence and much cost endeavour to purchase the acquaintance of learned men: receiving and entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdome; collecting their sentences and discourses as if they had beene Oracles; and with so much more reverence and religious regard by how much lesse authority hee had to judge of them: for hee had no knowledge of Letters no more than his predecessors before him. As for me, I love them indeed, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, *Peter Ennel* (a man in his time, by reason of his learning of high esteeme) having sojourned a few daies at *Montagne* with my father, and others of his coat, being ready to depart thence, presented him with a booke entituled *Theologia naturalis; sive liber creaturarum magistri Raimondi de Sebona*. And for so much as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar unto him, and that the booke was written in a kinde of latinized Spanish, whereof divers words had Latine terminations; he hoped that with little aid he might reape no small profit by it, and commended the same very much unto him, as a booke most profitable, and fitting the dayes in which he gave it him. It was even at what time the new fangles of *Luther* began to creepe in favour, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient beleefe. Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason fore-saw, that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For the vulgar wanting the faculty to judge of things by themselves, suffering it selfe to be carried away by fortune, and led on by outward apparances, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions which tofore it held in awfull reverence (as are those wherein consisteth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soone and easily admit an equall uncertainty in all other parts of their beleefe, as they that had no other grounded authoritie or foundation, but such as are now shaken and weakned, and immediatly reject (as a tyrannicall yoke) all impressions they had in former times received by the authoritie of Lawes, or reverence of ancient custome.

Luv. l. 3. 1150.

*Nam cupide concalcatur nimis ante metum tuum.*

That which we fear'd before too much,  
We gladly scorne when tis not such.

Undertaking thence forward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the same. My father, a few daies before his death, fighting by chance upon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to translate the same into French. It is easie to translate such Authors, where nothing but the matter is to be represented; but hard and dangerous to undertake such as have added much to the grace and elegancy of the language, namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer tongue. It was a strange taske, and new occupation for me: but by fortune being then at leisure, and unable to gainsay the commandement of the best father that ever was; I came ere long (as well as I could) to an end of it: wherein he tooke singular delight, and commanded the same to be printed, which accordingly was after his decease performed. I found the

concoits



conceits of the author to be excellent, the contexture of his worke well followed, and his project full of pietie. Now forasmuch as divers amuse themselves to reade it, and especially Ladies, to whom we owe most service, it hath often bene my hap to help them, when they were reading it, to discharge the booke of two principall objections, which are brought against the same. His drift is bold, and his scope adventurous, for he undertaketh by humane and naturall reasons, to establish and verifie all the articles of Christian religion against Atheists. Wherein (to say truth) I find him so resolute and so happy, as I deeme it a thing impossible to doe better in that argument, and thinke that none equalleth him. Which booke seeming to me both over-rich and exquisite, being written by an author, whose name is so little knowne, and of whom, all we know, is, that he was a Spaniard, who about two hundred yeeres since professed Physicke in *Tholouse*: I demanded once of *Adrianus Turnebus* (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be, who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence extracted from our *Saint Thomas Aquinas*: For, in good truth, onely such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so full of admirable subtilitie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whosoever be the author or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from *Secund*), he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endowed with sundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reprov'd for in his Booke, is, that *Christians wrong themselves much, in that they ground their beleefe upon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith, and by a particular inspiration of God*. Which objection seemeth to containe some zeale of pietie; by reason whereof we ought with so much more mildnes and regard, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge, more befitting a man conversant, and sutable to one acquainted with the holy Scriptures, than me, who am altogether ignorant in them. Nevertheless I thinke, that even as to a matter so divine and high and so much exceeding all humane understanding, as is this Verity, wherewith it hath pleased the goodnesse of God to enlighten us, it is most requisite, that he afford and lend us his helpe; And that, with an extraordinary and privileged favour, that so we may the better conceive and entertaine the same: For, I suppose that meeresly humane can no way be capable of it; which if they were, so many rare and excellent mindes, and so plenteously stored with naturall faculties, as have bene in times past, would never by their discourse, have mist the attayning of this knowledge. *It is faith onely, which lively and assuredly embraceth the high mysteries of our Religion*. And no man can doubt, but that it is a most excellent and commendable enterprise, properly to accommodate and fit to the service of our faith, the natural helps and humane implements which God hath bestowed upon us. And no question is to be made, but that it is the most honourable employment we can put them unto; and that there is no occupation or intent more worthy a good Christian, than by all meanes, studies and imaginations, carefully to endeavour, how to embellish, amplifie and extend the truth of his beleefe and religion. *It is not enough for us to serve God in spirit and soule*, we owe him besides, and wee yeeld unto him a corporall worshipping; we applie our limbs, our motions, and all externall things, to honour him. The like ought to be done, and we should accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yet alwayes with this proviso, that we thinke it doth not depend of us, and that all our strength and arguments can never attaine to so supernaturall and divine a knowledge: Except it seize upon us, and as it were enter into us by an extraordinarie infusion: And unlesse it also enter into us, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie. And verily I feare therefore, that except this way, we should not enjoy it. Had we fast-hold on God, by the interposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himselfe, and not by us; had we a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter us, as they have. Our hold would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of noveltie; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casuall changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our beleefe. We should not suffer the same to be troubled at the wil and pleasure of a new argument, and at the perswasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we should withstand these boistrous billowes with an inflexible and unmoveable constancie.

The first Obie-  
ction.

*Illis fluctus rupes, ut vasta refundit,  
Et varias circumlaurantes dissipat undas,*

Y 2

*Virg. En. l. 7.  
587.*

Mole



*Mole sua.*

As huge rocks doe regorge th' invective waves,  
And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,  
Which these gainst those still bellow out,  
Those being big and standing stout.

If this rate of Divinitie did in any sort touch us, it would everie where appeare: Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceed from us, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchlesse brightness. We should blush for shame, that in humane sects, there was never any so factious, what difficultie or strangeness soever his doctrine maintained, but would in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life unto it: Whereas so divine and heavenly an institution never marks christians but by the tongue. And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our manners unto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeeld unto them: Whereas in respect of our religions superioritie, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in excellencie: And well might a man say, *Are they so iust, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians.* All other outward shewes and exterior apparences are common to all religions: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence and martyrdom. *The peculiar badge of our truth should be vertue;* As it is the heavenliest and most difficult marke, and worthiest production of Verity it self. And therefore was our good Saint *Lewis* in the right, when that Tartarian King, who was become a Christian, intended to come to *Lions*, to kisse the Popes feet, and there to view the sanctitie he hoped to find in our lives and manners, instantly to divert him from it, fearing lest our dissolute manners, and licentious kind of life, might scandalize him, and so alter his opinion fore-conceived of so sacred a religion. Howbeit the contrary happened to another, who for the same effect being come to *Rome*, and there viewing the dissoluteness of the Prelates and people of those dayes, was so much the more confirmed in our religion; considering with himselfe what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions and so viciously-polluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor. *Had we but one onely graine of faith, wee should then be able to remove mountaines from out their place,* saith the holy Writ. Our actions being guided, and accompanied with divinitie, should not then be meere humane, but even as our beliefe, containe some wonder-causing thing. *Brevis est institutio vita honesta beataque, si credas. The institution of an honest and blessed life is but short, if a man beleve.* Some make the world beleve, that they beleve things they never doe. Others (and they are the greater number) perswade themselves they doe so, as unable to conceive what it is to beleve. We thinke it strange if in warres, which at this time doe so oppresse our state, we see the events to float so strangely, and with so common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The reason is, we adde nothing unto it but our owne. Iustice, which is on the one side, is used but for a cloake and ornament; she is indeed alleadged, but not received, nor harboured, nor wedded. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as she ought in the heart and affection of the partie. *God oweth his extraordinarie assistance unto faith and religion, and not to our passions.* Men are but directors unto it and use religion for a shew: It ought to be cleane contrarie. Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a peece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule, to drawe so many contrary shapes. When was this better scene than nowadaies in *France*? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the right hand; Such as speake the false, and such who speake the truth of it, do so alike employ and fit the same to their violent and ambitious enterprises, proceede unto it with so conformable a proceeding in riotousnesse and injustice, they make the diversitie they pretend in their opinions doubtfull, and hard to be beleaved, in a thing from which depends the conduct and law of our life. Can a man see from one same Schoole and Discipline, more united and like customes and fashions to proceed? View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tolle divine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported us from place to place. This solemne proposition; *Whether it be lawfull for a subiect, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince:* Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a twelve moneth agoe the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one part; the negative was the maine-underprop of the other: And listen now, from whence cometh



meth the voyce and instruction of one and other: and whether armes clatter and clang iellie for this, than for that cause. And we burne those men, which say, that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our need: And how much worse doth *France*, than speake it? Let us confesse the truth: he that from out this lawfull army should cull out, first those who follow it for meere zeale of a religious affection, then such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes, or service of their Prince; whether hee could ever erect a compleat company of armed men. How comes it to passe, that so few are found, who have still held one same wil and progresse in our publike revolutions, and that we see them now and then but faintly, and sometimes, as fast as they can headlong to runne into the action? And the same men, now by their violence and rashnesse, and now through their slownes, demissines, and heavines to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrust into them by casuall motives, and particular consideration, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved? *I plainly perceive, we lend nothing unto devotion but the offices that flatter our passions.* There is no hottilitie so excellent, as that which is absolutely Christian. Our zeale worketh wonders, when ever it secondeth our inclination toward hatred, crueltie, ambition, avarice, detraction, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benignitie, or temperance, it goeth but slowly, and against the haire, except miraculously, some rare complexion leade him unto it, it neither runnes nor flieth to it. *Our religion was ordained to root out vices, but it shewdeth, fostreth and provoketh them.* As commonly wee say, *We must not make a foole of God.* Did wee beleeve in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple beleefe, yea (I speake it to our confusion) did we but beleeve and know him, as wee doe another storie, or as one of our companions, we should then love him above all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes, and unspeakable beauty that is, and shines in him: Had he but the same place in our affections, that riches, pleasures, glory and our friends have: The best of us doth not so much feare to wrong him, as he doth to injurie his neighbour, his kinsman, or his master. Is there so simple a minde, who on the one side having before him the object of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full view, perfect knowledge and assured perswasion, the state of an immortall glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And if we often refuse it through meere contempt: for what drawet us to blaspheming, unlesse it be at all adventures, the desire it selfe of the offence? The Philosopher *Anisthenes*, when he was initiated in the mysteries of *Orpheus*, the priest; saying, unto him, that such as vowed themselves to that religion, should after death receive eternall and perfect felicities, replied, if thou beleeve it, why dost thou not die thy self? *Diogenes* more roughly (as his manner was) and further from our purpose, answered the priest, who perswaded him to be one of his order, that so he might come unto, and attaine the happinesse of the other world: Wilt thou have me beleeve, that those famous men *Agésilas* and *Epaminondas*, shall be miserable, and that thou, who art but an asse, and dost nothing of any worth, shalt be happy, because thou art a Priest? Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessednes with like authoritie, as we do a philosophicall discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have:

*Non jam se moriens dissolvi conqueretur,  
Sed magis ire foras, vestemque relinquere ut anguis  
Gauderet, praelonga senex aut cornua cervus.*

LUCY. l. 3. 630.

He would not now complaine to be dissolved dying,  
But rather more rejoyce, that now he is forth-flying,  
Or as a Snake his coat out-worne,  
Or as old Harts, doth cast his horne.

I will be dissolved should we say, and be with *Iesus Christ*. The forcible power of *Platoes* discourse, of the immortality of the soule, provoked divers of his Schollers unto death, that so they might more speedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. All which is a most evident token, that we receive our religion, but according to our fashion, and by our owne hands, and no otherwise than other religions are received. We are placed in the country, where it was in use; where we regard her antiquity, or the authority of those who have maintained her; where we feare the menaces wherewith she threarneth all mis-beleever, or follow her promises. The considerations ought to be applied and employed to our beleefe, but as Subsidiaries: they be humane bonds. Another Country, other Testimonies, equall promises:



mises: alike menaces, might seemably imprint a cleane contrary religion in us: we are Christians by the same title, as we are either Perigordins or Germans. And as *Plato* saith: *There are few so confirmed in Atheisme, but some great danger will bring unto the knowledge of Gods divine power.* The part doth not touch or concerne a good Christian: It is for mortall and worldly religions, to be received by a humane convoy. *What faith is that like to be, which comardice of heart doth plant, and weaknesse establish in us?* A goodly faith, that beleeveth that which it beleeveth, onely because it wanteth the courage not to beleve the same. A vicious passion, as that of incontinencie and astonishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our minds or soules? They establish (saith he) by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction; but the occasions to make triall of it, offering it selfe, at what time age or sickenes doth summon them to death: the error of the same, through the horrour of their future condition, doth then replenish them with another kinde of beleefe. And because such impressions make mens hearts fearefull, hee by his lawes, inhibiteth all instruction of such threats, and the perswasion, that any evill may come unto man from the Gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever he fallerh into it. The report of *Bion*, that being infected with the Atheismes of *Theodorus*, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon him, he yelded unto the extremest superstitions: As if the Gods would either be removed, or come againe, according to *Bions* businesse. *Plato* and these examples conclude, that wee are brought to beleve in God, either by reason, or by compulsion. Atheisme being a proposition, as unnaturall and monstrous as it is hard and uncalie to be established in any mans minde, how insolent and unruly soever hee may be. Many have beene seene, to have conceived, either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world, by affecting a profession onely in countenance: who though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough, to ground or settle it in their consciences. Yet will not such leave to lift-up their joynd hands to heaven, give them but a stoecado on their breast: and when feare shall have supprest, or sicknesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and discreetly to be perswaded, to give credit unto true beleife and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superficiall impressions another, which bred by the dissolutenesse of a loose spirit, do rashly and uncertainly float up and downe the fantasie of a man. Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endeavour to be worse than they can! The error of Paganisme, and the ignorance of our sacred truth, was the cause of this great soules-fall; but onely great in worldly greatnes; also in this next abuse, which is, that children and old men, are found to be more susceptible or capable of religion, as if it were bred and had her credit from our imbecillitie. *The bond which should binde our judgement, tie our will, enforce and ioyn our soules to our Creator, should be a bond taking his doubling and forces, not from our considerations, reasons and passions, but from a divine and supernaturall compulsion, having but one forme, one countenance, and one grace; which is the authoritie and grace of God.* Now our heart being ruled, and our soule commanded by faith, reason willet, that she drawes all our other parts to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely, but that this vast world-frame must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat resembling, and having coherencie with the workeman that wrought and framed them. He hath left imprinted in these high and misterious works, the characters of his divinitie: and onely our imbecillitie is the cause, wee can nor discover, nor read them. It is that which himselfe telleth us, *That by his visible operations, hee doth manifest those that are invisible to us.* *Sebond* hath much travelled about this worthe studie, and sheweth us, *That there is no parcell of this world, that either beliet or shameth his Maker.* It were a manifest wronging of Gods goodnesse, if all this universe did not consent and sympathize with our beleefe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our soule; yea all things else, conspire and agree vnto it: onely the meanes how to make use of them must be found out: They will instruct us sufficiently, be we but capable to learne and apt to understand. For, *this world is a most holy Temple, into which man is brought there to behold*  
*Statues*



*Statues and Images, not wrought by mortall hand, but such as the secret thought of God hath made sensible, as the Sunne, the Starres, the Waters and the Earth, thereby to represent the intelligible unto us. The invisible things of God (saith Saint Paul, doe evidently appeare by the creation of the world, iudging of his eternall Wisedome and Divinity by his workes.*

*Atque adeo faciem cæli non invidet orbi,  
Ipse Deus, vultusque suos corpusque recludit,  
Semper voluendo: seque ipsum inculcat & offert  
Ut bene cognosci possit, doceatque videndo  
Quis ille eat doceatque suas attendere leges.  
God to the world doth not heav'ns face envie,  
But by still moving it doth notifie  
His face and essence, doth himselfe applie,  
That he may well be knowen, and teach by seeing,  
How he goes, how we should marke his decreeing.*

*Manil. l. 4. 840.*

Now our reason and humane discourse, is as the lumpish and barren matter; and the grace of God is the forme thereof. This that, which giveth both fashion and worth unto it. Even as the vertuous actions of *Socrates* and *Cato*, are but frivolous and profitable, because they had not their end, and regarded not the love and obedience of the true creator of all things; and namely, because they were ignorant of the true knowledge of God: So is it of our imaginations and discourse; they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, unless faith and the grace of God be joynd thereunto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and lustre unto *Sebonds* arguments, make them the more firme and solid: They may well serve for a direction and guide to a yong learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some sort fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by meanes whereof our beliefe is afterward achieved and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought up in letters, who confessed unto me, that he was reclaimed from out the errors of mis-believing by the Arguments of *Sebond*. And if it happen, they be dispoyled of this ornament, and of the helpe and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantasies, yet to combat those that headlong are fallen into the dreadfull error, and horrible darkenesse of irreligion, even then, shall they be found as firme and forcible, as any other of that condition, that may be opposed against them. So that we shall stand upon termes to say unto our parties,

*Simelius quid habes, accerse, vel imperium fer.  
If you have any better, send for me,  
Or else that I bid you, contented be.*

*Hor. l. 1. epi. 5. 6.*

Let them either abide the force of our proofes, or shew us some others, upon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a manner unawares halfe engaged my selfe in the second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for *Sebond*. Some say his Arguments are weakke, and simple to verifie what he would; and undertake to front him easily. Such fellows mult somewhat more roughly he handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than the first. Man doth willingly apply other mens sayings to the advantage of the opinions he hath fore-judged in himselfe. To an Atheist all writings make for Atheisme. He with his owne Venome infecteth the innocent matter. These have some preoccupation of judgement that makes their taste wallowish and tastelesse, to conceive the reasons of *Sebond*. As for the rest, they thinke to have faire play offered them, if they have free liberty to combat our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durst not charge, did they behold her in her Majesty, full of authority and commandement. The meanes I use to suppress this frenzy, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to crush, and trample this humane pride and fiercenesse under foot, to make them feeble the emptinesse, vacuitie, and no worth of man; and violently to pull out of their hands, the silly weapons of their reason; to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, under the authority and reverence of Gods Majesty. Onely to her belongeth science and wisdom, it is she alone can judge of herselfe; and from her we steale, whatsoever we repute, value, and count our selves to be.

*The second. objection.*

*Οὐ γὰρ ἐκ πενήτων ὁ θεὸς μέγα ἀλλότριον ἢ αὐτὸν.*

Of



Of greater, better, wiser minde than he,  
God can abide no mortall man should be.

Prov. 3. 14. 4. 6.  
1. Pet. 5. 5.

Let us suppress this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit: *Deus superbis resistit: humilibus autem dat gratiam.* God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Plato saith, That intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men. Meane-while it is a great comfort unto a Christian man, to see our mortall implements, and fading tooles, so fitly sorted to our holy and divine faith; that when they are employed to the mortal and fading subjects of their Nature, they are never more forcibly, nor more joyntlie appropriated unto them. Let us then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then *Secondes*, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty. For, Saint *Augustine*, pleading against these kind of men, because he would upbraid them with their injustice, in that they hold the parts of our beleefe to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them. And to shew, that many things may be, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the causes; He proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knowen and undoubted experiments, wherein man confesseth to see nothing; which he doth as all things else, with a curious and ingenious search. More must be done, and they must be taught, that to convince the weakness of their reason, we need not goe far to cull out rare examples: And that it is so defective and blinde, as there is no facility so cleare, that is cleare enough unto her; that easie & uneasie is all one to her; that all subjects equally, and Nature in generall disavoweth her jurisdiction, and interposition. What preacheth truth unto us, when it biddeth us flie and shun worldly Philosophy; when it so often telleth us, that *all our wisdom is but folly before God; that of all vanities, man is the greatest; that man, who presumeth of his knowledge, doth not yet know what knowledge is: and that man, who is nothing, if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and deceiveth himselfe?* These sentences of the Holy Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what I would maintaine, as I should neede no other prooffe against such as with all submission and obeysance would yeeld to his authority. But these will needs be whipt to their owne cost, and cannot abide their reason to be combated, but by it selfe. Let us now but consider man alone without other help, armed but with his owne weapons, and unprovided of the grace and knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all his strength, and all the ground of his being. Let us see what hold-fast, or free-hold he hath in this gorgeous, and goodly equipage. Let him with the utmost power of his discourse make me understand, upon what foundation, he hath built those great advantages and ods, he supposeth to have over other creatures. Who hath perswaded him, that this admirable moving of heavens vaults; that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head; that the horror-moving and continuall motion of this infinite vaste Ocean, were established, and continue so many ages for his commoditie and service? Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it, much lesse to command the same. And the privilege, which he so fondly challegenth, to be the onely absolute creature in this huge worlds-frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie, and severall parts thereof, and that he is only of power to yeeld the great Architect thereof, due thanks for it, and to keepe account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath sealed him this patent? Let him shew us his letters of privilege, for so noble and so great a charge. Have they beene granted onely in favour of the wise? Then concerne they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthy of so extraordinary a favour? Who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shall we beleieve him; *Quorum igitur causa quis dixerit effectum esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium que ratione utuntur. Hi sunt dii & homines, quibus profectio nihil est melius.* For whose cause then shall a man say, that the world was made? In sooth, for those creatures sake, which have the use of reason: Those are Gods and men, than whom assuredly nothing is better. We shall never sufficiently baffle the impudency of this conjoyning. But silly wretch, what hath he in him worthy such an advantage? To consider the incorruptible life of the celestiall bodies, their beauty, greatnesse, and agitation, continued with so just and regular a course:

Cic. Nat. Deo. l. 2.

Lut. l. 9. 1214.

— cum suspicimus magni celestia mundi

Templa



*Templa super, stellisque micantibus Aethera fixum,  
Et venit in mentem Luna Solisque vicarum.*

When we of this great world the heavenly temples see  
Above us, and the skies with shine-stars fixt to be,  
And marke in our discourse,  
Of Sunne and Moone the course.

To consider the power and domination, these bodies have, not onely upon our lives, and condition of our fortune;

*Facta etenim & vitas hominum suspendit ab astris.*

For on the stars he doth suspend

Of men, the deeds, the lives, and end.

*Manil. astron.  
lib. 3. 38.*

But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wils, which they rule, provoke, and move at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth us.

*—speculataque longè*

*Deprendit tacitis dominamina legibus astra.*

*Et totum alternâ mundum ratione moveri,*

*Fatorumque vices certis discernere signis.*

By speculation it from far discern's,

How star's by secret lawes do guide our sterns;

And this whole world is moov'd by entercourse

And by sure signes of fates to know the course.

*Manil. astron.  
lib. 1. 61.*

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a King only. But Monarchies and Empires, yea, and all this world below is moved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions.

*Quantaque quam parvi faciant discrimina motus:*

*Tantum est hoc regnum quod regibus imperat ipsis.*

How little motions make, how different affection:

So great this Kingdome is, that hath Kings in subjection.

*Manil. astron.  
lib. 4. 93.*

If our vertue, vices, sufficiency and knowledge, and the same discourse we make of the power of the starres, and the comparison betweene them and us, cometh as our reason judgeth by their meane and through their favour.

*—furcaliet amore,*

*Et pontum tranare potest & vertere Troiam,*

*Alterius fors est scribendis legibus apta:*

*Ecce patrem nati perimunt, natosque parentes;*

*Muneraque armati coeunt in vulnera fratres,*

*Non nostrum hoc bellum est, coguntur tanta movere;*

*Inque suas ferri penas, lacerandaque membra:*

*Hoc quoque fatale est sic ipsum expendere fatum.*

One with love madd'd, his love to enjoy,

Can crosse the seas, and overturne all Troy:

Another's lot is to set lawes severe.

Loe sonnes kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy,

Brothers for mutuall wounds their armes doe beare;

Such war is not our owne, forc't are we to it,

Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbs to teare;

Fates so to observe 'tis fatall, we must doe it.

*Manil. astron.  
lib. 4. 178.*

118.

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have, from the distribution of heaven, how can she make us equall unto it? How can she submit his essence and conditions unto our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those huge bodies, doth affright us: *Qua molitio, qua ferramenta, qui velles, qua machina, qui ministri tanti operis fuerunt? What workemanship? What yron-braces? What maine beames, what engines? What Masons and Carpenters, were so great a worke?* Why doe we then deprive them of soule, of life, and of discourse? Have we discovered or knowen any unmoveable or insensible stupidity in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say we have seene the use of a reasonable soule, in no other creature, but in man? What? Have we seene any thing comparable to the Sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seene nothing semblable unto it? And doth he leave

*Cic. Nat. Deo.  
lib. 1.*



Sen. ira. lib. 2.  
cap. 9.

Sen. epist. 95.

leave his moving, because his equall is no whereto be found? If that which we have not seene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfull abridged. *Qua sunt tanta animi angustia? What narrowesse of my heart is such?* Be they not dreames of humane vanity, to make a celestiaall earth, or world of the Moone? As *Anaxagoras* did? And therein to plant worldly habitations, and as *Plato* and *Plutarch* doe, erect their colonies for our use. And to make of our knowne earth a bright shining planet? *Inter cetera mortalitatis incommoda, & hoc est caligamentum: nec tantum necessitas errandi, sed errorum amor.* Among other discomforts of our mortality this is one, there is darknesse in our minds, and in us not onely necessity of erring, but a love of errors. *Corruptibile corpus aggravat animam, & deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem.* Our corruptible body doth overlode our soule, and our dwelling on earth weighes downe our sense, that is set to thinke of many matters. Pretumption is our naturall and originall infirmitie. Of all creatures man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainfullest. Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world, fast tied and nailed to the worst, most senselesse, and drooping part of the world, in the vilest corner of the house, and farthest from heavens coape, with those creatures, that are the worst of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven under his feet. It is through the vanity of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions unto himselfe, that he seleceth & separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to which his fellow-brethren and compeers, he cuts out and shareth their parts, and alloteth them what portions of meanes or forces he thinkes good. How knoweth he by the vertue of his understanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from them to us doth he conclude the brutishnesse, he ascribeth unto them? When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she have more sport in dallying with me, than I have in gaming with her? We entertaine one another with mutuall apish trickes, If I have my houre to begin or to refuse, so hath she hers. *Plato* in setting forth the golden age under *Saturne*, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking instruction, he knew the true qualities, and differences of every one of them: by, and from whom he got an absolute understanding and perfect wisdom, whereby he led a happier life than we can doe. Can we have a better proofe to judge of mans impudency, touching beasts? This notable Author was of opinion, that in the greatest part of the corporall forme, which nature hath bestowed on them, she hath onely respected the use of the Prognostications, which in his daies were thereby gathered. That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and us, why may it not as well be in us, as in them? It is a matter of divination to guesse in whom the fault is, that we understand not one another. For, we understand them no more than they us. By the same reason, may they as well esteeme us beasts, as wethem. It is no great marvell if we understand them not: no more doe we the Cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet have some boasted that they understood them, as *Apollonius Thyaneus*, *Melampus*, *Tiresias*, *Thales* and others. And if it be (as Cosmographers report) that there are Nations, who receive and admit a Dogge to be their King, it must necessarily follow, that they give a certaine interpretation to his voice and moving. We must note the parity that is betweene us. We have some meane understanding of their senses, so have beasts of ours, about the same measure. They flatter and faune upon us, they threat, and entreat us, so doe we them. Touching other matters, we manifestly perceive, that there is a full and perfect communication amongst them, and that not onely those of one same kinde understand one another, but even such as are of different kindes.

Lucr. l. 5. 1069.

*Es multa pecudes, & denique secla ferarum  
Dissimiles fuerunt voces variasque cluere  
Cum metus aut dolor est, aut cum iam gaudia gliscunt.  
Whole heard's (though dumbe) of beasts, both wild and tame  
Use divers voices, different sounds to frame,  
As joy, or griefe, or feare,  
Upspringing passions beare.*

By one kinde of barking of a Dogge, the Horse knoweth he his angrie; by another voice of his, he is nothing dismayd. Even in beasts, that have no voice at all, by the reciprocall kindnesse,



kindnesse, which we see in them, we easily inferre there is some other meane of entercommuni-  
cation: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.

*Non alia longèratione atque ipsa videtur*

ib. 104.

*Protrahere ad gestum, pueros infantia lingua.*

No otherwise, then for they cannot speake,

Children are drawne by signes their mindes to breake.

And why not, as well as our dumbe men dispute, argue and tell histories by signes? I have seene some so ready and so excellent in it, that (in good sooth) they wanted nothing to have their meaning perfectly understood. Doe we not daily see lovers with the lookes and rowling of their eyes, plainly shew when they are angrie or pleased, and how they entreat and thanke one another, assigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

*Et silentio ancor suale*

*Haver prieghi & parole.*

Silence also hath a way,

Words and prayers to convey.

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreat, promise and performe, call men unto us and discharge them, bid them farwell and be gone, threaten, pray, beseech, deny, refuse, demand, admire, number, confesse, repent, feare, bee ashamed, doubt, instruct, command, incite, encourage, sweare, witnesse, accuse, condemne, absolve, injurie, despise, defie, delpight, flatter, applaud, blesse, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shew gladnesse, rejoyce, complaine, waile, sorrow, discomfort, dispaire, cry out, forbid, declare silence and astonishment? And what not? With so great variation, and amplifying, as if they would contend with the tongue. And with our head, doe we not invite and call to us, discharge and send away, avow, disavow, belie, welcome, honour, worship, disdain, demand, direct, rejoyce, affirme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeeld, submit, brag, boast, threaten, exhort, warrant, assure, and enquire? What doe we with our eye-lids? and with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion, nor jesture that doth not speake, and speakes in a language very easie, and without any teaching to be understood: nay, which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing the varietie, and severall use it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the proper and peculiar speech of humane nature. I omit that, which necessitie in time of need doth particularly instruct and suddenly teach such as need it; and the alphabets upon fingers, and grammars by jestures; and the sciences which are onely exercised and expressed by them: and the nations *Plinio* reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambassador of the Citie of *Abdera*, after he had talked a long time unto *Agis* King of *Sparta*, said thus unto him: O King, what answer wilt thou that I beare backe unto our citizens? Thus (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake all thou wouldst, and as long as thou pleasedst, without ever speaking one word. Is not this a kinde of speaking silence, and easie to be understood? And as for other matters; what sufficiency is there in us, that we must not acknowledge from the industry and labours of beasts? Can there be a more formall, and better ordered policie, divided into so severall charges and offices, more coastantly entertained, and better maintained, than that of Bees? Shall we imagine, their so orderly disposing of their actions, and managing of their vacations, have so proportioned and formall a conduct without discourse, reason, and forecast?

*His quidam signis atque hac exempla sequuti,*

*Ving. Georg. lib.*

*Esse apibus partem divina mentis, & haustus*

4. 219.

*Ethereos dixere.*

Some by these signes, by these examples move

Said that in Bees there is and may be proved

Some taste of heavenly kinde,

Part of celestiall minde.

The Swallows which at the approach of spring time we see to pry, to search, and ferret all the corners of our houses; is it without judgement they seeke, or without discretion they chuse from out a thousand places, that which is fittest for them, to build their nests and lodging? And in that pretie cunning contexture, and admirable framing of their houses, would birds rather fit themselves with a round, than a square figure with an obtuse, than a right angle,



angle, except they knew both the commodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) first take water and then clay, unlesse they guessed that the hardnesse of the one is softened by the moistnesse of the other? Would they floore their palace with mosse or downe, except they foresaw that the tender parts of their young ones shall thereby lie more soft and easie? Would they shroud and shelter themselves from stormy weather, and build their cabbins toward the East, unlesse they knew the different conditions of winds, and considered that some are more healthfull and safe for them than some others? Why doth the Spider spin her artificiall web thicke in one place and thin in another? And now useth one, and then another knot, except she had an imaginary kinde of deliberation, fore-thought, and conclusion? We perceive by the greater part of their workes what excellency beasts have over us, and how weake our art and short our cunning is, if we goe about to imitate them. We see notwithstanding, even in our grossest workes, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employeth the uttermost of her skill and forces in them: why should wee not thinke as much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the workes, which excell what ever we can performe, either by nature or by art, unto a kinde of unknowne, naturall, and servile inclination? Wherein unawares wee give them a great advantage over us, to infer that nature, led by a certaine loving kindnesse, leadeth and accompanieth them (as it were by the hand) unto all the actions and commodities of their life; and that she forsaketh and leaveth us to the hazard of fortune; and by art to quest and finde out those things that are behovefull and necessarie for our preservation: and therewithall denieth us the meanes to attaine by any institution and contention of spirit to the naturall sufficiency of brute beasts: So that their brutish stupidity doth in all commodities exceed, whatsoever our divine intelligence can effect. Verily, by this account wee might have just cause and great reason to terme her a most unjust and partiall stepdame: But there is no such thing, our policy is not so deformed and disordered. Nature hath generally imbraced all her creatures: And there is not any, but she hath amply stored with all necessary meanes for the preservation of their being. For the daily plaints, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceits doth sometimes raise them above the clouds, and then headlong tumbling them downe even to the *Antipodes*) exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himselfe withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with fings, with bristles, with hides, with mosse, with feathers, with scales, with fleeces, and with silke, according as their quality might need, or their condition require: And hath fenced and armed them with claws, with nailes, with talons, with hooves, with teeth, with fings, and with hornes, both to assaile others and to defend themselves: And hath moreover instructed them in every thing fit and requisite for them, as to swim, to runne, to creepe, to flie, to roare, to bellow, and to sing: where as man only (Oh silly wretched man) can neither goe, nor speake, nor shift, nor feed himselfe, unlesse it be to whine and weepe onely, except hee bee taught,

Zuerli. 5. 222.

*Tum porro, puerus sevis projectus ab undis  
Narita, nudus humi jacet infans, indigus omni  
Visali auxilio, cum primum in luminis oras  
Nexibus ex alvo matris natura profudit,  
Vagituque locum lugubri complet, ut aquum est  
Cui tantum in vita restet transire malorum:  
At varia crescunt pecudes, armenta, feraeque,  
Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuiquam adhibenda est  
Alma nutricis blanda atque infracta loquela:  
Nec varias quaerunt vestes pro tempore calti:  
Denique non armis opus est, non mœnibus altis  
Quæ suas sententur, quando omnibus omnia large  
Tellus ipsa parit, naturaque dædala rerum.  
An infant, like a shipwracke ship-boy cast from seas,  
Lies naked on the ground and speechlesse, wanting all  
The helpe of vitall spirit, when nature with small ease*



Of throw's, to see first light, from her wombe lets him fall,  
 Then, as is meet, with mourn' full cries he fills the place,  
 For whom so many ills remaine in his lives race.  
 But divers herds of tame and wild beasts foreward spring,  
 Nor need they rattles, nor of Nurces cockring-kind  
 The flattering broken speech their lullaby need sing.  
 Nor seeke they divers coats, as divers seasons bind.  
 Lastly no armour need they, nor high-reared wall  
 Whereby to guard their owne, since all things unto all  
 Worke-masters nature doth produce,  
 And the earth largely to their use.

Such complaints are false: There is a greater equality, and more uniforme relation in the policy of the world. Our skin is as sufficiently provided with hardnesse against the injuries of the wether, as theirs: Witnesse diuers Nations, which yet never knew the use of clothes. Our ancient Gaules were but slightly apparelled, no more are the Irish-men, our neighbours, in so cold a climate: Which we may better judge by our selves; for, all those parts of our bodie, we are pleased to leave bare to winde and wether, are by experience found able to endure it: If there be any weake part in us, which in likely-hood should seeme to feare cold, it ought to be the stomacke, where digestion is made: Our forefathers used to have it bare, and our Ladies (as dainty-nice as they be) are many times seene to goe open-breasted, as low as their navill. The bandles and swathes about our children are no more necessary: And the mothers of *Lacedemonia*, brought up theirs in all liberty and loosenesse of moving their limbs without swathing or binding. Our whining, our puling and our weeping is common to most creatures, and divers of them are often seene to waile and grone along time after their birth, for so much as it is a countenance fitting the weaknesse wherein they feeble themselves, As for the use of eating, and feeding, it is in us, as in them, naturall and without teaching.

*Sentit enim vim quisque suam quam possit aburi.*

*Ibid. 104.*

For every one soone-understanding is

Of his owne strength, which he may use amisse.

Who will make question, that a child having attained the strength to feed himselfe, could not quest for his meat, and shift for his drinke? The earth without labour or tilling doth sufficiently produce and offer him as much as he shall need. And if not at all times, no more doth she unto beasts; witnesse the provision, wee see the Ants and other silly creatures to make against the cold and barren seasons of the yeare. The nations, that have lately bin discovered, so plenteously stored with all manner of naturall meat and drinke, without care or labor, teach us, that bread is not our onely food: And that without toying, our common mother nature, hath with great plentie stored us with whatsoever should be needfull for us, yea, as it is most likely, more richly and amply, than now adaies she doth, that we have added so much art unto it:

*Et tellus nitidas fruges vinetaque lata  
 Sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,  
 Ipsa dedit dulces fœtus, & pabula lata,  
 Quæ nunc vix nostro grandescunt ætæ labore,  
 Conterimusque boves & vires agricolarum:*  
 The earth it selfe at first of th' owne accord  
 Did men rich Vineyards, and cleane fruit afford.  
 It gave sweet of-springs food from sweeter soyle  
 Which yet scarce greater grow for all our toyle,  
 Yet tire therein we doe,

*LUCY. l. 2 1166.*

Both Plough-mens strength and Oxen too.

The gluttonous excesse, and intemperate lavishnesse of our appetite exceeding all the inventions, we endeavour to finde out, wherewith to glut and cloy the same. As for armes and weapons, we have more, that be naturall unto us, than the greatest part of other beasts: We have more severall motions of limbs, and naturally, without teaching: We reape more serviceable use of them, than they do: Those which are trained up to fight naked, are seene headlong to cast themselves into the same hazards and dangers, as we doe. If some beasts excell us



in this advantage, we exceed many others : And the industrie to enable, the skill to fortifie, and the wit to shelter and cover our body by artificiall meanes, we have it by a kind of naturall instinct and teaching. Which to prove ; the Elephant doth whet and sharpen his teeth, he useth in warre (for he hath some he onely useth for that purpose) which he heedfully sparreth, and never puts them to other service : When Bulls prepare themselves to fight, they raise, scatter, and with their feet, cast the dust about them : The wild Boare whets his tuskes ; when the *Ichnemmon* is to grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same drie and harden upon him, which he doth so often, that at last the same becomes as hard & tough as any well compact crust, which serveth him in stead of a Cuirace. Why shall we not say, that it is as naturall for us to arme our selves with wood and yron ? As for speech, sure it is, that if it be not naturall it is not necessary. I beleeve nevertheless, that if a childe, bred in some uncouth solitarie place, farre from haunt of people (though it were a hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt have some kind of words to expresse, and speech to utter his conceits : And it is not to be imagined, that nature hath refused us that meane, and barred us that helpe, which she hath bestowed upon many and divers other creatures : For, what is that faculty we see in them, when they seeme to complaine, to rejoyce, to call one unto another for helpe, and bid one another to loving copulation (as commonly they doe) by the use of their voice, but a kind of speech ? And shall not they speake among themselves, that speake and utter their minde unto us, and we to them ? How many waies speake we unto our Dogges, and they seeme to understand and answer us ? With another language, and with other names speake we unto, and call them, than we doe our Birds, our Hogges, our Oxen, our Horses, and such like ; and according to their different kindes we change our Idiome.

*Cosi per entro loro schiera bruna  
Stammasi l'una con l'altra formica,  
Forse à spiar lor via, & lor fortuna.  
So Ants amidst their sable-coloured band  
One with another mouth to mouth confer,  
Haply their way, or state to understand.*

Meseemeth that *Lactantius* doth not onely attribute speech unto beasts, but also laughing. And the same difference of tongues, which according to the diversity of Countries is found amongst us, is also found amongst beasts of one same kinde. *Aristotle* to that purpose alleageth the divers calles or purres of Partridges, according to the situation of their place of breeding :

*Lucr. l. 5. 1088.*

*— varieque volucres  
Longe alias alio jaciunt in tempore voces,  
Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus unâ  
Rancifonos cantus.  
And divers birds, send forth much divers sounds  
At divers times, and partly change the grounds  
Of their hoarse-sounding song,  
As seasons change along.*

But it would be knowen, what language such a child should speake and what some report by divination, hath no great likely-hood. And if against this opinion, a man would alleage unto me, that such as are naturally deafe, speake not at all : I answer, that it is not onely because they could not receive the instruction of the world by their eares, but rather in as much as the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived, hath some affinity with that of speaking, both which with a naturall kinde of ligament or seame, hold and are fastned together : In such sort, as what we speake, we must first speake it unto our selves, and before we utter and send the same forth to strangers, we make it inwardly to sound unto our eares. I have said all this, to maintaine the coherency and resemblance, that is in all humane things, and to bring us unto the generall throng. We are neither above nor under the rest : what ever is under the coape of heaven (saith the wise man) runneth one law, and followeth one fortune.

*Ibid. 885.*

*Indupedita suis fatalibus omnia vinculis.  
All things enfolded are,  
In fatal bonds as fits their share.*

Some



Some difference there is, there are orders and degrees; but all is under the vilage of one-  
same nature.

*—res quaque suo ritu procedit, & omnes  
Fœdere nature certo discrimina servant.*

*Ibid. 932.*

All things proceed in their course, natures all  
Keepe difference, as in their league doth fall.

Man must be forced, and marshalled within the lists of this policie. Miserable man with all his wit cannot in effect goe beyond it: he is embraced, and engaged, and as other creatures of his ranke are, he is subjected in like bondes, and without any prerogative or essentiall preexcellencie, what ever Privilege he assume unto himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That which is given by opinion or fantasie hath neither body nor taste. And if it be so, that he alone, above all other Creatures, hath this liberty of imagination, and this licence of thoughts, which represent unto him, both what is, and what is not & what him pleaseth, falsehood and truth; it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, and whereof he hath little reason to glorie: For thence springs the chiefeest source of all the mischiefs that oppresse him, as sinne, sicknesse, irresolution, trouble and despaire. But to come to my purpose, I say therefore, there is no likelyhood, we should imagine, the beasts doe the very same things by a naturall inclination and forced genitie, which we doe of our owne freewill and industrie. Of the very same effects we must conclude alike faculties; and by the richest effects infer the noblest faculties, & consequently acknowledge, that the same discourse and way, we hold in working, the very same, or perhaps some other better, doe beasts hold. Wherefore shall we imagine that naturall compulsion in them, that prove no such effect our selves? Since it is more honourable to be addressed to act, and tyed to worke orderly, by and through a naturall and unavoideable condition, and most approaching to Divinitie, than regularly to worke and act, by, and through a casuall and rash libertie; and it is safer to leave the reignes of our conduct unto nature, than unto ourselves. The vanitie of our presumption maketh us rather to be beholding, and as it were endebted unto our owne strength, for our sufficiency, than unto her liberalitie, and enrich other creatures with naturall gifts, and yeeld those unto them, that so we may ennoble and honour our selves with gifts purchased, as me thinketh, by a very simple humour: For, I would prize graces, and value gifts, that were altogether mine owne, and naturall unto me, as much as I would those, I had begged, and with a long prentiship, shifted for. *It lyeth not in our power to obtaine a greater commendation, than to be favoured both of God and Nature.* By that reason, the Fox, which the inhabitants of *Ibrace* use when they will attempte to march upon the yce of some frozen river, and to that end let her goe loose afore them, should we see her running alongst the river side, approach hereare close to the yce, to listen whether by any farre or neere distance, she may heare the noyse or roaring of the water, running under the same, and according as she perceiveth the yce thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward; might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possitieth her head, as in like case it would ours? And that it is a kinde of debating reason and consequence, drawn from naturall sense? *Whatsoever maketh a noyse moveth, whatsoever moveth, is not frozen; whatsoever is not frozen, is liquid whatsoever is liquid, yeelds under any weight?* For to impute that only to a quicknesse of the sense of hearing, without discourtie or consequence, is but a fond conceipt, and cannot enter into my imagination. The like must be judged of so many wiles, and inventions, wherewith beasts save themselves from the snares, and scape the baits we lay to entrap them. And if we will take hold of any advantage tending to that purpose, that it is in our power to seize upon them, to employ them to our service, and to use them at our pleasure; it is but the same oddes we have one upon another. To which purpose we have our slaves or bond-men; and were not the Clinacides, certaine women in *Syria*, which creeping on al foure, upon the ground, served the Ladies in steed of footstoles or ladders to get up into their coaches? Where the greater part of free men for very slight causes, abandon both their life and being, to the power of others. The wives and Concubines of the Thracians strive and contend, which of them shalbe chosen, to bee slaine over her husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where some for an over-plus, or supereorgation have added this necessity, that they must necessarily accompany them, as well in death, as in life. Whole hostes of men have thus tyed themselves unto their Captaines. The tenor of the oath ministred vnto



the schollers, that entered and were admitted the rude schoole of Roman Gladiators, emplied these promises : which was this. We vow and sweare, to suffer our selves, to be enchained, beaten, burned and killed with the sword, and endure whatsoever any lawfull fencer ought to endure for his master : most religiously engaging both our bodie and soule to the use of his service :

*Vibull. l. 6. 9. 21.*

*Vre meum si vis flamma caput, & pete ferro  
Corpus, & intorto verberare terga seca.*

Burne tyrant (if thou wilt) my head with fire, with sword  
My body strike, my backe cut with hard-twisted cord.

Was not this a very strict covenant? Yet were there some yeares ten thousand found, that entered and lost themselves in those schooles. When the Scythians buried their King, they, strangled over his dead body first, the chiefeft and best beloved of his Concubines, then his Cup-bearer, the Master of his horse, his Chamberlaine, the Usher of his Chamber, and his master Cooke. And in his anniversary killed fiftie horse, mounted with fifty Pages, whom before, they had slaine with thrusting sharpe stakes into their fundament, which going up along their chine-bone, came out at their throat. Whom thus mounted; they set in orderly ranks about the tombe. The men that serve us, doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious, and favourable entreating, than we use unto birds, unto horses, and unto dogges. What carke and toile, apply we not our selves unto for their sakes? Me thinks, the vilest and basest servants will never doe that so willingly for their Masters, which Princes are glad to doe for their beasts. *Diogenes* seeing his kinsfolks to take care how they might redeeme him out of thraldome; they are fooles (said he) for, it is my Master, that governeth, keepeth feedeth and serveth mee: And such as keepe or entertaine beasts, may rather say they serve them, than that they are served of them. And if they have that naturall greater magnanimity, that never *Lyon* was seene to subject himselfe unto another *Lyon*, nor one Horse unto another Horse, for want of heart. As wee hunt after beasts, so Tygers and Lyons hunt after men, and have a like exercise one upon another: Hounds over the Hare; the Pike or Luce over the Tench; the Swallowes over the Grasse-hoppers, and the Sparrow-hawkes over Blacke-birds and Larkes.

*Inve, sat 14. 74.*

— *Serpente ciconia pullos  
Nurit, & inventa per devia rura lacerta,  
Et leporem aut capream famula Iovis, & generosa  
In salu venantur aves.*

The storke her young-ones feeds with serpents prey,  
And lyzerts found somewhere out of the way.  
*Ioves* servants-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde,  
In Forrests hunt, a hare or kid to finde.

We share the fruits of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meed of their paine and reward of their industry. As about *Amphipolis* in *Thrace*, faulkners, and wilde hawks divide their game equally: And as about the *Maotide*-fennes, if fishers doe not very honestly leave behind them an even share of their fishings for the Woolves that range about those coasts, they presently run and teare their nets. And, as we have a kinde of fishing, rather managed by sleight, than strength, as that of hooke and line about our Augling-rods, to have beasts amongst themselves. *Aristotle* reporteth, that the Cuttle-Fish, casteth along gut out of her throat, which like a line she sendeth forth, and at her pleasure pulleth it in againe, according as she perceiveth some little fish come neere her, who being close-hidden in the gravell or stronde, letteth him nibble or bite the end of it, and then by little and little drawes it in unto her, untill the Fish be so neere, that with a sodaine leape she may catch it. Touching strength, there is no Creature in the world, open to so many wrongs and injuries as man: He need not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any such other wilde beast, of which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of men: scely lice are able to make *Sylla* give over his Dictatorship: The heart and life of a mighty and triumphant Emperour, is but the break-fast of a scely little Worme. Why say we, that skill to discern, and knowledge to make choyce (gotten by art, and acquired by discourse) of things good for this life, and availfull against sickness, and so distinguish of those which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue of Reubarb, qualitie of Oake ferne, and operation of Polipodie, is only peculiar unto man?

When



When we see the Goats of *Cardia* being shot with an arrow, to choose from out a million of simples, the herb Dittamy or Garden-ginger, and therewith cure themselves; and the Tortoise having eaten of a Viper, immediatly to seek for Origon or wild Marjoram, to purge herselfe: the Dragon to run and cleare his eyes with fenel: the Cranes with their bills to minister glitters of sea-water unto themselves; the Elephants to pull out, not only from themselves and their fellowes, but also from their masters (witness that of King *Porus*, whom *Alexander* defeated) such javelins or darts, as in fight have bene thirled or shot at them; so nimble and so cunningly, as our selves could never do it so easily, and with so little paine: Why say wee not likewise that that is science, and prudence in them? For, if to depresse them, some would alleadge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them; it is rather to ascribe it unto them, than to us, for the honour of so assured a schoole-mistress. *Chrysippus*, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path, that led three severall wayes, in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuit of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth senting first one way, and then another, & having assured himselfe of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth-for, without more adoe, furiously betakes himselfe to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dog must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe, *I have followed my Masters footing hitherto, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other.* And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee useth his sense no more, nor sounds it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be caried through it. This meere logicall tricke, and this use of divided and conjoynd propositions, & of the sufficient numbring of parts: Is it not as good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by *Trapezuntius* his logicke? Yet are not beasts altogether unapt to be instructed after our manner. We teach Blacke-birds, Starlings, Ravens, Piots, and Parots to chat; and that facilitie we perceive in them, to lend us their voyce so supple, and their wind so tractable, that so wee may frame and bring it to a certaine number of letters and silables, witnesseth, they have a kind of inward reason, which makes them so docile, and willing to learne. I thinke every man is cloied and wearied, with seeing so many apish and mimike trickes, that jugglers teach their Dogges, as the dances, where they misse not one cadence of the sounds or notes they heare: Marke but the divers turnings, & severall kinds of motions, which by the commandement of their bare words they make them performe: But I wonder not a little at the effect, which is ordinary amongst us; and that is, the dogs which blind men use, both in Citie and Country: I have observed how sodainly they will stop when they come before some doores, where they are wont to receive almes; how carefully they will avoyd the shooke of Carts and Coaches, even when they have roome enough to passe by them selves. I have seene some going along a Towne-ditch, leave a plaine and even path, and take a worse, that so they might draw their Master from the ditch. How could a man make the dog conceive, his charge was only to looke to his masters safetie, and for his service to despise his owne commoditie and good? And how should he have the knowledge, that such a path would be broad enough for him, but not for a blind man? Can all this be conceived without reason? We must not forget what *Plutarke* affirmeth to have seene a dog in *Rome* doe before the Emperour *Vespasian* the father, in the Theatre of *Marcellus*. This Dog served a juggler, who was to play a fiction of many faces, and sundry countenances, where he also was to act a part. Amongst other things, he was for a long while to counterfeit and faigne himselfe dead, because he had eaten of a certaine drugge: having swallowed a peece of bread, which was suppled to be the drug, he began sodainly to stagger and shake, as if he had bene giddie, then stretching and laying himselfe along, as stiffe as if hee were sticke-dead, suffered himselfe to be dragged and haled from one place to another, according to the subject and plot of the play, and when he knew his time, first he began faire and softly to stirre, as if he were rouzed out of a dead slumber, then lifting up his head, hee looked and stared so gaskly, that all the by-standers were amazed. The Oxen, which in the Kings gardens of *Susa* were taught to water them, and to draw water out of deepe Wells, turned certaine great wheelles, to which were fastned great buckets (as in many places of *Languedoke* is commonly scene) and being every one appoynted to draw just a hundred



turnes a day, they were so accustomed to that number, as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which taske ended they would suddenly stop. We are growne striplings before we can tell a hundred; and many Nations have lately beene discovered, that never knew what numbers meant. More discourse is required to teach others, than to be taught. And omitting what *Democritus* judged and proved, which is, that beasts have instructed us in most of our Arts: As the Spider to weave and sew, the Swallow to build, the Swan, and the Nightingale musicke, and divers beasts, by imitating them, the Art of Physicke: *Aristotle* is of opinion, that Nightingales teach their young-ones to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care: whence it followeth, that those which we keepe tame in Cages and have not had leasure to goe to their Parents schoole, lose much grace in their singing. Whereby we may conclude, they are much amended by discipline and study. And amongst those that run wilde, their song is not all one, nor alike. Each one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacity. And so jealous are they in their prentishship, that to excell one another, they will so stoutly contend for the mastery, that many times, such as are vanquished die; their wind and strength sone failing than their voice. The young-ones wil very sadly sit recording their lesson, and are often seene labouring how to imitate certain song-notes: The Scholler listneth attentively to his Masters Lesson, and carefully yeeldeth account of it; now one and then another shall hold his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faults, and how the elder striveth to reprove the youngest. *Arrius* protesteth to have seene an Elephant, who on every thigh having a Cymball hanging, and one fastned to his truncke, at the sound of which, all other Elephants danced in a round, now rising aloft, then lowting full low at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmony. In the great shewes of *Rome*, Elephants were ordinarily seene, taught to move and dance at the sound of a voice, certaine dances, wherein were many strange shifts, enter-changes, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have beene noted to konne and practise their lessons, using much study & care, as being loath to be chidden & beaten of their masters. But the tale of the Piot is very strange, which *Plutarke* confidently witnesseth to have seene: This Iay was in a Barbers shop of *Rome*, and was admirable in counterfeiting with her voice whatsoever she heard: It fortun'd one day, that certaine Trumpeters staid before this shop, and there sounded a good while; and being gone, all that day, and the next after, the Piot began to be very sad, silent, and melancholy, wherewith all men marvelled, and surmized that the noise or clang of the Trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzied her, and that with her hearing she had also lost her voice. But at last they found, she was but in a deepe study, and dumpish retracting into her selfe, exercising her minde, and preparing her voice, to represent the sound, and expresse the noise of the Trumpets she had heard: And the first voice she uttered was that, wherein she perfectly expressed their strains, their closes, and their changes: having by her new Prentishship altogether quit, and as it were, scorned what ever shee could prattle before. I will not omit to alleage another example of a Dogge, which *Plutarke* also saith to have seene (as for any order or method, I know very well I doe but confound it, which I observe no more in ranging these examples, than I doe in all the rest of my businesse) who being in a ship, noted that this Dogge was in great perplexity how to get some Oyle out of a deepe Pitcher, which by reason of its narrow mouth, he could not reach with his tongue, got him presently some Pibble stones, and put so many into the Iarre, that he made the Oyle come up so neare the brimme, as he could easily reach and licke some. And what is that but the effect of a very subtil spirit? It is reported, that the Ravens of *Barbary* will doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too low. This action doth somewhat resemble that, which *Juba* a King of that Nation relateth of their Elephants; that when through the wiles of those who chase them, any one chanceth to fall into certaine deep pits, which they prepare for them, and to deceive them, they cover over with reeds, shrubs, and boughes, his fellowes will speedily with all diligence bring great store of stones and peeces of timber, that so they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects, such affinity with mans sufficiency, that would I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily maintaine, which is, that there is more difference found betweene such and such a man, than betweene such a beast and such a man. An Elephants keeper in a private house of *Syria*, was wont every meale to steale away halfe



halfe of the allowance which was allotted him; it fortun'd on a day, his master would needs feed him himselſe, and having poured that juſt meſure of barley, which for his allowance he had preſcribed him, into his manger: the Elephant ſternely eying his maſter, with his trunk divided the provender in two equall parts, and laid the one aſide, by which he declared the wrong his keeper did him. Another having a keeper, who to encrease the meſure of his provender; was wont to mingle ſtones with it, came one day to the pot which with meat in it for his keepers dinner was ſeething over the fire, and filled it up with aſhes. Theſe are but particular effects: But that which all the world hath ſcene, and all men know, which is, that in all the armies that came out of the Eaſt, their chiefſt ſtrength conſiſted in their Elephants by whom they reaped, without compariſon, farre greater effects, than now adaies we do by our great Ordnance, which in a manner holds their place in a ranged battel (ſuch as have any knowledge in ancient Hiſtories may eaſily gueſſe it to be true)

—*ſi quidem Tyrio ſervire ſolebant*  
*Anibali, & noſtris ducibus, regique Moloffo*  
*Horum majores, & dorſo ferre cohortes,*  
*Partem aliquam belli, & euntem in pralia turmam.*  
 Their elders uſde great Hannibal to ſteed  
 Our Leaders, and Moloffian Kings at need,  
 And on their backe to beare ſtrong-guarding Knights,  
 Part of the warre, and troupes addreſt to fights.

*Inv. ſat. 12. 107.*

A man muſt needs reſt aſſured of the confidence they had in theſe beaſts, and of their diſcourſe, yeelding the front of a battel unto them; where the leaſt ſtay they could have made, by reaſon of the hugeneſſe and weight of their bodies, and the leaſt amazement that might have made them turne head upon their owne men, had bin ſufficient to loſe all. And few examples have been noted, that ever it fortun'd they turned upon their owne troupes, whereas we head-long throng one upon another, and ſo are put to rout: They had charge given them, not onely of one ſimple moving, but of many and ſeverall parts in the combat: As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conqueſt of the *Indies*, to whom they gave wages, and imparted their booties; which beaſts ſhewed as much dexteritie in purſuing, and judgement in ſtaying their victorie, in charging, or retreating, and as occaſion ſerved in diſtinguiſhing their friends from their enemies, as they did earneſtneſſe and eagernes: we rather admire and conſider ſtrange than common things: without which I ſhould never ſo long have amuſed my ſelfe about this tedious catalogue. For, in my judgement he that ſhall neereſly checke, what we ordinarily ſee in thoſe beaſts that live amongſt us, ſhall in them finde as wonderful effects, as thoſe which with ſo much toyle are collected in far countries and paſſed ages. It is one ſame nature, which ſtil doth keep her courſe. He that thoroughly ſhould judge her preſent eſtate, might ſafely conclude, both what ſhall happen, and what is paſt. I have ſcene amongſt us, men brought by ſea from diſtant countries, whoſe language, becauſe we could in no wiſe underſtand, and that their faſhions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours; who of us did not deceme them brutiſh and ſavage? who did not impute their muteneſſe unto ſtupiditie or beaſtlines, and to ſee them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kiſſing the hands, of our low-lowting courteſies, of our behaviour and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her patterne? Whatſoever ſeemeth ſtrange unto us, and we underſtand not, we blame and condemne. The like befallerh us in our judging of beaſts. They have diverſe qualities, which ſome what ſymbolize with ours: from which, we may comparatively draw ſome conjecture, but of ſuch as are peculiar unto them, what know wee what they are? Horſes, Dogges, Oxen, Sherpe, Birds, and the greater number of ſenſitive creatures that live amongſt us, know our voyce, and by it ſuffer themſelves to be directed. So did the Lamprey which *Craſſus* had, and came to him when he called it; ſo do the Eeles that breed in *Arethuſes* fountaine. And my ſelfe have ſcene ſome fiſh-ponds, where, at a certaine crie of thoſe that kept them, the fiſh would preſently come to ſhoare, where they were wont to be fed.

—*nomen habent. & ad magiſtri*  
*Vocem quiſque ſui venit citatus.*  
 They have their proper names, and every one  
 Comes at his maſters voyce, as call'd upon

*Mart. l. 4. epig.*  
 306.

By



By which we may judge, and conclude, that Elephants have some apprehension of religion, forsomuch as after diverse washings and purifications, they are seene to lift up their truncke, as we doe our armes, and at certaine houres of the day, without any instruction, of their owne accord, holding their eyes fixed towards the Sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contemplation : yet, because wee see no such apparence in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude, that they are altogether void of religion, and may not take that in payment, which is hidden from us. As we perceive something in that action, which the Philosopher *Cleanthes* well observed, because it somewhat drawes neere unto ours. He saw (as himselfe reporteth) a company of Emmets goe from their nest, bearing amongst them the body of a dead Ant, toward another Emmets nest, from which many other Ants came, as it were to meet them by the way to parly with them, who after they had continued together awhile, they which came last, returned backe, to consult (as you may imagine) with their fellow-citizens, and because they could hardly come to any capitulation; they made two or three voyages to and fro : In the end, the last come, brought unto the other a worme from their habitation, as for a ranome of the dead, which worne the first company tooke upon their backs, and carried it home, leaving the dead body unto the other. Loe here the interpretation that *Cleanthes* gave it : Witnessing thereby, that those creatures which have no voice at all, have neverthelesse mutual commerce, and enterchangeable communication, whereof if we be not partakers, it is onely our fault ; and therefore doe we fondly to censure it. And they yet produce divers other effects, farre surpassing our capacity, and so farre out of the reach of our imitation, that even our thoughts are unable to conceive them. Many hold opinion, that in the last and famous sea-fight, which *Antonie* lost against *Augustus*, his Admirall-gally was in her course staied by that little fish, the Latines call *Remora*, and the English a Sucke-stone, whose property is, to stay any ship he can fasten himselfe unto. And the Emperour *Caligula*, sailing with a great fleet along the coast of *Romania*, his owne Gally was suddenly staied by such a fish, which he caused to be taken sticking fast to the keele moodily raging, that so little a creature had the power to force both sea and winde, and the violence of all his oares, onely with her bill sticking to his Gally (for it is a kinde of shell-fish) & was much more amazed when he perceived the fish, being brought aboard his ship, to have no longer that powerfull vertue, which it had, being in the Sea. A certaine Citizen of *Cyzicum*, whilom purchased unto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent Mathematician, because he had learn't the quality of the Hedge-hogge, whose property is to build his hole or denne, open diverse waies, and toward severall winds, and fore-seeing rising stormes, he presently stoppeth the holes that way; which thing the foresaid Citizen heedfully observing, would in the City foretell any future storme, and what wind should blow. The Cameleon taketh the colour of the place wherein he is. The fish called a Pourcontrell, or Manie-feet, changeth himselfe into what colour he lists, as occasion offereth it selfe; that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth, and catch what he seeketh for. In the Cameleon it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the Pourcontrell a change in action ; we our selves doe often change our colour, and alter our countenance, through sudden feare, choler, shame, and such like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hew of our faces: but it is by the effect of sufferance, as in the Cameleon. The jaundise hath power to make us yelow, but it is not in the disposition of our wils. The effects we perceive in other creatures, greater than ours, witnesse some more excellent faculty in them, which is concealed from us; as it is to be supposed, diverse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no apparance or knowledge commeth to us. Of all former prædictions, the ancientest and most certaine were such as were drawn from the flight of birds: we have nothing equall unto it, nor so admirable. The rule of fluttering, & order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane: For, it is a wresting of the letter, to attribute so wondrous effects, to any naturall decree, without the knowledge, consent, or discourse of him that causeth and produceth them, and is a most false opinion : Which to prove, the Torpedo or Cramp-fish hath the property to benumme and astonish, not onely the limbs of those that touch it, but also theirs, that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, shce doth transinit and convey a kinde of heavie numming into the hands of those that stirre or handle the same : Moreover, it is averred, that if any matter be cast upon them, the astonishment



ment is sensibly felt to gaine upward untill it come to the hands, and even through the water it astonisheth the feeling-sence. Is not this a wonderfull power? Yet is it not altogether unprofitable for the Cramp-fish, she both knowes and makes use of it: for to catch prey she pursueth, she is seene to hide herselfe under the mud, that, other fishes swimming over her, stricken & benumbed with her exceeding coldnesse, may fall into her claws. The Cranes, Swallowes, and other wandering birds, changing their abode, according to the seasons of the year, shew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore-divining faculty, and often put the same in use. Hunters assure us, that to chuse the best dog, and which they purpose to keepe from out a litter of other young whelps, there is no better meane than the damme herselfe: for, if they be removed from out their kennell, him that she first brings thither againe, shall alwaies prove the best; or if one but encompass her kennell with fire, looke which of her whelps she first seeketh to save, is undoubtedly the best: whereby it appeareth, they have a certaine use of Prognosticating, that we have not; or else some hidden vertue, to judge of their young ones, different and more lively than ours. The manner of all beasts breeding, engendering, nourishing, working, moving, living, and dying, being so neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their moving causes, and adde to our condition above theirs, can no way depart from our reasons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Physicians propose the example of beasts manner of life and proceeding unto us: for this common saying is alwaies in the peoples mouth:

*Tenez chauds les pieds & la teste,*

*Au demeurant vivez en beste.*

Keepe warme (t'is meete) they head and feete:

In all the rest, live like a beast.

*Ionb. err. pop.  
piv. 2. pag. 140.*

Generation is the chiefeft naturall action: we have a certaine disposition of some members, fittest for that purpose; neverthelesse, they bid us range our selves unto a brutish situation and disposition, as most effectually:

*—more ferarum,*

*Quadrupedumque magis ritu, plerumque mutantur*

*Concipere uxores: quia sic loca sumere possunt,*

*Pectoribus positis, sublati semina lumbis.*

*Lucr. l. 4. 1256.*

And reject those indiscreet and insensible motions, which women have so luxuriously found out, as hurtfull: conforming them to the example and use of beasts of their sex, as more modest and considerate.

*Nam mulier prohibet se concipere, atque repugnat,*

*Clumbus ipsa viri Venerem si lata retrahat,*

*Atque exossato ciet omni pectore fluctus,*

*Ejicit enim sulci recta regione viisque*

*Vomerem, atque locus avertit seminis ictum.*

*Ibid. 1260.*

If it be justice to give every one his due, beasts which serve, love, and defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some shew of our justice, as also in reserving a high kinde of equality in dispensing of what they have to their young-ones. Touching friendship, without all comparison, they professe it more lively & shew it more constantly, than men. *Hircanus* a dog of *Lyfmachus* the King, his master being dead, without eating or drinking would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corps was removed thence, he followed it, and lastly flung himselfe into the fire, where his master was burned. As did also the dogge of one called *Pyrrhus*, who after he was dead, would never budge from his masters couch, and when he was removed, suffered himselfe to be carried away with him, and at last flung himselfe into the fire wherein his master was consumed. There are certaine inclinations of affection, which without counsell of reason arise sometimes in us, proceeding of a casuall temerity, which some call *Sympathie*: beasts as well as men are capable of it. We see horses take a kinde of acquaintance one of another, so that often, traveling by the high-way, or feeding together, we have much ado to keep them asunder, wee see them bend and apply their affections to some of their fellowes colours, as if it were upon a certaine visage; and when they meet with any such, with signes of joy, and demonstration of good will, to joine and accost them, and to hare and shunne some other formes and colours. Beasts, as well as wee, have choice in their loves, and are

very



very nice in chusing of their mates. They are not altogether void of our extreme and unappealable jealousies. Lustfull desires are either naturall, and necessary, as eating and drinking; or else naturall and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females: or else neither necessary nor naturall: Of this last kinde are almost all mens: For, they are all superfluous and artificiall. It is wonderfull to see with how little nature will be satisfied, and how little she hath left for us to be desired. The preparations in our kitchins, doe nothing at all concerne her lawes. The Stoikes say, that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one Olive a day. The delicacy of our wines, is no part of her lesson, no more is the surcharge and relishing, which we adde unto our lecherous appetites.

—neque illa

*Magnus prognatus deposcit consule cunnum.*

Hor. ser. lib. 1.  
sat. 2. 30.

These strange lustfull longings, which the ignorance of good, and a false opinion have posselt us with, are in number so infinite, that in a manner they expell all those which are naturall: even as if there were so many strangers in a City, that should either banish and expell all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or utterly suppress their ancient power and authority, and absolutely usurping the same, take possession of it. Brute beasts are much more regular than we; and with more moderation containe themselves within the compasse, which nature hath prescribed them: yet not so exactly, but that they have some coherency with our riotous licentiousnesse. And even as there have beene found certaine furious longings and unnaturall desires, which have provoked men unto the love of beasts, so have diverse times some of them beene drawne to love us, and are possessed with monstrous affections from one kind to another: witnesse the Elephant, that in the love of an herb-wife, in the city of *Alexandria*, was corivall with *Aristophanes*, the Grammarian; who in all offices pertayning to an earnest woer and passionate suiter, yeelded nothing unto him: For, walking thorow the Fruit-market, he would here and there snatch up some with his truncke, and carry them unto her: as neere as might be he would never loose the sight of her: and now and then over her band put his truncke into her bosome, and feele her breasts. They also report of a Dragon, that was exceedingly in love with a yong maiden; and of a Goose in the City of *Alope*, which dearly loved a young childe: also of a Ram that belonged to the Musitian *Glanfina*. Doe we not daily see Munkies ragingly in love with women, and furiously to pursue them? And certaine other beasts, given to love the males of their owne sex? *Oppianus* and others report some examples, to shew the reverence, and manifest the awe, some beasts in their marriages, beare unto their kindred: but experience makes us often see the contrary:

—nec habent turpe juvenca

*Ferre patrem tergo: fit equo sua filia coniux:*

*Quasque creavit, inis pecudes caper: ipsaque cuius*

*Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.*

To beare her Sire the Heifer snameth not:

The Horse takes his owne Fillies maiden-head:

The Goat gets them with young whom he begot:

Birds breed by them, by whom themselves were bred.

Ovid. Metam.  
lib 10. 325.

Touching a subtil pranke and witty trick, is there any so famous as that of *Thales* the Philosophers Mule, which, laden with salt, passing thorow a River chanced to stumble, so that the sacks she carried were all wet, and perceiving the salt (because the water had melted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, as soone as she came neere any water, together with her load to plunge herselfe therein, untill her master, being aware of her craft, commanded her to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heavier; the Mule finding herselfe deceived, used her former policy no more. There are many of them, that lively represent the visage of our avarice, who with a greedy kinde of desire endeavour to surpris whatsover comes within their reach, and though they reap no commodity, nor have any use of it, to hide the same very curiously. As for husbandry, they exceede us, not onely in fore-sight to spare, and gather together for times to come, but have also many parts of the skill belonging thereunto. As the Ants, when they perceive their come to grow mustie, and graine to be sowre, for feare it should rot and putrifie, spread the same abroad before their nests, that so it may aire and drie. But the caution they use in gnawing, and prevention they imploy in paring their graines



graines of wheat, is beyond all imagination of mans wit : Because wheat doth not alwaies keepe drie nor wholesome, but moisten, melt and dissolve into a kinde of whey, namely, when it beginneth to bud, fearing it should turne to seed, and lose the nature of a store-house, for their sustenance, they part and gnaw-off the end whereat it wons to bud. As for warre, which is the greatest & most glorious of all humane actions, I would faine know, if we will use it for an argument of some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of our imbecillitie and imperfection, as in truth, the science we use to defeat and kill one another, to spoile and utterly to overthrow our owne kinde, it seemeth, it hath not much to make it selfe to be wished-for in beasts, that have it not.

Juven. sat. 13.  
140.

— quando leoni

Fortior eripuit viam leo, quo nemore unquam  
Expiravit aper maioris dentibus apris?  
When hath a greater Lion dammitide  
A Lions life? in what wood ever didde,  
A boare by tusks and gore,  
Of any greater boare?

Yet are not they altogether exempted from it : witnesse the furious encounters of Bees, and the hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of the two contrary Armies.

— saepe duobus

Regibus incessit magno discordia mori,  
Comixtoque animos vulgi & trepidantia bello  
Corda licet longe praesciscere. —  
Of times twixt two no great Kings great dissention  
With much ado doth set them at contention;  
The vulgare mindes strait may you see from farre,  
And hearts that tremble at the thought of warre.

Virg. Georg. 4.  
67.

I never marke this divine description, but mee thinkes I read humane foolishnesse and worldly vanitie painted in it. For, these motions of warre, which out of their horror and astonishment breed this tempest of cries, and clang of sounds in us :

Fulgur ubi ad caelum se tollit, totaque circum  
Aere renidescit tellus, subterque virum vi  
Excitur pedibus sonitus, clamoreque montes  
Isti rejectam voces ad sidera mundi:  
Where lightning raiseth it selfe to the skies,  
The earth shines round with armour, soundes doe rise  
By mens force under feet, wounded with noyse  
The hilles to heav'n reverberate their voyce.

Lucr. l. 2. 326.

This horror-causing aray of so many thousands of armed men, so great furie, earnest fervor, and undaunted courage, it would make one laugh to see by how many vaine occasions it is raised and set on fire, and by what light meanes it is againe suppressed and extinct.

— Paris propter narratur amorem

Gracia Barbaria diro collisa duello.

For Paris lustfull love (as Stories tell)

All Greece to direfull warre with Asia fell.

Hor. l. 1. epig. 2. 6.

The hatred of one man, a spight, a pleasure, a familiar suspect, or a jealousie; causes, which ought not to move two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another, is the soule and motive of all this hurly-burly. Shall we beleve them that are the principall authors and causes thereof? Let us but hearken unto the greatest and most victorious Emperour, and the mightiest that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs, and wittily he plaies, at so many battells and bloody fights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the blood and lives of five hundred thousand soules which followed his fortune, and the strength and riches of two parts of the world consumed and drawne drie for the service of his enterprife:

Quod futuris Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi panam

Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futnam

Fulviam ego uti futnam? quid si me Manius oret

Padiem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.

Mart. l. 11.  
epig. 21.

Aut



*Aut fatue, aut pugnemus ait: quid si mihi vita  
Charior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant.*

(I use my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is with that leave which you have given mee,) This vast huge bodie hath so many faces and severall motion, which seeme to threat both heaven and earth.

Virg. Æn. 7.  
717.

*Quam multi Lybico volvuntur marmore fluctus  
Savus ubi Orion hybernis conditur undis:  
Vel cum sole novo densa torrentur arista,  
Aut Hermi campo, aut Lycia flaventibus arvis,  
Scuta sonant, pulsuque pedum tremit excita tellus.  
As many waves, as rowle in Affricke marble-sounds,  
When fiere Oryon hides in Winter waves his head:  
Or when thicke-cares of Corne are parcht by Sunne new-spread.  
In Hermus fruitfull fields, or Lycæes yellow grounds,  
With noyse of shields and feet, the trembling earth so sounds.*

" This many-headed, divers-armed, & furiously-raging-monster is man; wretched weak & miserable man: whom if you consider well, what is he, but a crawling, & ever-moving Ant-neast?

Virg. Æn. 4.  
404.

*It nigrum campis agmen:—  
The sable-coloured band,  
Marches along the Land.*

" A gust of contrarie winds, the croking of a flight of Ravens, the false pafe of a Horse, the casual flight of an Eagle, a dreame, a sodaine voyce, a false signe, a mornings mist, an evening fogge, are enough to overthrow, sufficient to overwhelm and able to pull him to the ground.  
" Let the Sunne but shine hot upon his face, hee faints and swelters with heat: Cast but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, all our ensignes, all our legions, yea great Pompey himselfe in the forefront of them is overthrowne and put to rout (For as I remember it was he whom Sciorius vanquished in Spaine, with all those goodly armes.)  
" This also served Eumenes against Antigonus, and Surenæ against Crassus:

Virg. Georg. lib.  
486.

*Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta,  
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent.  
These stomacke-motions, these contentions great,  
Clam'd with a little dust, strait lose their heat,*

Let us but uncouple some of our ordinary flies, and let loose a few gnats amongst them, they shall have both the force to scatter, and courage to consume him. The Portugals not long since beleagring the City of Tamy, in the territory of Xiatine, the inhabitants thereof, brought great store of Hives, (whereof they have plentie) upon their walls: And with fire drove them so forcible upon their enemies, who as unable to abide their assaults, and endure their slings, left their enterprize. Thus by this new kinde of helpe was the liberty of the Towne gained, and victory purchas'd; with so happy successe, that in their retreating, there was not one townes-man found wanting. The soules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mould. Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee persuade our selves, they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes; wee are deceived: They are moved, stirred and removed in their motions, by the same springs and wards, that wee are in ours. The same reason that makes us chide and braule, and fall out with any of our neighbours, causeth a warre to follow betweene Princes; The same reason that makes us whip or beat a lackey, maketh a Prince if hee apprehend it, to spoyle & waste a whole Province. They have as easie a will as we, but they can doe much more. Alike desires perturb both a skinnie-worme, and an Elephant. Touching trust and fast faithfulness there is no creature in the world so trecherous as man. Our histories report the earnest pursuit and sharpe chase, that some Dogges have made for the death of their masters. King Pirrhus finding a Dog, that watched a dead man, and understanding he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be enterred, and tooke the Dog along with him. It fortuned one day (as Pirrhus was surveying the Generall Musters of his Army) the Dog perceiving in that multitude, the man who had murdered his maister, loud-barking, and with great rage ran furiously upon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his masters revenge, which by way of justice, was shortly executed. Even so did the Dogge be-  
longing



longing to *Hesiodus*, surnamed the wise, having convicted the children of *Canister* of *Nan-*  
*pallus*, of the murder committed on his Masters person: Another Dogge being appoin-  
 ted to watch a Temple in *Athens*, having perceived a sacrilegious theefe, to carrie away the  
 fairest jewel therein, barked at him so long as he was able, and seeing he could not awaken  
 the Sextons or Temple-keepers, followed the theefe, whither-soever he went; daie-light be-  
 ing come, he kept himselfe a loof-off, but never lost the sight of him: if he offered him meat,  
 he utterly refused it; but if any passenger chanced to come by, on them he fawned, with wag-  
 ing his taile, and tooke what-ever they offered him; If the theefe staid to rest himselfe, he  
 also staid in the same place: The newes of this Dogge being come to the Temple-keepers,  
 they as they went along, enquiring of the Dogs haire and colour, pursued his tracke so long,  
 that at last they found both the Dog and the theefe in the Citie of *Cromyon*, whom they  
 brought backe to *Athens*, where for his offence he was severely punished. And the judges in  
 acknowledgement of the Dogges good office, at the Cities charge appointed him for his  
 sustenance a certaine daily measure of Corne; and enjoined the Priests of the Temple, care-  
 fully to looke unto him. *Plutarke* affirmeth this storie to be most true, and to have hapned  
 in his time. Touching gratitude and thankfulness, (for me thinks we have need to further  
 this word greatly) this onely example shall suffice, of which *Appion* reporteth to have been  
 a spectator himselfe. One day (saith he) that the Senate of *Rome*, (to please and recreate the  
 common people) caused a great number of wilde beasts to be baited, namely huge great Li-  
 ons, it so fortun'd, that there was one amongst the rest, who by reason of his furious and  
 stately carriage, of his, unmatched strength, of his great limbs, and of his loud, and ter-  
 ror-causing roaring, drew all by-standers eyes to gaze upon him. Amongst other slaves, that  
 in sight of all the people were presented to encounter with these beasts, there chanced to be  
 one *Androdus* of *Dacia*, who belonged unto a Roman Lord, who had been Consull. This  
 huge Lion, having eyed him a far off, first made a suddaine stop, as if stricken into a kind of  
 admiration, then with a milde and gentle countenance, as if he would willingly have taken  
 acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached unto him: Which done, and resting, assu-  
 red he was the man he tooke him for, begun fawningly to wagge his taile, as dogges doe that  
 fawne upon their new-found masters, and lickt the poore and miserable slaves hands and  
 thighs, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. *Androdus* at last tak-  
 ing hart of grace; and by reason of the Lions mildnesse having rouzed up his spirits, and  
 wishly fixing his eyes upon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance; it was to  
 all beholders a singular pleasure to observe the love, the joy, & blandishments, each endevo-  
 red to enter-shew one another, Whereat the people raising a loud cry, and by their shouting  
 and clapping of hands seeming to be much pleased; the Emperour willed the slave to be  
 brought before him, as desirous to vnderstand of him the cause of so strange and seeld-seene  
 an accident: Who related this new, and wonderfull storie unto him.

My Master (saith he) being Preconsull in *Affrica*, forsomuch as he caused me every day  
 to be most cruelly beaten, and held me in so rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being  
 wearie of my life, to run away: And safely to scape from so eminent a person, and who had  
 so great authoritie in the Countie, I thought it best to get me into the desert, and most un-  
 frequented wildernesses of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not compasse the  
 meanes to sustaine my selfe, to finde one way or other, with violence to make my selfe away.  
 One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extreemly hote, and the scorching heat thereof  
 intolerable, I fortun'd to come unto a wilde-unhanted cave, hidden amongst crags, and  
 almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footing had ever been; therein I hid my selfe:  
 I had not long been there, but in comes this Lion, with one of his pawes sore hurt, and  
 bloody-goated, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt; at whose arrivall,  
 I was much dismaid, but he seeing me lie close-cowering in a corner of his den, gently made  
 his approaches unto me, holding forth his goated paw toward me, and seemed with shew-  
 ing the same humbly to sue, and suppliantly to beg for help at my hands. I, moved with  
 ruth, taking it into my hand, pulled out a great splint, which was gotten into it, and shaking  
 off all feare, first I wrung and crusht his sore, and caused the filth and matter, which therein  
 was gathered, to come forth; than, as gently as for my heart I could, I cleansed, wiped, and  
 dried the same. He feeling some ease in his griefe, and his paine to cease, still holding his  
 foot betwene my hands, began to sleep and take some rest. Thence forward he and I lived



“ together, the full space of three yeares in his den, with such meat as he shifted-for: For, what  
 “ beasts he killed, or what prey soever he tooke, he ever brought home the better part, and  
 “ shared it with me, which for want of fire, I roasted in the Sunne, and therewith nourished my  
 “ selfe all that while. But at last wearied with this kinde of brutish life, the Lion being one day  
 “ gone to purchase his wonted prey, I left the place, hoping to mend my fortunes, and having  
 “ wandred up and downe three dayes, I was at last taken by certaine Souldiers, which from  
 “ *Africa* brought me into this Citie to my Master againe, who immediatly condemned me  
 “ to death, and to be devoured by wilde beasts. And as I now perceive, the same Lion was also  
 “ shortly after taken, who as you see hath now requited me of the good turne I did him, and  
 “ the health which by my meanes he recovered. Behold here the historie, *Androchus* reported  
 “ unto the Emperour, which after he caused to be declared unto all the people, at whose ge-  
 “ nerall request, he was forthwith set at libertie, and quit of his punishment, and by the com-  
 “ mon consent of all, had the Lion bestowed upon him. *Appion* saith further, that *Androchus*  
 “ was daily seen to lead the Lion up and downe the streets of *Rome*, tied onely with a little  
 twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, received such money as was given him, who  
 would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and shewed with flowers, all  
 over and over, many saying when they met him: yonder is the Lion that is the mans hoste  
 and yonder is the man that is the Lions Phylitian. We often mourne and weepe for the losse  
 of those beasts we love, so doe they many times for the losse of us.

*Virg. Æn li.*  
 11. 89.

*Post bellator equus positus insignibus Æthon*  
*It lacrimans, guttisq; humectat grandibus ora.*

Next *Æthon* horie of warre, all ornaments laid downe,  
 Goes weeping, with great drops bedewe's his cheekes adowne.

As some of our nations have wives in common, and some in severall, each man keeping  
 himselfe to his owne; so have some beasts; yet somethere are, that observe their marriages,  
 with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutuall societie, and recipocall confe-  
 deration, which they devise amongst themselves, that so they may be fast combined toge-  
 ther, and in times of need help one another, it is apparant, that if Oxen, Hogs, and other  
 beasts being hurt by us, chance to crie, all the heard runnes to aid him, and in his defence  
 will joine all together. The fish, called of the Latines *Scarus*, having swallowed the fishers  
 hooke, his fellowes will presently flocke about him, and nibble the line in sunder; and if any  
 of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellowes turning his head away, will  
 put his taile in at the neck of the net, who with his teeth fast-holding the same, never leave  
 him, untill they have pulled him out. The Barble fishes, if one of them chance to be enga-  
 ged, will set the line against their backes, and with a fin they have, toothed like a sharp saw,  
 presently saw and fret the same asunder. Concerning particular offices, which we for the  
 benefit of our life, draw one from an other, many like examples are found amongst them.

“ It is assuredly beleeved, that the Whale never swimmeth, unlesse she have a little fish going  
 “ before her, as her vanguard, it is in shape like a Gudgeon, and both the Latines and we, call it  
 “ the Whales-guide; for, she doth ever follow him, suffering her selfe, as easily to be led and  
 “ turned by him, as a ship is directed and turned by a sterne: for requitall of which good  
 “ turne, whereas all things else, be it beast, fish, or vessell, that comes within the horrible *Chaos*  
 “ of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and devoured, this little fish doth safely retire  
 “ himselfe therein, and there sleepe verie quietly, and as long as he sleepe, the Whale never  
 “ stirs, but as soone as he awaketh and goeth his way, whereever he takes his course she alwaies  
 “ followeth him, and if she fortune to lose him, she wanders here and there, and often strik-  
 “ eth upon the rocks, as a ship that hath nor mast nor rudder. This, *Plutarke* witnesseth to  
 have seen in the Iland of *Antycira*. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird cal-  
 led a Wren, and the Crocodill: For, the Wren serveth as a sentinell to so great a monster:  
 And if the Ichneumon, which is his mortall enemye approach to fight with him, the little  
 birdlet, lest he might surprize him whilst he sleepeth, with his singing, and pecking him with  
 his bill, awakens him, and gives him warning of the danger he is in. The bird liveth by the  
 scraps, and feedeth upon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his  
 mouth, and suffers him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mamockes of flesh as sticke  
 betweene them: and if he purpose to close his mouth, he doth first warne him to be gone,  
 faire and easie closing it by little and little, without any whit crushing or hurting him. The  
 shell-



shell-fish called a Nacre, liveth even so with the Pinnore, which is a little creature like unto a Crabfish, and as his porter or usher waits upon him, attending the opening of the Nacre, which he continually keepes gaping, untill he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the Nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh, untill he makes him close his shell, and so they both together fast in their hold, devour their prey. In the manner of the Tunnies life, may be discovered a singular knowledge of the three parts of the Mathematickes. First for Astrologic, it may well be said that man doth learne it of them: For, wheresoever the winter Solstitium doth take them, there do they stay themselves, and never stir till the next Equinoctium, and that is the reason why *Aristotle* doth so willingly ascribe that art unto them: Then for Geometric and Arithmetike, they alwaies frame their shole of a Cubike figure, every way square: and so forme a solide, close and wel-ranged battailon, encompassed round about of six equall sides. Thus orderly marshaled, they take their course and swim whither their journey tends, as broad and wide behind as before: So that he that seeth and telleth but one ranke, may easily number all the troope, forsomuch as the number of the depth is equall unto the bredth, and the bredth unto the length. Touching magnanimitie and haughtie courage, it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to produce a rarer patterne, than that of the Dog, which from *India* was sent unto *Alexander*: to whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which he should have foughten, but he seemed to make no account of them, and would not so much as remove out of his place for them, but when he saw a Lion, he presently rouzed himselfe, shewing evidently he meant onely so noble a beast worthie to enter combat with him. Concerning repentance and acknowledging offaults committed, it is reported, that an Elephant having through rage of choler slaine his governour, conceived such an extreme inward griefe, that he would never afterward touch any food, and suffered himself to pine to death. Touching clemencie, it is reported of a Tiger, (the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all) who having a Kid given her to feed upon, endured the force of gnawing hunger two daies together, rather than she would hurt him; the third day with maine strength she brake the cage, wherein she was kept-pent, and went elsewhere to shift for feeding; as one unwilling to seize upon the feeble Kid her familiar and guest. And concerning privileges of familiaritie and sympathie caused by conversation, is it not oft seen, how some make Cats, Dogs, and Hares so tame, so gentle, and so milde, that without harming one another they shall live and continue together? But that which experience teacheth sea-faring men, especially those that come into the seas of *Sicilie*, of the qualitie and condition of the Halcyon bird, or as some call it *Alcedo* or Kings-fisher, exceeds all mens conceit. In what kinde of creature did ever nature so much prefer both their hatching, sitting, brooding, and birth? Poets faine, that the Island of *Delos*, being before wandring & fleeting up and downe, was for the delivery of *Latona* made firme and setled. But Gods decree hath been, that all the watrie wilderness should be quiet and made calme, without raine, wind, or tempest, during the time the *Halcyon* sitteth and bringeth forth her young-ones, which is much about the Winter *Solstitium*, and shortest day in the year: By whose privilege even in the hart and dearest time of Winter we have seven calme daies, and as many nights to saile without any danger. Their Hens know no other Cocke but their owne: They never forsake him all the daies of their life; and if the Cocke chance to be weake and crazed, the Hen will take him upon her neck, and carrie him with her, wheresoever she goeth, and serve him even untill death. Mans wit could neuer yet attaine to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure, which the *Halcyon* useth in contriving of her nest, no, nor devise what it is-of.

*Plutarch*, who hath seen and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fish-bones, which she so compact, & conjoyneth together, enterlacing some long, and some crosse-waies, adding some foldings and roundings to it, that in the end she frameth a round kind of vessel, readie to float and swim upon the water: which done, she carrieth the same where the Sea-waves beat most; there the Sea gently beating upon it, shewes her how to daube and patch up the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places, and fashion those ribs, that are not fast, but stir with the Sea-waves: And on the other side, that which is closely wrought, the Sea beating on it, doth so fasten and conjoyne together, that nothing, no, not stone or yron, can any way loosen, divide, or break the same, except with great violence; and what is most to be wondred at, is the proportion and figure of the concavite



“ cavities within; for, it is so composed and proportioned, that it can receive or admit no man-  
 “ ner of thing, but the Bird that built it; for, to all things else, it is so impenetrable, close and  
 “ hard, that nothing can possibly enter in: no, not so much as the Sea-water. Loe here a most  
 “ plaine description of this building, or construction taken from a verie good Author: yet me  
 “ thinks, it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve us of the difficultie in this kinde of Archi-  
 “ tecture. Now from what vanitie can it proceed, we should so willfully contemne, and disdainfully  
 “ interpret those effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive? But to follow this equalitie  
 or correspondencie betwene us and beasts somewhat further; the privilege whereof our  
 soule vants to bring to her condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispoile what of mor-  
 tall and corporall qualities belongs unto it, to marshall those things, which she deemed  
 them leave as superfluous & base garments, thicknesse, length, depth, weight, colour, smell,  
 roughnesse, smoothnesse, hardnesse, softnesse, and all sensible accidents else, to fit and appro-  
 priate them to her immortall and spirituall condition: so that *Rome* and *Paris*, which I have  
 in my soule; *Paris* which I imagine; yea, I imagine and conceive the same without greatnesse  
 and place, without stone and morter, and without wood: Then say I unto my selfe, the same  
 privilege seemeth likewise to be in beasts: for, a Horse accustom'd to heare the sound of  
 trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom we see to snort, to startle, and  
 to neigh in his sleep, as he lies along upon his litter, even as he were in the hurly-burly; it is  
 most certaine, that in his minde he apprehends the sound of a Drum without any noyse, and  
 an armie without armes or bodie.

Lucr. lib. 1. 982.

*Quippe videbis equos fortes, cum membra jacebunt  
 In somnis. sudare sament, spirareque sapes,  
 Et quasi de palma summas contendere vires.  
 You shall see warlike Horses, when in sleep  
 Their limbs lie, yet sweat, and a snorting keep,  
 And stretch their utmost strength,  
 As for a goale at length.*

That Hare, which a grey-hound imagineth in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we  
 see him bay, quest, yelp, and snort, stretch out his taile, shake his legs, and perfectly repre-  
 sent the motions of his course; the same is a Hare without bones, without haire.

Ibid. 986.

*Vonanturque canes in molli sapes quiete,  
 Istant crura tamen subito, vocesque repente  
 Mittunt, & crebras reddunt naribus aurae,  
 Ut vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum:  
 Expergescitque, sequuntur inania sepe  
 Cervorum simulacra, fugae quasi dedita cernant:  
 Donec discussis redeant erroribus ad se.  
 Oft times the hunters dogs in easie rest  
 Stir their legs, suddainly, open, and quest,  
 And send from nostrils thicke-thicke snuffing sent,  
 As if on traile they were of game full-bent:  
 And wakened so, they follow shadowes vaine  
 Of Deere in chase, as if they fled amaine:  
 Till, their fault left, they turne to sense againe.*

Those watching-Dogs, which in their sleep we sometimes see to grumble, and then bar-  
 king to startle suddainly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arrive that  
 stranger which their minde seemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived;  
 without any dimension, colour, or being:

Ibid. 993.

*Consueti domi casulorum blanda propago  
 Degere, sapes levem ex oculis volucrumque soporem  
 Discutere, & corpus de terra corripere instant,  
 Proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora suamur.  
 The fawning kinde of whelps, at home that liv's,  
 From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often striv's,  
 And from the ground their starting bodies hie,*



As if some unknowne stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further, it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about her description. It is very likely that we know not well, what beautie either in nature, or in generall is, since we give so many, and attribute so divers formes to humane beautie, yea, and to our beautie: Of which if there were any naturall or lively description, we should generally know it, as we doe the heat of fire. We imagine and faine her formes, as our fantasies lead us.

*Turpis Romano Belgicus ore color.*

A Dutch-froes colour hath no grace,  
Seen in a Romane Ladies face.

*Propert. li. 2. el.  
18. 26.*

The Indians describe it blacke and swarthy, with blabbered-thick lips, with a broad and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they loade with great gold-rings, hanging downe to their mouth, & their neather lips with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chins, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the roots. In *Peru*, the greatest eares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and industrie, they are continually stretching out; and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a Province of the East-Indias the people so carefull to make them great, and so to load them with heaue jewels, that at ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes. There are other Nations, who endeavour to make their teeth as blacke as Ieat, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of *Baske*, but in other places, women are accounted fairest when their heads are shaven; and which is strange, in some of the Northerly frozen-countries, as *Plinie* affirmeth. Those of *Mexico*, esteeme the hilenesse of their forehead, as one of the chiefest beauties, and whereas they shave their haire over all their bodie besides, by artificiall meanes they labour to nourish and make it grow onely in their foreheads; and so love to have great dugs, that they strive to have their children sucke over their shoulders. So would we set forth illfavordnesse. The Italians proportion it big and plum; The Spaniards spynie and lanke, and amongst us one would have her white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and luttie: some desire wannnesse and blichnesse, and othersome sturdinesse and majestic to be joyned with it. Even as the prehemience in beautie, which *Plato* ascribeth unto the Sphericall figure, the Epicurians refer the same unto the Pyramidall or Square; and say they cannot swallow a God made round like a bowle. But how soever it is, nature hath no more privileged us in that, than in other things, concerning her common lawes. And if we impartially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde that if there be any creature or beast lesse favoured in that than we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath been more favourable than to us. *A multis animalibus decore vincimur. We are excelled in comelinesse, by many living creatures:* Yea, of tenethrall creatures, that live with us. For, concerning those of the Sea, omitting their figure, which no proportion can containe, so much doth it differ, both in colour, in neatnesse, in smoothnesse, and in disposition, we must give place unto them: which in all qualities we must likewise doe to the ayrie ones. And that prerogative, which Poets yeild unto our upright stature, looking towards heaven whence her beginning is,

*Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,*

*Os hominis sublime dedit, celumque videre*

*Iussit, & erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,

A loftie looke God gave man, bad him prie

On heav'n, rais'd his high countenance to the skie.

*Ovid. Metam.  
li. 1. 84.*

is meere poeticall, for, there are many little beasts, that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Estridges necke much more raised and upright, than ours. What beasts have not their face aloft and before, and looke not directly opposite, as we; and in their naturall posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth, as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in *Plato* and *Cicero* cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward apparance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape:

*Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!*

A 3

An

*Cic. Nat. des.  
li. 1. 84.*



An Ape, a most ill-favored beast,  
How like to us in all the rest?

as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truly, when I consider man all naked (yea, be it in that sex, which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie) and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections; I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednesse, than any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more than us, with their beauties to adorne us, and under their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of feathers, and of filke to shroud us. Let us moreover observe, that man is the onely creature, whose wants offends his owne fellowes, and he alone that in naturall actions must withdraw and sequester himselfe from those of his owne kinde. Verely it is an effect worthie consideration, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedie of venerian passions, a free and full survey of the bodie, which one longeth and seeks-after: and that to coole the longing and aswage the heat of friendship, one need but perfectly view and throughly consider what he loveth.

Ovid. rem. "  
Am. lib. 2. 33. "

*Ille quod obscenas in aperto corpore partes  
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hæsit amor.*

The love stood still, that ran in full carriere,  
When bare it saw parts that should not appeare.

And although this remedie may haply proceed from a squeamish and cold humor: yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecillitie, that the use and knowledge should so make us to be cloyed one of an other. It is not bashfulness so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and unwilling to let us come into their closets before they are fully readie, and throughly painted, to come abroad, and shew themselves:

Lucr. l. 4. 1176.

*Nec veneres nostras hoc fallit quomaximè ipse  
Omnia sumopere hos viâ post scèntia celant,  
Quos retinere volum adstrictoque esse in amore.*

Our Mistresses know this, which mak's them not disclose  
Parts to be plaid within, especially from those  
Whom they would servants hold, and in their love-bands close.

Whereas in other creatures, there is nothing but we love, and pleaseth our senses: so that even from their excrements and ordure, we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinarie beauties, which sometimes are seen to shine amongst us, even as stars under a corporall and terrestriall veile. Moreover, that part of natures favours, which we impart unto beasts, is by our owne confession much more advantageous unto them. We asume unto our selves imaginatie and fantasticall goods, future and absent goods, which humane capacitie can no way warrant unto her selfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion, we falsely ascribe unto our selves; as reason, honour, and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the essentiall, the manageable, and palpable goods, as peace, rest, securitie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart unto us. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirme, that if *Heracles* and *Pherecydes* could have changed their wildome with health, and by that meanes, the one to have rid himselfe of the drop sicke, and the other of the low sicke evill, which so sore tormented them, they would surely have done it: whereby they also yeeld so much more honor unto wisdom, by comparing and counterpoizing the same unto health, than they do in this other proposition of theirs, where they say, that if *Circes* had presented *Ulysses* with two kinds of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, than have been pleased, that *Circes* should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say, that wisdom her selfe would thus have spoken unto him: *Meddle not with me, but leave me rather than thou shouldst place me under the shape and bodie of an Asse.* What? This great and heavenly wisdom? Are Philosphers contented then, to quit it for a corporall & earthly veile? Why then it is not for reasons sake, nor by discourse, and for the soule, we so much excell beasts: it is for the love we beare unto our beautie, unto our faire hew, & goodly disposition

of



of limbs, that we reject, and set our understanding at nought, our wisdom, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenious and voluntarie confession: surely they knew those parts, we so much labour to pamper, to be mere fantazies. Suppose, beasts had all the vertue, the knowledge, the wisdom and sufficiencie of the Stoikes, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared unto a miserable, wretched, and senselesse man. For, when all is done, whatsoever is not as we are, is not of any worth. And God to be esteemed of us, must (as we will shew anon) draw somewhat neere it. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not long of a true discourse, but of a foolish-hardinesse, and selfe presuming obstinacie, we prefer our selves before other creatures, and sequester our selves from their condition and societie. But to returne to our purpose, we have for our part inconstancie, irresolution, uncertaintie, sorrow, superstition, carefulnesse for future things (yea after our life) ambition, covetousnesse, jeloutie, envie, inordinate, mad and untamed appetites, warre, falsehood, disloyaltie, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthie discourse, whereof we so much glorie, and this readinesse to judge, or capacitie to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinit passions, to which we are uncessantly enthralled. If we be not pleased (as *Socrates* is) to make this noble prerogative over beasts, to be of force, that whereas nature hath prescribed them certaine seasons, and bounds for their naturall lust and voluptuousnesse, she hath given us at all howers and occasions the full remedies of them. *Vi vinum agor-  
ris, quia prodest raro, rocer sapissime, melius est non adhibere omnino, quam, spe dubie salutis in  
apertam perniciem incurrere: sic, band scio, an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum cele-  
rem cogitationis acumen, solertiam, quem rationem vocamus, quam pestifera sint multis, ad-  
modum paucis salutaria, non dari omnino, quam tam munifice & tam large dari.* As it is better not to use wine at all in sicke persons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt, than in hope of doubtful health, to run into undoubted danger. So doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought, this sharpnesse, this conceitednesse which we call reason should not at all be given to mankind, because it is pernicious unto many, and healthfull to verie few) than that it should be given so plentifully and so largely. What good or commoditie may we imagine this far-understanding of so many things brought ever unto *Varro*, and to *Aristotle*? Did it ever exempt, or could it at any time free them from humane inconveniences? Werethey ever discharged of those accidents that incidently follow a scellie labouring man? Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from *Logike*? And howbeit they knew the humour engendring the same to lodge in the joints, have they felt it the lesse? Did they at any time make a covenant with death, although they knew full well that some nations rejoyce at her coming? as also of Cuckoldship, because they knew women to be common in some Countreies? But contrariwise having both held the first ranke in knowledge, the one amongst the Romanes, the other amongst the Græcians, yea, and at such times wherein sciences flourished most, we could never learne, they had any speciall excellencie in their life. Wee see the Græcian hath been put to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe from some notable imputations in his life. Was it ever found that sensuality, and health, are more pleasing unto him that understands *Astrologic* and *Grammar*?

*Cic Nat. deor.  
l. b. 3.*

*(Illiterati num minus nervi rigent?  
As stiffe unlearned sinewes stand,  
As theirs that much more understand.)*  
or shame and povertie lesse importunate and vexing?  
*Scilicet & morbu, & debilitate carebis,  
Et luctum, & curam effugies, & tempora vita  
Longa tibi post hac fato meliore dabuntur.*  
Thou shalt be from disease and weaknesse free,  
From moane, from care, long time of life to thee  
Shall by more friendly fate afforded be.

*Hor. epod. 8. 17.*

*Inven. sat. 14.  
156.*

I have in my daies seen a hundred Artificers, and as many labourers, more wise and more happy, than some Rectors in the Universitie, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinks Learning hath a place amongst things necessaric for mans life, as glorie, noblenesse, dignitie, or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed stead the same; but a far-off, and more in conceipt, than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and lawes how to live in our common-wealth, than the Cranes and Ants have in theirs. Which  
norwith-



notwithstanding, we see how orderly, and without instruction they maintaine themselves. If man were wise he would value every thing according to it's worth, and as it is either more profitable, or more necessary for life. He that shall number us by our actions & proceedings, shall doubtlesse finde many more excellent-ones amongst the ignorant, than among the wiser sort: I meane in all kind of vertues. My opinion is, that ancient Rome brought forth many men of much more valour and sufficiencie, both for peace and warre, than this late learned Rome, which with all her wisdom hath overthrowne her erst-flourishing estate. If all the rest were alike, then should honestie and innocencie at least belong to the ancient; for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicitie. But I will shorten this discourse, which haply would draw me further than I would willingly follow: yet thus much I will say more, that *only his militie & submission is able to make a perfect honest man*. Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his own judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed unto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free-will: otherwise according to the imbecilitie of our reasons, and infinite varietie of our opinions, we might peradventure forge and devise such duties unto our selves, as would induce us (as Epicurus saith) to endeavour to destroy & devoure one another. *The first law that ever God gave unto man, was a Law of pure obedience*. It was a bare & simple commandement whereof man should enquire & know no further: forasmuch, as to obey is the proper dutie of a reasonable soule, acknowledging a heavenly & superiour benefactor. From obeying and yeelding unto him proceed all other vertues; even as all sinnes derive from selfe, over-weening. Contrariwise, the first temptation that ever seized on humane Nature was disobedience, by the Devils instigation, whole first poison, so far insinuated it selfe into us, by reason of the promises he made us of wisdom & knowledge, *Eritis sicut Dii scientes bonum & malum. You shall be like Gods, knowing both good and evil*. And the Syrens, to deceive *Vlysses*, and alluring him to fall into their dangerous and confounding snares, offer to give him the full fruition of knowledge. *The opinion of wisdom is the plague of man*. That is the occasion why ignorance is by our Religion recommended unto us, as an instrument fitting beleefe, & obedience. *Cavete, ne quis vos decipiat per Philosophiam & inanes seductiones, secundum elementa mundi. Take heed, lest any man deceive you by Philosophie & vaine seducements, according to the rudiments of the world*. All the Philosophers of all the sects that ever were, do generally agree in this point, that the chiefest felicitie, or *summum bonum*, consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and bodie: but where shall we finde it?

Genesis cap. 3. 1.

Coloss. cap. 2. 8.

Hov. li. 1. epist. 1.  
Antepen.

*Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,  
Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum:  
Præcipue sanus, nisi cum piquita molesta est.*  
In summe, who wise is knowne,  
Is lesse than Iove alone,  
Rich, honorable, free, faire, King of Kings,  
Chiefely in health, but when fleagme trouble brings.

It seemeth verily, that Nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched condition, hath allotted us no other portion, but presumption. It is therefore (as Epictetus saith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne, but the use of his opinions. Our hereditarie portion is nothing but smoke and wind. The Gods (as saith Philosophie) have health in true essence, and sicknesse in concept. *Man cleane contrarie, possesseth goods in imagination, and evils essentially*. We have had reason to make the powers of our imagination to be of force: For, all our felicities are but in concept, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunt himselfe. There is nothing (saith Cicero) so delightfull and pleasant as the knowledge of Letters; of Letters I say, by whose means the infinitie of things, the incomprehensible greatnesse of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the Seas of this vast universe, are made knowne unto us. They have taught us Religion, moderation, stownesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darknesse, to make her see, and distinguish of all things, the high aswell as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supplie us with all such things as may make us live happily and well, and instruct us how to passe our time without sorrow or offence. Seemeth not this goodly Orator to speake of the Almightyes and everliving Gods condition? And touching effects, a thousand poore feelie women in a countie towne have lived, and live a life much more reposed, more peaceable, and more constant, than ever he did.

—Dew



— *Deus ille fuit Deus, inclite Memmi,  
Qui princeps vite rationem invenit eam, que  
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem,  
Fluctibus è tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,  
In tam tranquillo & tam clara luce locavit.*  
Good fir, it was God, God it was, first found  
That course of mans life, which now is renown'd  
By name of wisdom; who by art repose,  
Our life in so cleare light, calme so compose,  
From so great darknesse, so great waves oppose.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a sleight accident brought this wisemens understanding to a far worse condition, than that of a simple sheepherd: notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdom. Of like impudence is the promise of *Democritus* his Booke. *I will now speake of all things:* And that fond title which *Aristotle* gives us of mortall gods, and that rash judgement of *Chrysippus*, that *Dion* was as vertuous as God: And my *Seneca* saith, he acknowledgeth that God hath given him life, but how to live well, that he hath of himselfe. Like unto this other: *In virtute vere gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus.* We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of our selves. This also is *Senecaes*, that the wise man hath a fortitude like unto Gods; but inhumane weaknesse, wherein he excelleth him. There is nothing more common, than to meet with such passages of clementies: There is not any of us that will be so much offended to see himselfe compared to God, as he will deeme himselfe wronged to be depressed in the ranke of other creatures. So much are we more jealous of our owne interest, than of our Creators. But we must tread this foolish vanitie under foot, and boldly shake off, and lively reject those fond-ridiculous foundations, whereon these false opinions are built. So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes or power of himselfe, so long wil he denie, and never acknowledge what he oweth unto his Master: he shall alwaies (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: He must be stripped into his shirt. Let us consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. *Possidonus* having long time been griev'd with a painfull-lingring disease, which with the smarting-paine made him to wring his hands, and gnash his teeth, thought to scorne griefe, with exclaýning and crying out against it: *Deo what thou list yet will I never say that thou art evil or paine.* He feeleth the same passions that my lackey doth, but he boasteth himselfe, that at least he containeth his tongue under the lawes of his feet. *Re succumbere non oportebat verbis gloriantem:* It was not for him to yeeld in deeds, who had so braved it in words. *Arcefilas* lying sicke of the gowt, *Carneades* comming to visit him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had been angrie, was going away againe, but he called him backe, and shewing him his feet and brest, said unto him, there is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for he feeleth himselfe griev'd with sicknesse, and would faine be rid of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakned thereby, the other stands upon his stiffness (as I feare) more verball than essentiall. And *Diogenes Heracleotes* being tormented with a violent smarting in his eies, was at last perswaded to quit these Stoicke resolutions.

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpnesse of those accidents or mischances, that follow and attend us; doth she any more than what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosopher *Pyrro* being at Sea, and by reason of a violent storme in great danger to be cast away, presented nothing unto those that were with him in the ship, to imitate but the securitie of an Hog which was aboard, who nothing at all dismayed, seemed to behold and out-stare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives us over to the examples of a Wrestler, or of a Muletier, in whom we ordinarily perceive much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of griefe, and other inconveniences, and more undaunted constancie, than ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, unless he were borne, and of himselfe through some naturall habitude, prepared unto it. What is the cause, the tender members of a childe, or limbs of a horse are much more easie, and with lesse paine cut and incised than ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, onely through the power of imagination,

have



have false into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily see diverse that will cause themselves to be let blood, purged, and dieted, because they would be cured of diseases, they never felt but in conceit; when essentiall and true maladies faile us, then Science and knowledge lends us hers: This colour or complexion (said she) presageth some rheumatike defluxion will entice you: This soutring-hot season menaceth you with some febricant commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warneth you of some notable and approaching indisposition. And at last she will roundly addressse her selfe unto perfect health; saying, this youthly vigor and suddain joy can not possible stay in one place, her blood and strength must be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischief. Compare but the life of a man subject to these like imaginations, unto that of a day-labouring swaine, who followes his naturall appetites, who measureth all things onely by the present sense, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it: whereas the other hath often the stone imaginarily, before he have it in his reins: As if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse when it shall come, he doth in his faulcie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meet with it. What I speake of Phisicke, the same may generally be applied and drawne to all manner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philosophers, who placed chiefe felicitie in the acknowledging of our judgements weaknesse. My ignorance affords me as much cause of hope as of feare: and having no other regiment for my health, than that of other mens examples, and of the events, I see elsewhere in like occasions, whereof I find some of all sorts: And relie upon the comparisons, that are most favourable unto me. I embrace health with open armes, free, plaine, and full and prepare my appetite to enjoy it, by how much more, it is now lesse ordinarie and more rare unto me: so far is it from me, that I with the bitterness of some new and forced kind of life, trouble her rest, and molest her ease. Beasts doe manifestly declare unto us, how many infirmities our mindes agitation bring us. That which is told us of those that inhabit *Bressill*, who die onely through age, which some impute to the clearenesse and calmnesse of their aire, I rather ascribe to the calmnesse and clearenesse of their minds, void and free from all passions, cares, toiling, and unpleasant labours, as a people that passe their life in a wonderfull kind of simplicitie and ignorance, without letters, or lawes, and without Kings, or any Religion. Whence comes it (as we daily see by experience) that the rudest and grossest clownes, are more tough, strong, and more desired in amorous executions: And that the love of a Muletier is often more accepted, than that of a perfumed-quaint courtier? But because in the latter, the agitation of his minde doth so distract, trouble, and wearie the force of his bodie; as it also troubleth and wearie it selfe, who doth belie, or more commonly cast the same downe even into madnesse, but her owne promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and to conclude her proper force? *Whence proceeds the subtillest follie, but from the subtillest wisdom?* As from the extremest friendships proceed the extremest enimities, and from the soundest healths, the mortallest diseases; so from the rarest and quickest agitations of our minds ensue the most distempered and outrageous frenzies. There wants but halfe a pegs turne to passe from the one to the other. In mad mens actions, we see how tidie follie suteth and meets with the strongest operations of our minde. Who knowes not how unperceivable the neighbourhood betweene follie with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is; and the effects of a supreme and extraordinarie vertue? *Plato* affirmeth, that melancholy minds are more excellent and disciplinable; So are there none more inclinable unto follie. Diverse spirits are seene to be overthrowne by their owne force, and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted unto the ayre of true ancient poeie, lately gotten by his owne agitation and selfe-gladnesse, above all other Italian Poets that have been of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding unto this his killing vivacitie? unto this clearenesse, that hath so blinded him? unto his exact and far-reaching apprehension of reasons which hath made him voide of reason? unto the curious and laborious pursute of Sciences, that have brought him unto sortishnesse? unto this rare aptitude to the exercises of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spied than pittied him, when I saw him at *Ferrara*, in so pitteous a plighr, that he survived himselfe; misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which unwitting to him, and event to his face, have been published both uncorrected and maimed. Will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and inconstant and safe condition? overwhelm him in the darke

Torquato Tasso.

pit



pit of idlenesse, and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazled before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me, that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefe, and wallowish to evils, drawes this incommo- lition after it, it is also consequently the same that makes us lesse sharpe and greedie to the enjoying of good, and of pleasures: It is true, but the miserie of our condition beareth, that we have not so much to enjoy, as to shun, and that extreme voluptuousnesse doth not so much pinch us, as a light smart: *Segnius homines bona quam mala sentiunt. Men have a duller feeling of a good turne, than of an ill, we have not so sensible a feeling of perfect health, as we have of the least sicknesse.*

— *pungit*

*In cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus,  
Quando valere nihil quemquam movet. Hoc irvat unum  
Quod me non torquet latus aut pes; cetera quisquam  
Nix queat aut sanum sese aut sentire valem.*

A light stroke that dooth scarce the top-skin wound,  
Greeves the gall'd bodie, when in health to be,  
Doth scarce move any: onely ease is found,  
That neither side nor foot tormenteth me:  
Scarce any in the rest can feel he's sound.

Our being in health, is but the privation of being ill. See wherefore the sect of Philosophie, that hath most preferred sensualitie, hath also placed the same but to indolencie or unfeeling of paine. To have no infirmities at all is the chiefest possession of health that man can hope for (as *Ennius* said:)

*Nimum boni est, cui nihil est mali.  
He hath but too much good,  
Whom no ill hath withstood.*

*Ennii.*

For, the same tickling and pricking, which a man doth feel in some pleasures, and seemes beyond simple health, and indolencie, this active and moving sensualitie, or as I may terme it, itching and tickling pleasure aymes but to be free from paine, as her chiefest scope. The lust-full longing which allures us to the acquaintance of women, seekes but to expell that paine, which an earnest and burning desire doth possesse us with, and desireth but to allay it thereby to come to rest, and be exempted from this fever; And so of others. I say therefore, that if simplicities directeth us to have no evill, it also addresseth us according to our condition to a most happie estate. Yet ought it not to be imagined so dull and heavie, that it be altogether senselesse. And *Cramor* had great reason to withstand the unsensiblenesse of *Epicurus*, if it were so deeply rooted, that the approaching and birth of evils might gainsay it. I commend not that unsensiblenesse, which is neither possible nor to be desired. I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I will feel it. Verily, he that should root out the knowledge of evill, should therewithall extirp the knowledge of voluptuousnesse, and at last bring man to nothing. *Istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit immanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore.* This vertie point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befalls not freely to a man, without either inhumanitie in his minde, or senselesse in his bodie. Sicknesse is not amiss unto man, coming in her turne: Nor is he alwaies to shun paine, nor ever to follow sensualitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance, that Science it selfe throwes us into her armes, when she findes her selfe busied to make us thong against the assaults of evils: she is forced to come to this composition; to yeeld us the bridle, and give us leave to throwd our selves in her lap, and submit our selves unto her favour, to shelter us against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For, what meaneth she else, when she perswades us to withdraw our thoughts from the evils that possesse us, and entertaineth them with fore-gon pleasures, and stead us as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of fore-past felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, for to oppose it against that which vexeth us? *Leviationes egritudinum in avocatione à cogitanda molestia, & revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit.* Eases of grief she reposes either in calling from the thought of offence, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures. Unlesse it be, that where force failes her, she will use policie, and shew a trick of unblennesse & turne away, where the vigor both of her bodie and armes shall faile her. For, not onely to a strict Philosopher, but simply to any settled man, when he by experience feelleth the

*Cic. Tusc. qu. 1.3.*



the burning alteration of a hot fever, what currant payment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargaine.

*Cheriodar si il ben doppia la noia.*

For to thinke of our joy,  
Redoubles our annoy.

Of that condition is this other counsell, which Philosophie giveth, onely to keepe forepast felicities in memorie, and thence blot out such griefes as we have felt: as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell, of which we have much lesse.

*Suavis est laborum præteritorum memoria.*

Of labours overpast,  
Remembrance hath sweet taste.

*Cic. Fin. lib. 2.  
Eupip.*

*Cic. fin. bon. li. 1.*

*Pla. in vita  
Them.*

*Lucr. li. 3. 1086.  
Epicur.*

*Sen. Oed. act. 3.  
sic. 1.*

*Hor. li. 1. epist.  
9. 14.*

*Hor. li. 1. epist.  
2. 138.*

What? shall Philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands, to fight against fortune; which should harden my courage, to suppress and lay at my feet all humane adversities, will she so faint, as to make me like a fearfull cunnie creepe into some lurking-hole, and like a craven to tremble and yeeld? For, memorie representeth unto us, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinteth any thing in our remembrance, as the desire to forget the same: It is a good way to commend to the keeping, and imprint any thing in our minde, to sollicite her to lose the same. And that is false. *Est situm in nobis, ut & adversa quasi perpetua oblivione obruamus, & secunda jucunde & suaviter meminerimus.* This is ingrafted in us, or at least in our power, that we both burie in perpetual oblivion things past against us, and record with pleasure & delight what so ever was for us.

And this is true, *Memini etiam quæ nolo; oblivisci non possum quæ volo.* I remember even those things I would not, and can not forget what I would. And whose counsell is this? his, *Qui se unus sapientem profiteri sit ausus.* Who onely durst professe himselfe a wise man.

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes  
Præstrinxit stellas, exortus uti ætherius Sol.  
Who from all mankind bare for withe prize,  
And dim'd the stars as when skies Sunne doth rise.*

To emptic and diminish the memorie, is it not the readie and onely way to ignorance?

*Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est.  
Ofills a remedie by chance,  
And verie dull is ignorance,*

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous apparances from the vulgar sort, where lively and strong reason is not of force sufficient: alwaies provided, they bring us content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore, they are pleased to stupifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they could possible adde any order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by, or through any weaknesse or infirmitie of judgement, but they would accept it.

*— potare, & spargere flores  
Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.  
I will begin to strew flowers, and drinke free,  
And suffer witlesse, thriflesse, held to bee.*

There should many Philosophers be found of *Lycas* his opinion: This man in all other things being verie temperate, and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedly with his familie, wanting of no dutie or office both toward his owne household & strangers, verie carefully preserving himselfe from all hurtfull things: notwithstanding through some alteration of his senses or spirits, he was so possessed with this fantastick conceit or obstinate humour, that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theaters, where he still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sports, and the best Comedies of the world. But being at last by the skill of Physitions cured of this maladic, and his offending humour purged, he could hardly be held from putting them in suite, to the end they might restore him to the former pleasures and contents of his imagination.

*— pol me occidisti amici,  
Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,  
Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.*



You have not sav'd me, friends, but slaine me quite,  
(Quoth he) from whom so rest is my delight,  
And errour purg'd, which best did please my spright.

Of a raving like unto that of *Thrasilaus*, sonne unto *Pythodorus*, who verily beleev'd, that all the ships that went out from the haven of *Pyraum*, yea and all such as came into it, did only travell about his businesse, rejoycing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcommed them with great gladnesse: His brother *Crito*, having caused him to be cured, and restored to his better senses, he much bewailed and grieved the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so void of all care and griefe. It is that, which that ancient Greeke verse saith; That not to be so advised brings many commodities with it:

Εὐτὶς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἴσθι.

The sweetest life I wis,  
In knowing nothing is.

*Soph. Ala. frag*

And as *Ecclesiastes* witnesseth: In much wisdom, much sorrow: And who getteth knowledge, purchaseth sorrow and griefe. Even that, to which Philosophy doth in generall termes allow this last remedy, which she ordaineth for all manner of necessities; that is, to make an end of that life, which we cannot endure. *Placet? pare: Non placet? quacunque vis exi. Pungit dolor? vel fodiat sane: si nudus es, da jugulum: si tectus armis vulcanis, id est, fortitudine, resiste. Doth it like you? obey: doth it not like you? get out as you will: doth griefe pricke you? and let it pierce you too: if you be naked, yeeld your throat: but if you be covered with the armour of Vulcan, that is, with fortitude, resist.* And that saying used of the Gracians in their banquets, which they apply unto it, *Aut bibat, aut abeat: Euter let him carere, or carry him out of the house: which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoigne, than that of Cicero, who very easily doth change the letter B into V,*

*Ecclesiastes.*

*Cic. Tusc. quo lib. 2.*

*Cic. ib. lib. 5.*

*Vivere si recte nescis, discede peritis:  
Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti:  
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aquo  
Rideat, & pulset lascivum decentius aetas.*

*Hor. lib. 2. Epist. 2. ult.*

Live well you cannot, then that can give place;  
Well have you sported, eaten well, drunke well:  
Tis time you part; lest wanton youth with grace  
Laugh at, and knock you that with swilling swell.

what is it but a confession of his insufficiency, and a sending one backe not only to ignorance, there to be shrowded, but unto stupidity it selfe, unto unsensiblenesse and not being?

— *Democritum postquam matura vetustas  
Admonuit memorem, motus languescere mentis:  
Sponte sua letho caput obviis obrulit ipse.  
When ripe age put Democritus in minde,  
That his mindes motions fainted, he to finde  
His death went willing, and his life resign'd.*

*Lucr. lib. 3. 1083.*

It is that which *Anthistenes* said, that a man must provide himselfe either of wit to understand, or of a halter to hang himselfe: And that which *Chrysippus* alleged upon the speech of the Poet *Tyrtæus*,

*De la vertu, ou de mort approcher.  
Or vertue to approach,  
Or else let death incroch.*

*Plus. in Solons life.*

And *Crates* said, that love was cured with hunger, if not by time; and in him that liked not these two meanes, by the halter. That *Sextus*, to whom *Seneca* and *Plutarke* give so much commendation, having given over all things else and betaken himselfe to the study of Philosophy, seeing the progresse of his studies so tedious and slow, purposed to cast himselfe into the Sea; Ranne unto death for want of knowledge: Reade here what the law, saith upon this subject. If peradventure any great inconvenience happen, which cannot be remedied, the haven is not farre-off, and by swimming may a man save himselfe out of his body, as out of a leaking boat: for, it is feare to die, and not desire to live, which keepes a foole joynd to his body. As life through simplicity becommeth more pleasant, So (as Iere-while began to say) becommeth it more innocent and better. The simple and the ignorant



(saith S. Paul) raise themselves up to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, withall the knowledge we have, plunge our selves downe to the pit of hell. I rely neither upon *Vallentinianus* (a professed enemy to knowledge and learning) nor upon *Licinius* (both Roman Emperours) who named them the venime and plague of all politike estates: Nor on *Machomet*, who (as I have heard) doth utterly interdict all manner of learning to his subjects. But the example of that great *Lycurgus*, and his authority ought to beare chiefe sway, and the reverence of that divine Lacedemonian policy, so great, so admirable, and so long time flourishing in all vertue and felicity without any institution or exercise at all of letters. Those who rerurne from that new world, which of late hath beene discovered by the Spaniards, can witnesse unto us, how those nations being without Magistrates or law, live much more regularly and formally than we, who have amongst us more Officers and lawes, than men of other professions, or actions.

Aristo. cap. 14.  
lib. 2. 84.

*Di citatorie piene & di libelli,  
D'essamine, di carte, & di procure  
Hanno le mani e' l'eno, & granfastelli  
Di chiose, di consigli & di lecture,  
Per cui le facultà de poverelli  
Non sono mai ne le cuit à sicure,  
Hanno diotie & dimanzi & d'ambo i lati,  
Notai, procuratori, & advocati.*

Their hands and bosoms with writs and citations,  
With papers, libels, proxjes, full they beare,  
And bundels great of strict examinations,  
Of glosses, counsels, readings here and there.  
Whereby in townes poore men of occupations  
Possesse not their small goods secure from feare,  
Before, behind, on each sides Advocates,  
Proctors, and Notaries hold up debates.

It was that, which a Roman Senatour said, that *their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their stomake perfumed with a good conscience*: and contrary, the men of his times, outwardly smelt of nothing but sweet odours, but inwardly they stuncke of all vices: Which in mine opinion, is as much to say, they had much Knowledge and Sufficiency, but great want of honesty. Incivility, ignorance, simplicity, and rudnesse, are commonly joynd with innocency: Curiosity, subtilty, & knowledge, are ever followed with malice: Humility, feare, obedience, and honesty (which are the principall instruments for the preservation of humane society) require a single docile soule and which presumeth little of her selfe: Christians have a peculiar knowledge, *how curiosity is in a man a naturall, & originall infirmity*. The care to encrease in wisdom and knowledge was the first overthrow of man-kinde: It is the way whereby man hath headlong cast himselfe downe into eternall damnation. Pride is his losse and corruption: It is pride, that misleadeth him from common waies; that makes him to embrace all newfangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a stragling troupe and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erroneous sect, and a teacher of falsehood, than a disciple in the schoole of truth, and suffer himselfe to be led and directed by the hand of others in the ready beaten high way. It is haply that, which the ancient Greeke proverbe implieth; *ἡ συνεισφοβία, καὶ ἀνὰ πατέρα, τὸ τρυφῆν πεποιμένη*. *Superstition obaieth pride as a father*. Oh overweening, how much doest thou hinder us? *Socrates* being advertised, that the God of wisdom, had attributed the name of wise unto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searching and rousing up himself, & ransaking the very secrets of his heart found no foundation or ground for this divine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valiant and as wise as he, and more eloquent, more faire & more profitable to their country. In fine he resolved, that he was distinguished from others, and reputed wise, only because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdom a singular sottishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicity his greatest wisdom. The sacred writ pronounceth them to be miserable in this world, that esteeme themselves. *Dust & ashes* (saith he) *what is there in thee, thou shouldst so much glory of?* And in another place, God had made man like unto a shadowe, of which

who



who shall judge, when the light being gone, it shall vanish away? *Man is a thing of nothing.* So far are our faculties from conceiving that high Deitie, that of our Creators works, thoe beare his marke best, and are most his owne, which we understand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleefe, when they chance to meet with any incredible thing, that it is so much the more according unto reason, by how much more it is against humane reason. If it were according unto reason, it were no more a wonder; and were it to be matched, it were no more singular. *Melius scitur Deus nesciendo. God is better knownen by our not knowing him.* S. Augustine. Saith S. Augustine: And Tacitus, *Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quam scire: It is a course of more holinesse and reverence, to hold beleefe, than to have knowledge of Gods actions.* And Plato deemes it to be a vice of impiety, over-curiously to enquire after God, after the world, and after the first causes of things. *Atque illum quidem parentem huius universitatis invenire, difficile: & quum jam inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas.* Tacitus mor. German. Both it is difficult to finde out the father of this universe, and when you have found him, it is unlawfull to reveale him to the vulgar, saith Cicero. We easily pronounce puillance, truth and justice; they be words importing some great matter, but that thing we neither see nor conceive. We say that God feareth, that God will be angry, and that God loveth.

*Immortalia mortali sermone notantes,*

Who with tearmes of mortality

Note things of immortality.

Luct. li. 5. 112.

They be all agitations and motions, which according to our forme can have no place in God, nor we imagine them according to his. *It onely belongs to God to know himselfe, & interpret his owne workes;* and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to us, that are, and lie groveling on the ground. How can wisdom (which is the choice betwene good and evill) beseeke him, seeing no evill doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we use to come from obscure to apparant things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? Justice which distributeth unto every man what belongs unto him, created for the society and conversation of man, how is she in God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensualities, which have no place at all in his God-head? Fortitude patiently to endure sorrowes, & labours & dangers, appertaineth a litle unto him; these three things no way approaching him, having no access unto him. And therefore Aristotle holds him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. *Neque gratia, neque ira teneri potest, quod quæ talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia. Nor can he be possessed with favor and anger; for all that is so, is but weak.* Cic. Nat. Deor. lib. 1. The participation which we have of the knowledge of truth, what soever she is, it is not by our owne strength we have gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught it us in that he hath made choice of the simple, common & ignorant, to teach us his wonderfull secrets. Our faith hath not been purchased by us: it is a gift proceeding from the liberality of others. It is not by our discourse or understanding, that we have received our religion, it is by a forreine authority, and commandement. The weaknesse of our judgement, helps us more than our strength to compasse the same, & our blindness more than our cleare-sighted eyes. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance, than of our skill, that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvell if our naturall & terrestriall meanes cannot conceive the supernaturall, or apprehend the celestial knowledge. Let us add nothing of our own unto it, but obedience and subjection: For (as it is written) *I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and destroy the understanding of the prudent, where is the wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the disputant of this world?* Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishnesse? For seeing the world by wisdom knew not God in the wisdom of God, it hath pleased him, by the vanity of preaching, to save them that beleefe. Yet must I see at last, whether it be in mans power to finde what he seekes for: & if this long search, wherein he hath continued so many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength or solid truth: I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he will confesse, that all the benefit he hath gotten by so tedious a pursuit, hath been, that he hath learned to know his owne weaknesse. That ignorance which in us was naturall, we have with long study confirmed and averred. It hath happened unto those that are truly learned, as it hapneth unto eares of Corne, which as long as they are empty, grow and raise their head aloft, upright and stout; but if they once become full and bigge, with ripe Corne, they begin to humble & droope downward. So men having tried, and founded all, & in all this Chaos, and huge heape of learning and provision of so infinite different things, and found nothing



Cic. Acad. 9. 41.

Cic. divin. 1. 1.

Lucr. 3. 1091.

Lucr. 1. 3. 1089.

that is substantiall firme and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late knowen their naturall condition. It is that, which *Valerius* upbraids *Cotta* and *Cicero* withall, that they have learnt of *Philo*, to have learned nothing. *Pherecydes*, one of the seaven wise, writing to *Thales* even as he was yeelding up the Ghost; I have (saith he) appoynted my friends, as soone as I shalbe layed in my grave, to bring thee all my writings. If they please thee and the other Sages publish them; If not, conceale them. They containe no certaintie, I nor doe they any whit satisfie mee. My profession is not to know the truth nor to attaine it. I rather open than discover things. *The wisest that ever was being demanded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing.* He verified what some say, that the greatest part of what we know, is the least part of what we know not: that is, that that which we thinke to know, is but a parcel, yea and a small particle of our ignorance. We know things in a dreame (saith *Plato*) & we are ignorant of them in truth. *Omnes pene veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vita. Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be known, nothing perceived, nothing understood: that our senses are narrow, our mindes are weak, & the race of our life is short.* *Cicero* himselfe, who ought all he had unto learning, *Valerius* saith, that in his age he began to disesteeme letters: And whilst he practised them, it was without bond to any speciall body, following what seemed probable unto him, now in the one, & now in the other Sect; ever holding himselfe under the Academies doubtfulnesse, *Dicendum est, sed ita ut nihil affirmem: quænam omnia, dubitant plerumque, & nihil diffidens. Speake I must, but so as I avouch nothing, question all things, for the most part in doubt & distrust of my selfe.* I should have too much adoe, if I would consider man after his owne fashion, & in grole: which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to judge of truth not by the weight or value of voices but by the number. But leave we the common people,

*Qui vigilans stertit,*

*Who snoare while they are awake.*

*Mortua cui vita est, prope jam vivo atque videnti:*

*Whose life is dead while yet they see,*

*And in a manner living be.*

Who feeleth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part of his naturall parts idle. I will take man even in his highest estate. Let us consider him in this small number of excellent and choise men, who having naturally beene endowed with a peculiar and exquisite wit, have also fostred and sharpened the same with care, with study and with art, and have brought & strained unto the highest pitch of wisdom, it may possibly reach unto. They have fitted their soule unto all senses, & squared the same to all byases; they have strengthned and under-propped it with all foraine helpes, that might any way fit or stead her, and have enriched and adorned her with whatsoever they have beene able to borrow, either within or without the world for her avails: It is in them, that the extreme height of humane Nature doth lodge. They have reformed the world with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with arts and sciences, as also by example of their wonderfull manners and life. I will but make accompt of such people, of their witness and of their experience. Let us see how far they have gone, & what holdfast they have held by. The maladies and defects, which we shall finde in that College, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whosoever seekes for any thing, commeth at last to this conclusion and saith, that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuit after it. All Philosophy is divided into these three kindes. Her purpose is to seeke out the truth, the knowledge & the certaintie. The Peripatetike, the Epicurians, the Stoickes and others have thought they had found it. These have established the Sciences that we have, & as of certaine knowledges have treated of them, *Crito* *mochus*, *Carneades* and the *Academikes*, have despaired the finding of it, and judged that truth could not be conceived by our meanes. The end of these is weaknesse & ignorance. The former had more followers, and the worthiest Sectaries, *Pyrro* and other *Sceptikes*, or *Epochistes*, whose doctrine or manner of teaching, many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne, from *Homer*, from the seaven wise men, from *Archilochus* and *Enripides*, to whom they joyne *Zeno*, *Democritus* and *Xenophanes*, say, that they are still seeking after truth. These judge that those are infinitely deceived, who imagine they have found it, and that the second degree is over boldly vaine in affirming that mans power is altogether unable to attaine unto it. For to stablish the measure of our strength



to know and distinguish of the difficulty of things is a great, a notable and extreme science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

*Nil sciri quis putat, id quoque nescit,*

*An scripsit, quo se nil scire fatetur.*

Luct. l. 4. 471.

Who think's nothing is knowne, knowes not that, whereby hee  
Graunts he knowes nothing if it knowne may bee.

That ignorance, which knoweth judgeth and condemneth it selfe. Is not an absolute ignorance: For, to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Pyrronians is ever to waver, to doubt and to enquire; never to be assured of any thing, nor to take any warrant of himself. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule, that is to say, the imaginative, the concupiscible, and the consenting, they allow and conceive the two former; the last, they hold and defend to be ambiguous, without inclination or approbation, either of one or other side, be it never so light, *Zeno* in jesture painted forth his imagination upon this division of the soules faculties: the open and out-stretched hand was apparance; the hand halfe-shut, and fingers somewhat bending, consent: the fist close, comprehension: if the fist of the left-hand were closely clinched together, it signified Science. Now this situation of their judgement, straight and inflexible, receiving all objects with application or consent, leads them unto their *Ataraxie*; which is the condition of a quiet and settled life, exempted from the agitations which we receive by the impression of the opinion and knowledge we imagine to have of things; whence proceed, feare, avarice, envie, immoderate desires, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacie, and the greatest number of corporall evils: yea by that meane they are exempted from the jealousie of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: They feare not revenge, nor contradiction in the disputations. When they say, hat heavy things descend downward, they would be loath to be beleaved, but desire to be contradicted, thereby to engender doubt, and suspence of judgement, which is their end and drift. They put forth their propositions, but to contend with those, they imagine wee hold in our conceipt. If you take theirs, then will they undertake to maintaine the contrary: all is one to them, nor will they give a penny to chuse. If you propose that snow is blacke, they wil argue on the other side, that it is white. If you say it is neither one nor other, they wil maintaine it to be both. If by a certaine judgement, you say that you cannot tell, they will maintaine that you can tell. Nay, if by an affirmative axiome, you sweare that you stand in some doubt, they will dispute, that you doubt not of it, or that you cannot judge or maintaine, that you are in doubt. And by this extremitie of doubt, which staggereth it selfe, they separat and devide themselves from many opinions, yea from those which divers wayes have maintained both the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not be granted then (say they) as to Dogmatists, or Doctine-teachers, for one to say green, and another yellow, so for them to doubt? *Is there any thing can be proposed unto you, either to allow or refuse, which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous & doubtful?* And whereas others be carryed either by the custome of their Countrey, or by the institution of their Parents, or by chance, as by a Tempest, without choyce or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of discretion, to such or such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurian Sect, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe: *Ad quamcunque disciplinam, velut Tempestate, delati ad eam tanquam ad saxum adhæresunt.* Being carryed as it were by a Tempest, to any kinde of doctrine, they stick close to it, as it were to a rocke. Why shall not these likewise be permitted, to maintaine their liberty, & consider of things without dutie or compulsion? *Hæc libertiores, & solutiores, quod integra illis est iudicandi potestas.* They are so much the freer & at liberty, for that their power of judgement is kept entire. Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disingaged from necessity, which bindeth others? It is not better to remaine in suspence, than to entangle himselfe in so many errors, that humane fantasie hath brought forth? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne persuasion, than to meddle with these sedicious and quarellous divisions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer: to which it seemeth nevertheless, that all Dogmatisme arriveth; by which it is not lawfull for you to bee ignorant of that we know not. Take the best and strongest side, it shall never be so sure, but you shall have occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides? It is not better to keepe out of this confusion? You are suffe-

*Cic. Academ. qu. lib. 10.*

*Ibid.*



Cic. *Mid.*Cic. *divin. Li.*

red to embrace as your honour and life *Aristotles* opinion, upon the eternitie of the soule, and to belie & contradict whatsoever *Plato* saith concerning that; and shal they be interdicted to doubt of it? If it be lawfull for *Panacius* to maintaine his judgement about *Aruspices*, *Dreames*, *Oracles* and *Prophecies*, whereof the *Stoikes* makes no doubt at all: Wherefore shall not a wiseman dare that in all things, which this man dareth in such as he hath learned of his Masters? Confirmed and established by the general consent of the Schoole wherof he is a Sectary and a Professor? If it be a Childe that judgeth, he wots not what it is; if a learned man, he is fore-stalled. They have reserved a great advantage for themselves in the combat, having discharged themselves of the care how to shroud themselves. They care not to be beaten, so they may strike againe: And all is fish that comes to net with them: If they overcome, your proposition halte; if you, theirs is lame; if they faile they verifie ignorance, if you, she is verified by you; if they prove that nothing is knowne, it is very well. If they cannot prove it, it is good alike: *Vt quum in eadem re paria contrarijs in partibus momenta inveniuntur, facilius ab utraque parte assertio sustineatur.* So as when the same matter the like weight and moment is found on divers parts, we may the more easily with hold avouching on both parts. And they suppose to find out more easily, why a thing is false, than true, and that which is not, than that which is: and what they beleeve not, than what they beleeve. Their manner of speech is, *I confirme nothing*: It is no more so than thus, or neither: I conceive it not; Apparances are every where alike. The law of speaking *pro* or *contra* is all one. *Nothing seemeth true, that may not seeme false.* Their Sacramentall word is, *ἐπιχω*, which is as much to say, as I hold & stir not. Behold the burdons of their songs & other such like. Their effects is, a pure, entire and absolute surceasing and suspence of judgement. They use their reason, to enquire and to debate; & not to stay and choose. Whosoever shall imagine a perpetuall confession of ignorance, and a judgement upright & without staggering, to what occasion soever may chance; That man conceives the true *Phyrrhonisme*. I expound this fantazy as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: And the Authors themselves represent it somewhat obscurely & diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common sort, they are lent and applied to naturall inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitutions of lawes, and customes, and to the tradition of arts: *Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantummodo uti voluit.* For God would not have us know these things, but only use them. By such meanes they suffer their common actions to be directed, without any conceit or judgement, which is the reason that I cannot well sort unto this discourse, what is said of *Pyrrho*. They saie him to be stupide and unmovable, leading a kinde of wild and unsociable life, not shunning to be hit with Carts, presenting himselfe unto downefalls, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his discipline. Hee would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing and reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures & naturall commodities, busying himselfe with, & using all his corporall and spirituall parts, in rule and right. The fantastickall and imaginary, and false privileges, which man hath usurped unto himselfe, to sway, to appoint, & to establish, he hath absolutely renounced and quit them. Yet is there no Sect, but is enforced to allow her wise Sectary, in chiefe to follow diverse things not comprized nor perceived, nor allowed, if he will live. And if he take shipping, he follows his purpose, not knowing whether it shall be profitable or no: & yeeldes to this, that the shippe is good, that the pilote is skilfull, and that the season is fit; circumstances only probable; After which he is bound to goe, and suffer himselfe to be removed by apparances alwaies provided they have no expresse contrariety in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a soule, his senses urge him forward, his mind moveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and that hee perceive he should not engage his consent, seeing some falshood may be like unto this truth: Hee ceaseth not to detect the offices of his life fully and commodiously. How many arts are there, which profess to consist more in conjecture, than in the science; That distinguish not betweene truth and falshood, but onely follow seeming? There is both true and false, say they) and there are meanes in us to seeke it out, but not to stay it when we touch it. It is better for us to suffer the order of the world to manage us without further inquisition. A mind warranted from prejudice, hath a marvellous preferment to tranquility. *Men that sensure and controule their judges, doe never duly submit themselves unto them.* How much more docile and tractable are simple and uncurious mindes found both towards the lawes of religion and Politike decrees,



decrees, than these over-vigilant and nice wits, teachers of divine and humane causes? There is nothing in mans invention, wherein is so much likelyhood, possibilitie and profit. This representeth man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weakenesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disfurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to harbour divine understanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place unto faith: Neither misbelieving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant unto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, disciplinable and studious; a sworn enemy to Heresie, and by consequence exempting himselfe from all vaine and irreligious opinions, invented and brought up by false Sects. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God what form soever it shall please him to imprint therein. *The more we addresse & commit our selves to God, and reiect our selves, the better it is for us,* Accept (saith Ecclesiastes) in good part things both in shew and taste, as from day to day they are presented unto thee, the rest is beyond thy knowledge. *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vana sunt. The Lord knowes the thoughts of men, that they are vayne.* See how of three generall Sects of Philosophie, two make expresse profession of doubt and ignorance; and in the third, which is the Dogmatists, it is easie to be discerned, that the greatest number have taken the face of assurance; onely because they could set a better countenance on the matter. They have not so much gone about to establish any certainty in us, as to shew now farre they had waded in seeking out the truth, *Quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt. Which the learned doe rather conceit, than know.*

Psal. 93. 11.

*Tymæus*, being to instruct *Socrates*, of what he knowes of the Gods, of the world and of men, purposeth to speake of it, as one man to another; and that it sufficeth, if his reasons be as probable as another mans: For, exact reasons are neither in his hands, nor in any mortall man: which one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: *Ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint & fixa, qua divero; sed, ut homunculus, probabilis conjectura sequens. As I can, I will explaine them yet not as Apollo giving oracles, that all should bee certaine and set downe, that I say but as a meane man, who followes likelihood by his conjecture.* And that upon the discourse of the contempt of death; a naturall and popular discourse. Elsewhere he hath translated it, upon *Platoes* very words. *Si forte, de Deorum natura ori que mundi differemus, minus quod habemus in animo consequimur, haud erit mirum. Aequum est enim meminisse, & me, qui differam, hominem esse, & vos qui iudicatis: ut si probabilis dicentur, nihil ultra requiratis. It will be no marvell, if arguing of the nature of Gods and originall of the world, we scarcely reach to that which in our minde we comprehend; for it is meet we remember, that both I am a man, who am to argue, and you who are to judge, so as you seeke no further, if I speake but things likely.* *Aristotle* ordinarily hoardeth us up a number of other opinions, and other beleefes, that so he may compare his unto it, and make us see how farre he hath gone further, and how neere he comes unto true-likelihood; For truth is not judged by authority, nor by others testimonie. And therefore did *Epicurus* religiously avoyd to alledge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him, that, to know much, breedes an occasion to doubt more. He is often seene seriously to shelter himselfe under so inextricable obscuritie that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a *Pyrrhonisme* under a resolving forme. Listen to *Ciceroes* protestation, who doth declare us others fantasies by his owne. *Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est. Hac in Philosophia ratio, contra omnia differendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcefila, confirmata à Carneade usque ad nostram viget aetatem. Hi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quadam adiuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in his nulla insit certe judicandi & assensendi ratio. They that would know what we conceit of every thing, use more curiosity than needs. This course in Philosophy to dispute against all things, to judge expressely of nothing, derived from *Socrates*, renewed by *Arcefilas*, confirmed by *Carneades*, is in force till our time: we are those that aver some falshood entermixt with every truth, and that with such likeness, as there is no set note in those things for any assuredly to give judgement or assent. Why hath not *Aristotle* alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers affected difficulty, unlesse it be to make the vanity of the subject to prevaile, and to amuse the curiosity of our minde, seeking to feed it, by gnawing so raw and bare a bone? *Clytemachus* affirmed, that he could never understand by the writings of *Carneades*, what opinion he was of. Why hath *Epicurus* interdicted facility*

Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 1.

Cic. Pnir. 1.

Cic. Nat. d. 1. 1.



facility unto his Sectaries? And wherefore hath *Heraclytus* beene surnamed *οκρεως*, a darke mysty clouded fellow? Difficulty is a coine, that wisemen make use of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanity of their art, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaid.

*Lucr. l. 1. 696.*

*Clarus ob obscurum linguam, magis inter inanes.  
Omnia enim stolidi magis admittantur amanti,  
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt,  
For his darke speech much prais'd, but of th'unwise;  
For fooles doe all still more admire and prize,  
That under words turn'd topsie-turvie lies.*

*Cicero* reproveth some of his friends, because they were wont to bestow more time about Astrology, Law, Logike, and Geometry, than such Arts could deserve; and diverted them from the devours of their life, more profitable and more honest. The *Cyrenaike* Philosophers equally contemned naturall Philosophy and Logicke. *Zeno* in the beginning of his bookes of the Common-wealth declared all the liberall Sciences to be unprofitable. *Chrysippus* said that which *Plato* and *Aristotle* had written of Logike, they had written the same in jest and for exercise sake; and could not beleeve that ever they spake in good earnest of so vaine and idle a subject. *Plutarke* saith the same of the Metaphysikes; *Epicurus* would have said it of Rethorike, of Grammar, of Poesie, of the Mathematikes, and (except naturall Philosophy) of all other sciences: And *Socrates* of all; but of the Art of civill manners and life. Whatsoever he was demanded of any man, he would ever first enquire of him, to give an account of his life, both present and past: which he would seriously examine and judge of: Deeming all other apprenticeships as subsequents and of supererogation in regard of that. *Parum mihi placeant ea litera quæ ad virtutem doctores nihil profuerunt. That learning pleaseth me but a little which nothing profiteeth the teachers of it unto vertue.* Most of the Arts have thus beene contemned by knowledge it selfe: For they thought it not amisse to exercise their mindes in matters wherein was no profitable solidity. As for the rest, some have judged *Plato* a Dogmatist, others a Doubter, some a Dogmatist in one thing & some a Doubter, in another. *Socrates*, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever aske and propose his Disputation; yet never concluding, nor ever satisfying; and saith, he hath no other Science, but that of opposing. Their Author *Homer* hath equally grounded the foundations of all Sects of Philosophy, thereby to shew, how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say, that of *Plato* arose ten diverse Sects. And as I thinke, never was instruction wavering and nothing avouching, if his be not. *Socrates* was wont to say, that when Midwives begin once to put in practice the trad to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barré. That he by the title of wife, which the gods had conferred upon him, had also in his man-like and mentall love shaken off the faculty of begetting: Being well pleased to afford all helpe and favor to such as were engendrers; to open their nature, to supple their passages, to ease the issue of their child-bearing, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strengthen it, to swathe it, and to ciue it; exercising and handling his instrument at the perill & fortune of others. So is it with most Authors of this third kinde, as the ancients have well noted by the writings of *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes*, and others. They have a manner of writing doubtfull both in substance and intent, rather enquiring than instructing: albeit here and there, they enterlace their stile with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as well seene in *Seneca* and in *Plutarke*? How much doe they speake sometimes of one face, & sometimes of another, for such as looke neere unto it? Those who reconcile Lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one unto himselfe. *Plato* hath (in my seeming) loved this manner of Philosophying. Dialogue wise in good earnest, that thereby he might more decently place in sundry mouthes the diversity and variation of his owne conceits. *Diversly to treat of matters is as good & better as to treat them conformably*; that is to say, more copiously & more profitably. Let us take example by our selves. Definite sentences make the last period of dogmaticall & resolving speech: yet see we, that those which our Parliaments present unto our people, as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe unto this dignitie, especially by reason of the insufficiencie of those persons, which exercise the same, taking their glory, not by the conclusion, which to them is dayly, & is common to all judges as much as the debating of diverse, & agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will

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admit. And the largest scope for reprehensions of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein every one of them findeth himselfe so entangled, either by intent to shew the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensiblenesse of all matters: What meaneth this burden? *In a slippery and gliding place let us suspend our beliefe,* For as Euripides saith,

*Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses*

*Façons, nous donnent des traverses*

*Euripides.*

Gods workes doe travers our imaginations,

And crosse our workes in divers different fashions.

Like unto that which Empedocles was wont often to scatter amongst his bookes, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No no, we feel nothing, we see nothing; all things are hid from us: There is not one, that we may establish, how and what it is: But returning to this holy word. *Cogitationes mortalium timida & incerta ad inventiones nostra, & providentia.* The thoughts of mortal men are fearful, our devices & foresights are uncertaine. It must not be thought strange if men disparaging of the goale have yet taken pleasure in the chase of it; studie being in it selfe a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing, that amid sensualities, the Stoikes forbid also that which comes from the exercise of the minde, and require a bridle to it, & finde intemperance in over much knowledge. Democritus having at his table eaten some figges that tasted of hony, began presently in his minde to seeke out whence this unusuall sweetnes in them might proceed; and to be resolved, rose from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide servant noting this alteration in her master, smilingly said unto him, that he should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, she had laide them in a vessell where hony had beene; whereat he seemed to be wroth in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended search, and robbed his curiositie of matter to worke upon. Away (quoth he) unto her, thou hast much offended mee; yet will I not omit to finde out the cause, as if it were naturally so. Who perhaps would not have missed to finde some likely or true reason, for a false and supposed effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher doth evidently represent unto us this studious passion, which so doth amuse us in pursuit of things, of whose obtaining wee despaire. Plutarke reporteth a like example of one who would not bee resolved of what he doubted, because hee would not lose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Physician remove the thirst he felt in his ague, because he would not lose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with drinking. *Satius est supervacua discere, quam nihil.* It is better to learne more than we need, than nothing at all. Even as in all feeding, pleasure is alwayes alone and single; and all we take that is pleasant is not ever nourishing and wholesome: So likewise, what our minde draws from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, although it neither nourish nor be wholesome. Note what their saying is: *The consideration of nature is a food proper for our mindes, it raiseth and puffeth us up, it makes us by the comparison of heavenly and high things to disdain base and low matters: the search of hidden and great causes is very pleasant, yea unto him that attaines nought but the reverence and feare to judge of them.* These are the very words of their profession. The vaine image of this crazed curiositie is more manifestly scene in this other example, which they for honour-sake have so often in their mouths. Endoxus wished, and praid to the Gods, that he might once view the Sunne nere at hand, to comprehend his forme, his greatnesse and his beautie; on condition he might immediately be burnt and consumed by it. Thus with the price of his owne life would he attaine a Science, whereof both use and possession shall therewith bee taken from him; and for so sudden and fleeting knowledge, lose and forgoe all the knowledges he either now hath, or ever hereafter may have. I can not easily be perswaded, that Epicurus, Plato, or Pythagoras have sold us their Atomes, their Ideas, and their Numbers for ready payment. They were over wise to establish their articles of faith upon things so uncertaine and disputable. But in this obscuritie and ignorance of the world, each of these notable men hath endeavoured to bring some kinde of shew or image of light; and have busied their mindes about inventions that might at least have a pleasing and wylie apparance, provided notwithstanding it were false; it might be maintained against contrary oppositions: *Vnicuique ista pro in ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientia vi.* These things are conceited by every man as his wit serves, not as his knowledge stretches & reaches.

An

*Wisd. c. 9. 14.*

*Sen. ep. 89. f.*



An ancient Philosopher being blamed for professing that Philosophie, whereof, in his judgment hee made no esteeme; answered, that that was true Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to ballance all, and have found that it was an occupation fitting the naturall curiositie which is in us. Some things they have written for the behoofe of common societie, as their religions: And for this consideration was it reasonable, that they would not thoroughly unfold common opinions, that so they might not breed trouble in the obedience of lawes and customes of their countries. *Plato* treateth this mysterie in a very manifest kinde of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prescribeth nothing for certaintie: When he institutes a Law giver, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kinde of stile: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantasticall opinions; as profitable to perswade the common sort, as ridiculous to perswade himselfe: Knowing how apt wee are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very carefull in his lawes that nothing bee sung in publike but Poesies; the fabulous fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusion in mans minde, that it is injustice not to feed them rather with commodious lies, than with lies either unprofitable or damageable. He flatly saith in his Common-wealth, that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguish, how some Sects have rather followed truth, and some profit; by which the latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of our condition, that often what offers it selfe unto our imagination for the likeliest, presents not it selfe unto it for the most beneficiall unto our life. The boldest sects, both *Epicurian*, *Pirrhonian* and new *Academike*, when they have cast their acount, are compelled to stoop to the civill law. There are other subjects, which they have tossed, some on the left and some on the right hand, each one labouring and striving to give it some semblance, were it right or wrong: For, having found nothing so secret, whereof they have not attempted to speake, they are many times forced to forge divers feeble and fond conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them for a ground-werke, nor to establish a truth, but for an exercise of their studie. *Non tam id sensisse, quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materia difficultate videntur voluisse.* They seeme not so much to have thought as they said, as rather willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the matter. And if it were not so taken, how should we cloke so great an inconstancie, varietie and vanity of opinions, which we see to have beene produced by these excellent and admirable spirits? As for example, *What greater vanitie can there be than to goe about by our proportions and conjectures to guesse at God? And to governe both him and the world according to our capacitie and lawes? And to use this small scantlin of sufficiencie, which he hath pleased to impart unto our naturall condition, at the cost and charges of divinitie? And because we cannot extend our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to have removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all humane and ancient opinions concerning religion, I thinke that to have had more likelyhood and excuse, which knowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehensible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things; all goodnes, all perfection; accepting in good part the honour and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, under what usage, name and manner soever it was.*

*Iupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque, Deumque;*

*Progenitor, genitrixque.*

Almightie love, is parent said to be

Of things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and she.

This zeale hath universally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All Policies have reaped some fruit by their devotion: Men, and impious actions have every where had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignitie, order, justice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefit and instruction, in their fabulous religion: God of his mercy dauning peradventure, to foster by his temporall blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge, as naturall reason gave them of him, athwart the false images of their deluding dreames: Not only false, but impious and injurious are those, which man hath forged and devised by his owne invention. And of all religions *Saint Paul* found in credit at *Athens*, that which they had consecrated unto a certaine hidden and unknowne divinitie, seemed to be most excusable, *Pythagoras* shadowed the truth somewhat neerer, judging that the knowledge of this first cause and *Ens entium* must be undefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the ex-

treme



treme indeavour of our imagination, toward perfection, every one amplifying the Idea thereof according to his capacitie. But if *Numa* undertooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joine the same to a religion meerly mentall, without any prefix object or materiall mixture, he undertooke a matter to no use. *Mans minde could never be maintained, if it were still floting up and downe in this infinite deepe of shapeles conceits.* They must be framed unto her to some image, according to her model. The majesty of God hath in some sort suffered it selfe to be circumscribed to corporall limits: *His supernaturall & celestiaall Sacraments beare signes of our terrestriall condition.* His adoration is exprest by offices and sensible words; for, it is man that beleeveeth and praieth. I omit other arguments, that are emplyed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleeve, that the sight of our Crucifixes, and pictures of that pittiful torment, that the ornaments and ceremonious motions in our Churches, that the voyces accomodated and suted to our thoughts-devotions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly inflame the peoples soules, with a religious passion of wondrous beneficiall good. Of those, to which they have given bodies, as necessity required amid this generall blindness; as for me, I should rather have taken part with those who worshipped the Sunne.

— la lumiere commune,

*L'œil du monde : & si Dieu au chef porte des yeux,  
Les rayons du Soleil sont ses yeux radieux  
Qui donnent vie à tous, nous mainstiennent & gardent,  
Et les saints des humains en ce monde regardent:  
Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les saisons,  
Selon qu'il entre ou sort de ses douze maisons :  
Qui remplit l'univers de ses vertus cognues,  
Qui d'un rai de ses yeux nous dissipe les nues :  
L'esprit, l'ame du monde, ardent & flamboyant,  
En la cource d'un iour tout le Ciel tour noyant,  
Plein d'immense grandeur, rond, vagabond & ferme :  
Lequel tient dessous luy tout le monde pour terme  
En repos sans repos, oyssif, & sans sejour,  
Fils aisné de nature, & le pere du iour.*

The common light,

The worlds eye : and if God beare eyes in his cheefe head,  
His most resplendent eyes, the Sunne-beames may be said,  
Which unto all give life, which us maintaine and guard,  
And in this world of men, the workes of men regard,  
This great, this beauteous Sunne, which us our seasons makes,  
As in twelve houses he, ingresse or egress takes;  
Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this universe  
With one cast of his eyes doth us all clowds disperse,  
The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming, burning,  
Round about heav'n in course of one dayes journey turning.  
Of endlesse greatnesse full, round, moveable and fast :  
Who all the world for bounds beneath himselfe hath pla't :  
In rest, without rest, and still more staide, without stay,  
Of Nature th'eldest Childe, and father of the day.

Forasmuch as besides this greatnesse and matchlesse beautie of his, it is the only glorious piece of this vaste-worlds-frame, which we perceive to be furthest from us : And by that meane so little known, as they are pardonable, that entered into admiration, and reverence of it. *Thales*, who was the first to enquire and finde out this matter, esteemed God to bee a spirit, who made all things of water. *Anaximander* thought the Gods did dy, and were new borne at divers seasons: and that the worlds were infinite in number. *Anaximenes* deemed the ayre to be a God, which was created immense, & alwaies moving. *Anaxagoras* was the first that held the description and manner of all things, to be directed by the power and reason of a spirit infinit. *Alcmaeon* hath ascribed Divinity unto the Sunne, unto the Moone, unto Stars, and unto the Soule. *Pythagoras* hath made God, a spirit dispersed through the Nature



ture of all things, whence our soules are derived. *Parmenides*, a Circle circumpassing the heavens, and by the heat of light maintaining the world. *Empedocles* said, the foure Natures, whereof all things are made, to be Gods. *Protagoras*, that he had nothing to say, whether they were or were not, or what they were. *Democritus* would sometimes say, that the images and their circuitions were Gods, and other times this Nature, which disperſeth these images; and then our knowledge and intelligence. *Plato* scattereth his beliefe after diverse semblances. In his *Tymeus*, he saith, that the worlds-father could not be named. In his Lawes, that his being must not be enquired after. And else-where in the said bookes, he maketh the world, the heaven, the starres, the earth and our soules, to be Gods; and besides, admitteth those that by ancient institutions have beene received in every Common-wealth. *Xenophon* reporteth a like difference of *Socrates* his discipline. Sometimes that Gods forme ought not to be inquired after; then he makes him infer, that the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a God: other times, that there is but one, and then more. *Speusippus* Nephew unto *Plato*, makes God to be a certaine power, governing all things, and having a soule. *Aristotle* saith sometimes that it is the spirit, and sometimes the world; other times he appoynteth another ruler over this world, and sometimes he makes God to be the heat of heaven. *Xenocrates* makes eight; five named amongst the planets, the sixth composed of all the fixed starres, as of his owne members, the seventh and eight, the Sunne and the Moone. *Heraclides Ponticus* doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of sense, and maketh him remove and transchange himselfe from one form to another; and then saith, that is both heaven and earth. *Theophrastus* in all his fantasies wandereth still in like irresolutions, attributing the worlds superintendency now to the intelligence, now to the heaven, and now to the starres. *Strato*, that it is Nature having power to engender, to augment and to diminish, without forme or sense. *Zeno*, the naturall Lawe, commaunding the good, and prohibiting the evil; which Lawe is a breathing creature; and removeth the accustomed Gods, *Jupiter*, *Iuno* and *Vesta*. *Diogenes Apolloniates*, that it is Age. *Xenophanes* makes God, round, seeing, hearing not breathing, and having nothing common with humane Nature. *Aristo* deemeth the forme of God to be incomprehensible, and depriveth him of senses, and wotteth not certainly whether he be a breathing soule or something else. *Cleanthes*, sometimes reason, other times the World, now the soule of Nature, and other-while the supreme heat, enfolding and containing all. *Persius Zenes* disciple hath beene of opinion, that they were surnamed Gods, who had brought some notable good or benefit unto humane life, or had invented profitable things. *Chrysippus*, made a confused huddle of all the foresaid sentences, and amongst a thousand formes of the Gods, which he faineth, hee also accompteth those men that are immortalized. *Diagoras* and *Theodorus*, flatly denyed, that there were any Gods: *Epicurus* makes the Gods, bright-shining, transparent and persable, placed as it were betweene two Forts, between two Worlds, safely sheltered from all blowes, invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which unto them are of no use.

Enn. Cūe. diu. l. 2.

*Ego Deum genus esse semper duxi, & dicam caluum,*  
*Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.*  
 I still thought and wil say, of Gods there is a kinde;  
 But what our mankinde doth, I thinke they nothing minde.

Trust to your Philosophie, boast to have hit the naile on the head; or to have found out the beane of this Cake, to see this coile and hurly-burly of so many Philosophical wits. The trouble or confusion of worldly shapes and formes hath gotten this of mee, that customes and conceits differing from mine, doe not so much dislike me, as instruct me; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they doe not so much puffe me up with pride, as humble me with lowlinesse. And each other choyce, except that which commeth from the expresse hand of God, seemeth to me a choyce of small prerogative or consequence. The worlds policies are no little contrary one to another in this subject, than the schooles. Whereby we may learne, that Fortune herself is no more divers, changing and variable, than our reason, nor more blinde and inconsiderat. Things most unknowne are fittest to be desired. Wherefore, to make gods of our selves (as antiquitie hath done,) it exceeds the extreme weaknesse of discourse. I would rather have folowed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Oxe, for so much as their Nature, and being is least knowne to us; and we may more lawfully imagine what we lut of those beasts and ascribe extraordinarie faculties

unto



unto them. But to have made Gods of our condition, whose imperfections we should know, and to have attributed desire, choler, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love and jealousy, our limbes and our bones, our infirmities, our pleasures, our deathes, and our Sepulchres unto them, hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and egregious sottishnesse, or drunkennesse of mans wit.

*Qua procul usque adeo divino ab numine distant.*

*Inque Deum numero que sint indigna videri.*

*Lucr. l. 5. 123.*

Which from Divinity so distant are,

To stand in ranke of Gods unworthy farre.

*Forma, etates, vestitus ornatus non sum: genera, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humane: nam & perturbatis animis inducuntur, accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates, egritudines, iracundias. Their shapes, their ages, their apparrell, their furnitures are known; their kindes, their marriages, their kindred, and all translated to the likenesse of mans weaknesse: For they are also brought in with mindes much troubled: for we reade of the lustfulness, the grievings, the angrienesse of the Gods. As to have ascribed Divinity, not only unto faith, vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory and piety; but also unto voluptuousnesse, fraud, death, envy, age and misery; yea unto feare, unto ague, and unto evill fortune, and such other injuries and wrongs to our fraile and transitory life.*

*Quid in vaer hoc templis nostros inducere mores?*

*O curva interris anima & celestium inanes!*

*Pers. sat. 2. 61.*

What boots it, into Temples to bring manners of our kindes?

O crooked soules on earth, and void of heavenly mindes.

The Egyptians with an impudent wisdom forbad upon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say, that *Serapis* and *Isis* their Gods, had whilome beene but men, when all knew they had beene so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger a crosse their mouthes imported (as *Varro* saith) this misterious rule unto their priests, to conceale their mortall off-spring, which by a necessary reason disauulled all their veneration. Since man desired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had beene better for him (saith *Cicero*) to draw those divine conditions unto himselfe, and bring them downe to earth, than to send his corruption, and place his misery above in heaven: but to take him aright, he hath divers wayes, and with like vanitie of opinion, done both the one and other. When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchy of their gods, and to the utmost of their skill endeavour to distinguish their aliances, their charges, and their powers. I cannot beleeveth they speake in good earnest when *Plato* decyphreth unto us the orchard of *Pluto*, and the commodities or corporall paines, which even after the ruine and consumption of our body, waite for us, and applyeth them to the apprehension or feeling we have in this life.

*Secreti celant colles, & myrtia circum*

*Sylva tegit, cura non ipsa in morte relinquunt.*

*Virg. Aen. li. 6.*

Them paths aside conceale, a myrtle grove

Shades them round; cares in death doe not remove.

When *Mahomet* promiseth unto his followers a paradise all capistred, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damfels, stored with wines and singular cates. I well perceive they are but scoffers, which sute and apply themselves unto our foolishnesse, thereby to enhonny and allure us to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even so are some of our men false into like errors by promising unto themselves after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporall life, accompanied with all sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall we thinke that *Plato*, who had so heavenly conceptions, and was so well acquainted with Divinity, as of most he purchased the surname of Divine, was ever of opinion, that man (this feely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him, which might in any sort be applied, and suted to this incomprehensible and unspeakable power? or ever imagined, that our languishing hold-fasts were capable, or the vertue of our understanding of force, to participate or be partakers, either of the blessednesse, or eternall punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reason be answered: If the pleasures, thou promisest us in the other life, are such as I have felt here below, they have nothing in them common with infinity. If all my five naturall senses were even surcharged with joy and gladnesse, and my soule possessed with all the contents and delights, it



could possibly desire or hope for (and we know what it either can wish or hope for) yet were is nothing. If there bee any thing that is mine, then is there nothing that is Divine; if it be nothing else, but what may appertain unto this our present condition, it may not be accounted of. *All mortall mens contentment is mortall.* The acknowledging of our parents, of our children and of our friends, if it cannot touch, move or tickle us in the other world, if we still take hold of such a pleasure, we continue in Terrestrial and transitorie commodities. We can not worthily conceive of these high, mysterious, and divine promises; if wee can but in any sort conceive them, and so imagine them aright; they must be thought to be unimaginable, unspeakable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other than those of our miserable experience. No eye can behold, (saith Saint Paul) *The hap that God prepareth for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man.* And if to make us capable of it (as thou saith Plato by thy purifications) our being is reformed and essence changed, it must be by so extreme and universall a change, that according to Philosophicall doctrine, we shall be no more our selves:

1 Cor. 2. 9.

Ovid. Trist. l. 3.  
el. 11. 27.

*Hector erat tunc cum bello certabat, at ille  
Trahitus ab Amonio non erat Hector equo.*  
Hector he was, when he in fight us'd force;  
Hector he was not, drawne by th' enemies horse.

it shall be some other thing, that shall receive these recompences.

Lucr. l. 3. 781.

— *quod mutatur, dissolvitur, interit ergo:  
Trajiciuntur enim partes atque ordine migrant.*  
What is chang'd, is dissolved, therefore dies:  
Translated parts in order fall and rise.

For, in the *Metempsychosis*, or transmigration of soules of *Pythagoras*, and the change of habitation, which he imagined the soules to make; shall we thinke that the Lion in whom abideth the soule of *Cesar*, doth wed the passions which concerned *Cesar*, or that it is hee? And if it were hee, those had some reason, who debating this opinion against *Plato*, object that the sonne might one day bee found committing with his mother under the shape of a Mules body, and such like absurdities. And shall wee imagine, that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kind, the new succeeding-ones are not other, than their predecessors were? Of a Phenix cinders, first (as they say) is engendred a worme and then another Phenix: who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silk-wormes are seene to dye and then to wither drie, and of that body breedeth a Butter-flie, and of that a worme, were it not ridiculous to thinke, the same to be the first Silkworm? what hath once lost his being, is no more.

lb. 890.

*Nec si materiam nostram collegerit atas  
Post obitum, rursusque redegerit, ut sita nunc est  
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vite,  
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,  
Interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostra.*  
If time should recollect, when life is past,  
Our stuffe, and it replace, as now tis plac't,  
And light of life were granted us againe,  
Yet nothing would that deed to us pertaine,  
When interrupted were our turne againe.

And *Plato*, when in another place thou saist, that it shall be the spirituall part of man that shall enjoy the recompences of the other life, thou tellest of things of as small likely-hood.

lb. 980.

*Scilicet avulsis radicibus ut nequit ullam  
Dispicere ipse oculus rem scorsum corpore toto.*  
Ev'n as no eye, by th' root's pull'd-out can see  
Ought in whole body severall to bee.

For, by this reckoning, it shall no longer be man, nor consequently us, to whom this enjoying shall appertaine; for we are built of two principall essentiall parts, the separation of which, is the death and consummation of our being.

lb. 903.

*Inter enim jacta est vitæ causa vageque  
Deerrant passim motus ab sensibus omnes.*

An



A pause of life is interpos'd ; from sense  
All motions straid are, far wandering thence

we doe not say, that man suffereth, when the wormes gnaw his body and limbs whereby he  
lived, and that the earth consumeth them

*Et nihil hoc ad nos, qui coitu conjugioque  
Corporis atque anima consistimus uniter apti.*

*Ibid. 888.*

This nought concern's us, who consist of union,  
Of minde and body joyn'd in meet communion.

Moreover, upon what ground of their justice, can the Gods reward man and be thankfull unto him after his death, for his good and vertuous actions, since themselves addressed and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended, and revenge his vicious deeds, when themselves have created him with so defective a condition, and that but with one twinkling of their will, they may hinder him from sinning? Might not *Epicurus* with some shew of humane reason object that unto *Plato*, if he did not often shrowd himselfe under this sentence; That it is impossible by mortall nature to establish any certainty of the immortall? Shee is ever straying, but especially when she medleth with divine matters. Who feels it more evidently than we? For, although we have ascribed unto her assured and infallible principles, albeit wee enlighten her steps with the holy lampe of that truth, which God hath beene pleased to impart unto us, we notwithstanding see daily, how little soever she stray from the ordinary path, and that she start or stragle out of the way, traced and measured out by the Church, how soone she loseth, entangleth and confoundeth her selfe; turning, tossing and floating up and downe, in this vast, troublesome and tempestuous sea of mans opinions, without restraint or scope. So soone as she loseth this high and common way, shee divideth and scattereth her selfe a thousand diverse wayes. Man can be no other than he is, nor imagine but according to his capacity: It is greater presumption (saith *Plutarch*) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason and discourse of Gods, and of demi-Gods, than in a man meerly ignorant of musicke, to judge of those that sing; or for a man, that was never in warres, to dispute of Armes and warre, presuming by some light conjecture, to comprehend the effects of an art altogether beyond his skill. As I thinke, Antiquity imagined it did something for divine Majesty, when shee compared the same unto man, attiring her with his faculties, and enriching her with his strange humours, and most shamefull necessities: offering her some of our cates to feed upon, and some of our dances, mummeries, and enterludes to make her merry, with our clothes to apparrell her; and our houses to lodge her, cherishing her with the sweet odors of incense, and sounds of musicke, adorning her with garlands and flowers, and to draw her to our vicious passion, to flatter her justice with an inhumane revenge, gladdning her with the ruine and dissipation of things created and preserved by her. As *Tiberius Sempronius*, who for a sacrifice to *Vulcan*, caused the rich spoiles and armes, which he had gotten of his enemies in *Sardinia*, to be burned: And *Paulus Emilius*, those he had obtained in *Macedonia*, to *Mars* and *Minerva*. And *Alexander* comming to the Ocean of India, cast in favour of *Thetis* many great rich vessels of gold into the Sea, replenishing moreover her Altars with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of innocent beasts, but of men, as diverse Nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to doe. And I thinke none hath beene exempted from shewing the like Esclaves.

— *Salmone creatos*

*Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,  
Vvientes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.*

*Virg. Æn. l. 10.  
517.*

Four young-men borne of *Sulmo*, and foure more  
Whom *Ufens* bred, he living over-bore,  
Whom he to his dead friend  
A sacrifice might send.

The *Geres* deeme themselves immortall, and their death but the beginning of a journey to „  
their God *Zamo'xis*. From five to five yeares, they dispatch some one among themselves „  
toward him, to require him of necessarie things. This deputy of theirs is chosen by lots; „  
And the manner to dispatch him, after they have by word of mouth instructed him of his „  
charge, is that amongst those which assist his election, three hold so many javelins upright, „  
upon which the others by meere strength of armes, throw him; if he chance to sticke upon „  
them



them in any mortall place, and that he dye suddenly, it is to them an assured argument of divine favour; but if he escape, they deeme him a wicked and execrable man, and then chuse another. *Amestris* mother unto *Xerxes*, being become aged, caused at one time 14. young striplings of the noblest houses of *Persia* (following the religion of her countrie) to be buried all alive, thereby to gratifie some God of under earth. Even at this day the Idols of *Temixian* are cimented with the bloud of young children, and love no sacrifice but of such infant and pure soules: Oh justice greedy of the bloud of innocencie.

Luc. l. 1. 102.

*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

Religion so much mischeefe could

Perswade, where it much better should.

The *Carthaginians* were wont to sacrifice their owne children unto *Saturne*, and who had none, was faine to buy some: and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper persons, with cheerefull and pleasant countenance to assist that office. It was a strange conceit, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnesse. As the *Lacedemonians*, who flattered and wantonized their *Diana*, by torturing of yong boyes, whom often in favour of her they caused to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor, to thinke to gratifie the Architect with the subversion of his architecture: and to cancel the punishment due unto the guiltie, by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore *Sphenia*, in the port of *Aulis*, should by her death and sacrifice discharge and expiate, towards God, the *Grecians* armie of the offences, which they had committed.

Ibid. 99.

*Et casta incestu nubendi tempore in ipso*

*Hostia concideret mactatu mæsta parentis.*

She, a chaste offering, griev'd incestuously

By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to dye.

And those two noble and generous soules of the *Decii*, father and sonne, to reconcile, and appease the favour of the Gods, towards the *Romanes* affaires, should headlong cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies. *Quæ fuit tanta Deorum iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent?* What injustice of the Gods was so great, as they could not be appeased, unlesse such men perished? Considering that it lies not in the offender to cause himselfe to be whipped, how and when he list, but in the judge, who accompteth nothing a right punishment, except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that unto punishment, which is in the free choice of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance presupposeth our full dissent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous was that humor of *Polycrates*, the Tyrant of *Samos*, who to interrupt the course of his continuall happiness, and to recompence it, cast the richest and most precious jewell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishap he should satisfie the revolution and vicissitude of fortune; which to deride his folly, caused the very same jewel, being found in a fishes-belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manglings and dismembings of the *Corybantes*, of the *Menades*, and now a dayes of the *Mahumetans*, who skar, and gash their faces, their stomacke and their limbes, to gratifie their prophet: seeing the offence consisteth in the will, not in the breast, nor eyes, nor in the genitories, health, shoulders, or throat? *Tantus est perturbata mentis & sedibus suis pulsa furor, ut sic Dii placeantur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem servant.* So great is the fury of a troubled minde put from the state it should be in, as the Gods must be so pacified, as even men would not be so outrageous. This naturall contexture doth by her use not only respect us, but also the service of God, and other mens: it is injustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure, as under what pretence soever it be to kill our selves. It seemeth to be a great cowardise and manifest treason, to abuse the stupide and corrupt the servile functions of the body, to spare the diligence unto the soule how to direct them according unto reason. *Vbi iratos Deos timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regia libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, iubente Domino, manus intulit.* Where are they afeard of Gods anger, who in such sort deserve to have his favour; some have beene gueldded for Princes lustfull pleasure: but no man at the Lords command, hath laid hands on himselfe, to be lesse than a man. Thus did they replenish their religion and stufte it with divers bad effects.

Aug. Civ. Dei  
l. 6. c. 10.

Ibid. e Senec.

Luc. l. 1. 82.

— *sapius olim*  
*Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

Religion



Religion hath oft times in former times  
Bred execrable facts, ungodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred unto divine nature, that doth not blemish or defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinit beauty, power and goodness admit any correspondencie or similitude with a thing so base and abject as we are, without extreme interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatnesse? *Infirmum Dei fortius est hominibus; & stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus.* The weaknesse of God is stronger than men: and the foolishnesse of God is wiser than men. *Sylpo* the Philosopher, being demanded, whether the Gods rejoyce at our honours and sacrifices; you are indiscreet (said he) let us withdraw our selves apart, if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we prescribe him limits, we lay continuall siege unto his power by our reasons, (I call our dreames and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophy, which saith, that both the foole and the wicked doe rave and dote by reason; but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme) we will subject him to the vaine and weak apperances of our understanding: him who hath made both us and our knowledge. Because nothing is made of nothing: God was not able to frame the world without matter. What? hath God delivered into our hands the keyes, and the strongest wards of his infinit puissance? Hath he obliged himselfe not to exceed the bounds of our knowledge? Suppose, oh man, that herein thou hast beene able to marke some signes of his effects: Thinkest thou, he hath therein employed all he was able to doe, and that he hath placed all his formes and *Ideas*, in this peece of worke? Thou seest but the order and policie of this little little Cell wherein thou art placed: The question is, whether thou seest it: His divinity hath an infinit jurisdiction far beyond that: This peece is nothing in respect of the whole.

1 Cor. 1. 25.

— *omnia cum calo terraque marique,*

*Nil sunt ad summam summam totius omnem.*

Lucy. 1. 6. 674.

All things that are, with heav'n, with Sea, and land,

To th' whole summe of th' whole summe, as nothing stand.

This law thou aleagest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the universall is: Tiesthy selfe unto that, whereto thou art subject, but tie not him; he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow Citizen, nor thy copesmate. If he in any sort have communicated himselfe unto thee, it is not to debase himselfe, or stoop to thy smalnesse, nor to give thee the controulment of his power. Mans body cannot soare up unto the clouds, this is for thee. The Sunne uncessantly goeth his ordinary course: The bounds of the Seas and of the earth cannot be confounded: The water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmnesse: A wall without breach or flaw, impenetrable unto a solid body: Man cannot preserve his life amidst the flames, he cannot corporally be both in heaven and on earth, and in a thousand places together and at once. It is for thee that he hath made these rules; it is thou they take hold off. He hath testified unto Christians, that when ever it pleased him he hath out gone them all. And in truth, omnipotent as he is, wherefore should he have restrained his forces unto a limited measure? In favour of whom should he have renounced his privilege? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likely-hood and foundation, than in that which perswadeth thee a plurality of worlds.

*Terramque & solem, lunam, mare, cetera quæ sunt,*

Ib. 2. 1094.

*Non esse unica, sed numero magis innumerali.*

The earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the sea and all

In number numberlesse, not one they call.

The famousst wits of former ages have beleeved it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced thereunto by the apparence of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast worlds frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one:

— *cum in summa res nulla sit una,*

Ib. 1085.

*Unica quæ gignatur, & unica sola quæ crescat:*

Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one,

To be bred only one, grow only one.

and that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number: Whereby it seemeth unlikely, that God hath framed this peece of worke alone without a fellow; and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this only *Individuum*;

Cc 3

Quare



1b.1073.

*Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est,  
Esse alios alibi congressus materiati,  
Qualis hic est avido complexu quem tenet Aether.  
Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,  
Of matter such like meetings elsewhere raigue  
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.*

Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as it's motions make it so likely, that *Plato* assureth it, and divers of ours either affirme it, or dare not impugne it; no more than this old opinion, that the Heaven, the Starres, and other members of the World, are creatures composed both of body and soule; mortall in respect of their composition, but immortall by the Creators decree. Now, if there be divers worlds, as *Democritus*, *Epicurus*, and well neere all Philosophy hath thought; what know wee, whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others? Haply they have another semblance and another policie. *Epicurus* imagineth them either like or unlike. We see an infinite difference and varietie in this world, only by the distance of places. There is neither Corne, nor Wine; no nor any of our beafts scene in that new Corner of the World, which our fathers have lately discovered: All things differ from ours. And in the old time, marke but in how many parts of the world, they had never knowledge nor of *Bacchus* nor of *Ceres*. If any credit may be given unto *Plinie* or to *Herodotus*, there is in some places a kinde of men that have very little or no resemblance at all with ours. And there be mungrell and ambiguous shapes, betweene  
 “ a humane and brutish Nature. Some Countreies there are, where men are borne headlesse,  
 “ with eyes and mouthes in their breasts; where all are Hermaphrodites; where they creep on  
 “ all foure; Where they have but one eye in their forehead, and heads more like unto a dog  
 “ than ours: Where from the Navill downwards they are halfe fish, and live in the water;  
 “ Where women are brought a bed at five yeares of age, and live but eight; Where their heads  
 “ and the skin of their browes are so hard, that no yron can pierce them, but will rather turne  
 “ edge; Where men never have beards. Other Nations there are, that never have use of fire;  
 Others, whose sperme is of a blacke colour. VVhat shall we speake of them, who naturally change themselves into VVoolves, into Coulters, and then into Men againe? And if it bee (as *Plurark* saith) that in some part of the Indiaes, there are men without mouthes, and who live only by the sinell of certaine sweet odours; how many of our descriptions be then fallie? Hee is no more risible; nor perhaps capable of reason and societie: The direction and cause of our inward frame, should for the most part be to no purpose. Moreover, how many things are there in our knowledge, that oppugne these goodly rules, which we have allotted and prescribed unto Nature? And we undertake to joyne God himselfe unto her. How many things doe we name miraculous and against Nature? Each man and every Nation doth it according to the measure of his ignorance. How many hidden proprieties and quintessences doe we daily discover? For us to goe according to Nature, is but to follow according to our understanding, as far as it can follow, and as much as we can perceive in it. VVhatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordred. By this accompt all shall then be monstrous, to the wisest and most sufficient; for even to such, humane reason hath perswaded, that she had neither ground nor footing, no not so much as to warrant shew to be white: And *Anaxagoras* said, it was blacke; VVhether there be any thing or nothing; VVhether there be knowledge or ignorance; VVhich *Metrodorus Chius* denied, that any man might say. Or whether we live, as *Enripides* seemeth to doubt, and call in question, whether the life we live be a life or no, or whether that which we call death be a life:

*Plat. Gorg. ex  
Eurip.*

*Τὸ δ' οἷός ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὃ κίανται θάνατον,  
Τὸ δ' οἷός ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὃ κίανται θάνατον;  
VVho knowes if thus to live, be called death,  
And if it be to dye, thus to draw breath;*

And not without apparence. For, wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment. Some others affirme, there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth; namely, those which follow *Melissus*. For if there be but one, neither can this sphericall motion serve him, nor the moving from one place to another,



as *Plato* proverb, that there is neither generation nor corruption in nature. *Protagoras* saith, there is nothing in Nature, but doubt: That a man may equally dispute of all things: and of that also, whether all things may equally be disputed of: *Mansphanes* said, that of things which seeme to be no one thing, is no more, than it is not. That nothing is certaine, but uncertainty. *Parmenides*, that of that which seemeth, there is no one thing in Generall. That there is but one *Zeno*, that one selfe same is not: And that there is nothing. If one were, he should either be in another, or in himselfe: if he be in another, then are they two: If he be in himselfe, they are also two, the comprizing and the comprized. According to these rules or doctrines, the Nature of things is but a false or vaine shadow. I have ever thought, this manner of speech in a Christian, is full of indiscretion and irreverence; God cannot dye, God cannot gaine-say himselfe, God cannot doe this or that. I cannot allow a man should so bound Gods heavenly power under the Lawes of our word. And that apparence, which in these propositions offers it selfe unto us, ought to be represented more reverently and more religiously. Our speech hath his infirmities and defects, as all things else have. Most of the occasions of this worlds troubles are Grammaticall. Our suits and processes proceed but from the capvasing and debating the interpretation of the Lawes, and most of our warres, from the want of knowledge in State-counsellors, that could not cleerely distinguish and fully expresse the Covenants, and Conditions of accords betweene Prince and Prince. How many weighty strifes, and important quarels, hath the doubt of this one sillable, *hoc*, brought forth in the world? examine the plainest sentence that Logike it selfe can present unto us. If you say, it is faire weather, and in so saying, say true; it is faire weather then. Is not this a certaine forme of speech? Yet will it deceive us: That it is so; Let us follow the example: If you say, I lye, and that you should say true, you lye then. The Art, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this last, are like unto the other; notwithstanding we are entangled. I see the Pyrrhonian Philosophers, who can by no manner of speech expresse their Generall conceit: for, they had need of a new language. Ours is altogether composed of affirmative propositions, which are directly against them. So that, when they say I doubt, you have them fast by the throat to make them avow, that at least you are assured and know, that they doubt. So have they beene compelled to save themselves by this comparison of Physicke, without which their conceit would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they say, that this proposition transportes it selfe together with the rest, even as the Rewbarbe doeth, which scowred ill humours away, and therewith is carried away himselfe. This concept is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in an Imprese of a paire of ballances. Note how some prevaile with this kinde of un-reverent and unhallowed speech. In the disputations that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch urge the adversaries, they will roundly tell you, that it lieth not in the power of God to make his body at once to be in Paradise, and on earth, and in many other places together. And how that ancient skoffer made profitable use of it. At least (saith he) it is no small comfort unto man, to see that God cannot doe all things; for he cannot kill himselfe if he would, which is the greatest benefit we have in our condition; he cannot make mortall men immortall nor raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that hath lived, never to have lived, and him, who hath had honours, not to have had them, having no other right over what is past, but of forgetfulness. And that this society betweene God and Man, may also be combined with some pleasant examples, he cannot make twice ten not to be twenty. See what he saith, and which a Christian ought to abhor, that ever such and so profane words should passe his mouth: VWhereas on the contrary part, it seemeth that fond men endeavour to finde out this foolish-boldnesse of speech, that so they may turne and winde God almighty according to their measure.

— *cras vel atra*

*Nube polum pater occupato,  
Vel sole puro, non tamen irritum  
Quodcumque retro est efficiet, neque  
Diffinget infoliumque reddet  
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.  
To morrow let our father fill the skie,  
VVith darke cloud, or with cleare Sunne, he thereby*

*Har. car. l. 3.  
ed. 29. 43.*

shall



Shall not make voyd what once is overpast:  
Nor shall he undoe, or in new mold cast,  
What time hath once caught; that flies hence so fast.

When we say, that the infinitie of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God; that his wilddoing, goodnesse and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence; our tongue speakes it, but our understanding can no whit apprehend it. Yet will our selfe overweening lift his divinitie through our scarce: whence are engendred all the vanities and errours wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his uncertaine balance, athing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. *Admirum quo procedat improbitas cordis humani, parvulo aliquo invitata successu. It is a wonder, whether the perverse wickednesse of mans heart will proceed, if it be but called-on with any little successe.* How insolently doe the Stoikes charge *Epicurus*, because he holds, that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy, belongs but only unto God; and that the wiseman hath but a shadow and similitude thereof? How rashly have they joyned God unto destiny? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian, doe at this day) And *Thales*, *Plato*, and *Pythagoras* have subjected him unto necessitie. This over-boldnesse, or rather bold-fercenesse, to seek to discover God, by and with our eyes, hath beene the cause, that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme unto divinitie, and is the cause of that which daily hapneth unto us, which is, by a particular assignation, to impute all important events to God: which because they touch us, it seemeth they also touch him, and that he regardeth them with more care and attention, than those that are but slight and ordinary unto us.

*Plin. nat. hist.*  
*l. 2. c. 23.*

*Cic. Nat. Dcor.*  
*lib. 2.*  
*Cic. lib. lib. 3.*

*Magna dii curant, parva negligunt. The Gods take some care for great things, but none for little.* Note his example; he will enlighten you with his reason. *Nec in regnis quidem reges omnia minima curant. Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters.* As if it were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire, or a leafe of a tree: and if his providence were otherwise exercised, inclining or regarding no more the successe of a battell, than the skip of a flea. The hand of his government affords it selfe to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interest addeth nothing unto it: our motions and our measures concerne him nothing and move him no whit. *Deus ita artifex magnus in magnis, ut minor non sit in parvis. God is so great a workeman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things.* Our arrogancie, setteth ever before us this blasphemous equality; because our occupations charge us. *State* hath presented the Gods with all immunity of offices, as are their Priests. He maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by her weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humane nature from the feare of divine judgements. *Quod beatorum aeternumque sit, id nec habere, negotii quicquam, nec exhibere alteri. That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others.* Nature willet that in all things alike, there be also like relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men, concludeth a like number of immortall: The infinite things that kill and destroy, presuppose as many that preserve and profit. As the soules of the Gods, sans tongues, sans eyes, and sans eares, have each one in themselves a feeling of that which the other feel, and judge of our thoughts; so mens soules, when they are free and severed from the body, either by sleepe or any distraction; divine, prognosticate and see things, which being conjoynded to their bodies, they could not see. Men (saith Saint *Paul*) when they professed themselves to bee wise, they became fooles, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man. Marke I pray you a little the juggling of ancient Deifications. After the great, soleimne and prowd pompe of funerals, when the fire began to burne the top of the *Pyramis*: and to take hold of the bed or hearce wherein the dead corps lay, even at that instant, they let fly an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft upward, signified that the soule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medailes and monuments, namely, of that honest woman *Faustina*, wherein that Eagle is represented, carrying a cocke-horse up towards heaven those Deified soules. It is pity we should so deceive our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

*Cic. lib. lib. 3.*

*Rom. 1. 22. 23.*

*Lucan l. 3. 484.*

*Quod finxere timent—*  
Of that they stand in feare,  
Which they in fancie beare.

as children will be afeard of their fellowes visage, which themselves have besmeared and blacke



blackt. *Quasi quicquam infelicius sit homine, cui sua signa dominantur.* As though any thing were more wretched than man over whom his owne im- guinations beare sway and domineere. To honour him whom we have made, is farre from honouring him that hath made us. *Augustus* had as many Temples as *Iupiter*, and served with as much religion and opinion of miracles. The *Thracians*, in requitall of the benefits they had received of *Agefilaus*, came to tell him how they had canonized him. I hath your Nation (said he) the power to make those whom it pleaseth, Gods: Then first (for example sake) make one of your selves, and when I shall have seene what good he shall have thereby, I will then thanke you for your offer. Oh senselesse man, who cannot possibly make a worme, and yet will make Gods by dozens. Listen to *Trismegistus* when he praieth our sufficiencie: For man to finde out di- vine nature, and to make it, hath surmounted the admiration of all admirable things: Loc here arguments out of Philosophies schooles it selfe.

*Noscere cui Divos & cæli numina soli,*

*Aut soli nescire datum.*

Only to whom heavens Deities to know;

Only to whom is giv'n, them not to know;

*Lucan. lib. 1.*  
452.

If God be, he is a living creature; if he be a living creature, he hath sense; and if hee have sense, he is subject to corruption. If he be without a body, he is without a soule, and consequently without action: and if he have a body, he is corruptible. Is not this brave? we are incapable to have made the world, then is there some more excellent nature, that hath set her helping hand unto it. Were it not a sottish arrogancie, that wee should thinke our selves to be the perfectest thing of this Universe? Then sure there is some better thing, And that is God. When you see a rich and stately Mansion house, although you know not who is owner of it, yet will you not say, that it was built for Rats. And this more than humane frame, and divine composition, which we see, of heavens pallace, must we not deeme it to be the mansion of some Lord, greater than our selves? Is not the highest ever the most worthy? And we are seated in the lowest place. *Nothing that is without a soule and void of reason, is able to bring forth a living soule capable of reason. The world doth bring us forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each part of us, is lesse than our selves, we are part of the world, then the world is stored with wisdom and with reason, and that more plenteously, than we are.* It is a goodly thing to have a great government. Then the worlds government belongeth to some blessed and happy nature. The Starres annoy us not, then the Starres are full of goodnesse. We have need of nourishment, then so have the Gods, and feed themselves with the vapours arising here below. Worldly goods, are not goods unto God. Then are not they goods unto us. To offend and to bee offended, are equall witnesses of imbecillitie; Then it is folly to feare God. God is good by his owne nature, man by his industry: which is more? Divine wisdom and mans wisdom, have no other distinction, but that the first is eternall. Now lastingnesse is not an accession unto wisdom. Therefore are we fellowes. We have life, reason and libertie, we esteeme goodnesse, charitie and justice; these qualities are then in him. In conclusion the building and destroying the conditions of divinity, are forged by man according to the relation to himselfe. Oh what a patterne, and what a modell! Let us raise, and let us amplifie humane qualities as much as we please. Putte-up thy selfe poore man, yea swell and swell againe.

*non sile rupeis, inquit.*

Swell till you breake, you shall not be,

Equall to that great one, quoth he.

*Hor. serm. lib. 2.*  
*sat. 3. 324.*

*Profesto non Deum, quem cogitare non possunt, sed semetipso pro illo cogitantes, non illum, sed seipso, non illi, sed sibi comparant.* Of a truth, they conceiving, not God, whom they cannot conceive, but themselves instead of God, do not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves. In naturall things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this? It is above natures order it's condition is too high, too far out of reach, and overswaying to endure, that our conclusions should seize upon, or fetter the same. It is not by our meanes we reach unto it, this traine is too low. *We are no never heaven on the top of Sina mount, than in the bottome of the deepest Sea:* Consider of it, that you may see with your Astrolabe. They bring God even to the carnall acquaintance of women, to a prefixed number of times, and to how many generations. *Paulina*, wife unto *Saturnius*, a matron of great reputation in *Rome*, suppo-

sing



“ sing to lye with the God *Serapis*, by the maquerelage of the Priests of that Temple, found  
 “ her selfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. *Varro* the most subtil, and wildest Latine  
 “ Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth, that *Hercules* his Sextaine, with one hand casting  
 “ lots for himselfe, and with the other for *Hercules*, gaged a supper and a wenche against him:  
 “ if he won, at the charge of his offerings, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost and paid for a  
 “ supper and a Wench: Her name was *Laurentina*: Who by night saw that God in her armes,  
 “ saying moreover unto her, that the next day, the first man she met withall, should heavenly  
 “ pay her her wages. It fortuned to be one *Taruncius*, a very rich young-man, who tooke her  
 “ home with him, and in time left her absolute heire of all he had. And she, when it came to  
 “ her turne, hoping to doe that God some acceptable service, left the Romane people heire ge-  
 “ nerall of all her wealth: And therefore had she divine honours attributed unto her. As if it  
 were not sufficient for *Plato* to descend originally from the Gods; by a two-fold line, and  
 to have *Neptune* for the common Author of his race. It was certainly beleevd at *Athens*,  
 that *Ariston* desiring to enjoy faire *Peristhene*, he could not, and that in his dreame he was  
 warned by God *Apollo*, to leave her untoucht and unpolluted, untill such time as she were  
 brought a bed. And these were the father and mother of *Plato*. How many such-like cuckol-  
 dries are there in histories, procured by the Gods against feely mortall men? And husbands  
 most injuriously blazoned in favor of their children? In *Mahometers* religion, by the easie be-  
 leefe of that people are many *Merlins* found; That is to say fatherles children: Spirituall  
 children, conceived and borne divinely in the wombs of virgins, and that in their language  
 beare names, importing as much. We must note, that nothing is more deare and precious to  
 any thing, than its owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and the Dolphin esteeme nothing above  
 their kinde) each thing referreth the qualities of all other things unto her owne conditions,  
 which we may either amplifie or shorten; but that is all: for besides this principle, and out  
 of this reference, our imagination cannot go, and guesse further: and it is impossible it should  
 exceed that, or goe beyond it: Whence arise these ancient conclusions. Of all formes, that of  
 man is the fairest: Then God is of this forme. No man can be happy without vertue, nor can  
 vertue be without reason; And no reason can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then in-  
 vested with a humane figure. *Ita est informatum anticipatum mentibus nostris, ut homini,*  
*quum de Deo cogitet, forma occurrat humana.* The providence forestaled in our mindes is so fra-  
 med, as the forme of man comes to mans minde, when he is thinking of God. Therefore *Xeno-*  
*phanes* said pleasantly, that if beasts frame any Gods unto themselves, (as likely it is they do)  
 they surely frame them like unto themselves, and gloriſie themselves as we do. For, why may  
 “ not a Goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to tread upon,  
 “ the Sunne to give me light, the starres to inspire we with influence: this commoditie I have  
 “ of the winds, and this benefit of the waters; there is nothing that this worlds-vault doth so  
 “ favorably looke upon as me selfe; I am the favorite of nature; Is it not man that careth for  
 “ me, that keepeth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is he soweth, reapeth and grin-  
 “ deth: If he eat me, so doth man feede on his fellow, and so doe I on the wormes, that con-  
 “ sume and eat him. As much might a Crane say, yea and more boldly, by reason of her flights-  
 libertie, and the possession of this goodly and high-bownding region. *Tam blanda concilia-*  
*trix, & tam sui est lena ipsa natura.* So flattering a broker, and bawd (as it were) is nature to it  
 selfe. Now by the same consequence, the destinies are for us, the world is for us; it shineth,  
 and thundreth for us: Both the creator and the creatures are for us: It is the marke and point  
 whereat the universitie of things aymeth. Survey but the register, which Philosophy hath  
 kept these two thousand yeares and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and  
 never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vacation  
 unto them. Loe how they are up in armes against us.

Cic. nat. Deo. li. I.

Cic. nat. Deo. ib.

Hor. car. li. 3. od.  
12. 6.

— domitofque *Hercule*a manu  
*Telluris* invoces, unde periculum  
*Fulgens* contremuit domus  
*Saturni* veteris.

And young earth-gallants tamed by the hand  
 Of *Hercules*, whereby the habitation  
 Of old *Saturnus* did in perill stand,  
 And, shyn'd it ne're so bright, yet fear'd invasion.

See



See how they are partakers, of our troubles, that so they may be even with us, for so much as so many times we are partakers of theirs.

*Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridentis  
Fundamenta quatit, totamque à sedibus urbem  
Erui: hic Iuno Scæas savissima portas  
Prima tenet.* —

*Virg. Æn. l. 2.  
610.*

*Neptunus* with his great three-forked mace  
Shak's the weake wall, and tottering foundation,  
And from the fire the Cittie doth displace,  
Fierce *Iuno* first holds-ope the gates t' invasion.

The *Cannians*, for the jealousie of their owne Gods domination, upon their devotion-day arme themselves, and running up and downe, brandishing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this earnest manner they expell all foraine, and banish all strange Gods from out their territorie. Their powers are limited according to our necessitie. Some heale Horses, some cure men, some the plague, some the scald, some the cough, some one kinde of scab, and some another: *Adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit Deos*: This corrupt religion engageth and inserteth Gods even in the least matters: Some make grapes to growe, and some garlike; Some have the charge of bawdrie and uncleanness, and some of merchandise: To every kinde of trades-man a God. Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West:

— *hic illius arma*

*Virg. Æn. l. 7. 30.*

*Hic currus fuit* —

His armor here

His chariots there appeare.

*O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines.*

*Cic. div. lib. 2.*

Sacred *Apollo*, who enfoldest,

The earths set navell, and it holdest,

*Pallada Cecropida, Minoya Creta Dianam,*

*Ovid. Fast. l. 3.  
81.*

*Vulcanum tellus Hipsipila colit.*

*Iunonem Sparte, Pelopeiadesque Mycena,*

*Pinigerum Fauni Manalis ora caput:*

*Mars Latio venerandus.* —

Besinced with bloud and goare.

Th' Athenians *Pallas*; *Minos* Candy coast

*Diana*; *Lemnos* *Vulcan* honor's most;

*Mycene* and *Sparta*, *Iuno* thinke divine;

The coast of *Manalus* *Faune* crown'd with pine;

*Latio* doth *Mars* adore.

Some hath but one borough or family in his possession: Some lodgeth alone, and some in company, either voluntarily or necessarily.

*Iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.*

*Lib. 1. 294.*

To the great grand-fires shrine,

The nephews temples doe combine.

Some there are so feely and popular (for their number amounteth to six and thirty thousand) that five or six of them must be shuffled up to gether to produce an eare of corne, and thereof they take their severall names. Threeto a doore; one to be the boards, one to be the hinges, and the third to the threshold. Foure to a childe, as protectors of his bandels, of his drinke, of his meat, and of his sucking. Some are certaine, others uncertaine, some doubtfull; and some that come not yet into paradise.

*Quos quoniam cali nondum dignamur honore,*

*Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 1. 194.*

*Quas dedimus certe terras, habitare sinamus.*

Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not graced,

Let them on earth by our good grant be placed.

There are some Philosophicall, some poeticall, and some civill, some of a meane condition, betweene divine and humane nature, mediators, and spokes-men betweene us and God: worshipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration: infinite in titles and offices:

some



some good, some bad; some old and crazed, and some mortall. For *Chrysippus* thought, that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except *Jupiter*. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betwene God and him. Nay is he not his countreiman?

Ovid. Met. l. 8.  
99.

— *Iovis incubula Creten.*  
The Ile of famous *Crete*,  
For *Love* a cradle meet.

Behold the excuse, that *Scavola* chiefe Bishop, and *Varro*, a great Divine in their dayes, give us upon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeeve many false. *Quum veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur.* Since they seeke the truth, whereby they may be free, let us beleeeve it is expedient for them, to be deceived. Mans eye cannot perceivethings, but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downfall of miserable *Phaeton*, forsomuch as he undertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steeds, with a mortall hand. Our minde doth still relapse into the same depth, and by her owne temeritie doth dissipate and bruise it selfe. If you enquire of Philosophy, what matter the Sun is composed of? What will it answer, but of yron and stone, or other stuffe for his use? Demand of *Zeno*, what Nature is? A fire (saith he) an Artist, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. *Archimedes* master of this Science, and who in truth and certaintie assumeth unto himselfe a precedencie above all others, saith, the Sunne is a God of enflamed yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable necessitie of Geometricall demonstrations? Yet not so unavoidable and beneficiall, but *Socrates* hath beene of opinion, that it sufficed to know so much of it as that a man might measure out the land, he either demised or tooke to rent: and that *Polyarchus*, who therein had beene a famous and principall Docter, after he had tasted the sweet fruits of the lazie, idle and delicious gardens of *Epicurus*, did not contemne them, as full of fallshood and apparent vanity. *Socrates* in *Xenophon*, upon this point of *Anaxagoras*, allowed and esteemed of antiquitie, well scene and expert above all others in heavenly and divine matters, saith, that he weakened his braines much, as all men doe, who over nicely and greedily will search out those knowledges, which hang not for their mowing, nor pertaine unto them. When he would needs have the Sunne to be a burning stone, he remembered not, that a stone doth not shine in the fire; and which is more, that it consumes therein. And when he made the Sunne and fire to be all one, he forgot, that fire doth not tan and blacke those he looketh upon; that wee fixly looke upon the fire, and that fire consumeth and killeth all plants and hearbs. According to the advice of *Socrates* and mine, *The wisest judging of heaven, is not to judge of it at all.* *Plato* in his *Timæus*, being to speake of Demons and spirits, saith, it is an enterprife far exceeding my skill and ability: we must beleeeve what those ancient forefathers have said of them, who have said to have beene engendred by them. It is against reason not to give credit unto the children of the Gods, although their sayings be neither grounded upon necessary, nor likely reasons, since they tell us, that they speake of familiar and household matters. Let us see, whether we have a little more insight in the knowledge of humane and naturall things. Is it not a fond enterprife, to those unto which, by our owne confession, our learning cannot possible attaine, to devise and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false forme? as is scene in the planetary motions, unto which because our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their naturall conduct, we lend them something of ours, that is to say, materiall, grosse and corporall springs and wards:

Ovid. Met. l. 2.  
107.

— *temo aureus, aurea summa*  
*Curvatur a rota, radiorum argenteus ordo.*  
The Axe-tree gold, the wheelles whole circle gold,  
The ranke of raies did all of silver hold.

you would say, we have had Coach-makers, Carpenters, and Painters, who have gone up thither, and there have placed engines with diverse motions, and ranged the wheelings, the windings, and enterlacements of the celestially bodies diapred in colours, according to *Plato*, about the spindle of necessity.

*Mundus domus est maxima rerum,*  
*Quam quinque altitona fragmine zone*  
*Cingunt, per quam lumbus pictus bis sex signis;*

*Stellimicantibus,*



*Stellimicantibus, alius, in obliquo athere, Lume  
Bigas acceptat.*

The world, of things the greatest habitation,  
Which five high-thundring Zones by separation  
Engird, through which a scarfe depainted faire  
With twice six signes star-shining in the aire.  
Obliquely raide, the waine  
O'th Moone doth entertaine.

They are all dreames, and mad follies. Why will not nature one day be pleased to open her bosome to us, and make us perfectly see the meanes and conduct of her motions, and enable our eyes to judge of them? Oh good God, what abuses, and what distractions should we find in our poore understanding, and weake knowledge! I am deceived, if she hold one thing directly in it's point; and I shall part hence more ignorant of all other things, than mine ignorance. Have I not seene this divine saying in *Plato*, that Nature is nothing but an ænigmaticall poesie? As a man might say, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining with an infinite varietie of false lights, to exercise our conjectures. *Latent ista omnia crassis occultata* Cic. Acad. & *circumfusa tenebris ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, qua penetrare in cœlum, terram intrare possit.* All these things lye hid so veiled and environed with misty darknesse, as no edge of man is so pierçant, as it can passe into heaven, or dive into the earth. And truly, Philosophy is nothing else but a sophisticated poesie: whence have these ancient Authors all their authorities, but from Poets? And the first were Poets themselves, and in their Art treated the same. *Plato* is but a loose Poet. All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beaurie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning (and our law hath, as some say, certaine lawfull fictions, on which it groundeth the truth of justice) which in lieu of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth us those things, which she her selfe teacheth us to be meere inventions: For, these *Epicycles*, *Excentriques*, and *Concentriques*, which *Astrology* useth to direct the state and motions of her Starres, she giveth them unto us, as the best she could ever invent, to fit and sute unto this subject: as in all things else, Philosophy presenteth unto us, not that which is, or she beleeveth, but what she inventeth, as having most apparance, likelyhood, or comelineffe. *Plato* upon the discourse of our bodie's estate, and of that of beasts: That what we have said, is true, we would be assured of it, had we but the confirmation of some oracle, to confirme it. This only we warrant, that it is the likeliest we could say. It is not to heaven alone, that she sendeth her cordages, her engines, and her wheelles: Let us but somewhat consider, what she saith, of our selves, and of our contexture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoyling, and violence in the Starres & celestiaall bodies, than they have fained and devised in this poore feely little body of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it *Microcosmos*, or little world, so many severall parts and visages have they imploied to fashion and frame the same. To accommodate the motions which they see in man, the divers functions and faculties, that we feel in our selves; Into how many severall parts have they divided our soule? Into how many seats have they placed her? Into how many orders, stages, and stations have they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall and perceptible? and to how many distinct offices and vacation? They make a publike imaginarie thing of it. It is a subject, which they hold and handle: they have all power granted them, to rip him, to sever him, to range him, to joyne and reunite him together againe, and to stufte him, every one according to his fantasie, and yet they neither have nor possesse him. They cannot so order or rule him, not in truth onely, but in imagination, but still some cadence or sound is discovered, which cleapeth their Architecture, bad as it is, and botcht together with a thousand false patches, and fantasticall peeces. And they have no reason to be excused: For, to Painters, when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the seas, the hills, the scattered Islands, we pardon them, if they but represent us with some slight apparance of them; and as of things unknowne we are contented with such fained shadowes: But when they draw us, or any other subject



that is familiarly knowne unto us, to the life, then seeke we to draw from them a perfect and exact representation of theirs or our true lineaments, or colours; and scorne if they misse ne-  
 " ver so little. I commend the Milesian wench, who seeing *Thales* the Philosopher continually  
 " ammusung himselfe in the contemplation of heavens-wide-bounding vault, and ever hol-  
 " ding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, therby to warne and put  
 " him in minde, that he should not ammusc his thoughts about matters above the clouds, be-  
 " fore he had provided for, and well considered those at his feet. Verily she advised him well,  
 " and it better became him, rather to looke to himselfe than to gaze on heaven; For, as *De-*  
*moscritus* by the mouth of *Cicero* saith,

Cic. div. l. 2.

*Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat: cœli scrutantur plagas,*  
 No man lookes, what before his feet doth lie,  
 They seeke and search the climates of the skie.

But our condition beareth, that the knowledge of what we touch with our hands, and have amongst us, is as far from us and above the clouds, as that of the stars: As saith *Socra-*  
*tes* in *Plato*, That one may justly say to him who medleth with Philosophy, as the woman  
 said to *Thales*, which is, he seeth nothing of that which is before him. For, every Philoso-  
 pher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth, yea, he knowes not what himselfe doth, and  
 wots not what both are, whether beasts or men. These people who thinke *Sebondes* reasons  
 to be weake and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take upon them to go-  
 verne the world and know all:

Hor. l. i. epist. 12.  
16.

*Quæ mare compescant causa, quid temperet annum,*  
*Stellæ sponte sua, jussuæ vagantur & errent:*  
*Quid præmat obscurum Luna, quid proferat orbem,*  
*Quid velit & possit rerum concordia discors.*  
 What cause doth calme the Sea, what clears the yeare,  
 Whether Stars forc't, or of selfe-will appeare:  
 What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or wane,  
 What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

Did they never sound amid their books, the difficulties that present themselves to them, to know their owne being? We see very well, that our finger stirreth, and our foot moveth, that some parts of our body, move of themselves without our leave, and other some that stir but at our pleasure: and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red colour, others a paleness; that some imagination doth only worke in the milt, another in the braine; some one enduceth us to laugh, another causeth us to weep; some astonisheth and stupifieth all our senses, and staieth the motion of all our limbs: at some object the stomake riseth, and at some other the lower parts. But how a spirituall impression causeth or worketh such a dent or flaw in a massie and solid body or subject, and the nature of the conjoyning, and compa-  
 cting of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew: *Omnia incerta ratione, & in*  
*natura majestate abdita.* All uncertaine in reason, and hid in the majesty of nature. Saith *Plinie*,  
 and Saint *Augustine*, *Modus, quo corporibus adhærent spiritus, omnino mirus est, nec compre-*  
*hendi ab homine potest, & hoc ipse homo est.* The meane is clearely wonderfull, whereby spirits  
 cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man. Yet is there no  
 doubt made of him: For mens opinions are received after ancient belietes, by authority and  
 upon credit; as if it were a religion and a law. What is commonly held of it, is received as a  
 gibbrish or fustian tongue. This trueth with all her framing of arguments, and proporcioning  
 of proofes, is received as a firme and solid body, which is no more shaken, which is no more  
 judged. On the other side, every one, the best he can, patcheth up and comforteth this recei-  
 ved beliefe, with all the meanes his reason can afford him, which is an instrument very supple,  
 pliable, and yeelding to all shapes. Thus is the world filled with royes, and overwhelmed in lies  
 and leasings. The reason that men doubt not much of things, is that common impressions are  
 never throughly tride and sifted, their ground is not sounded, nor where the fault and weak-  
 nes lieth: Men only debate and question of the branch, nor of the tree: They aske not whether  
 a thing be true, but whether it was understood or meant thus & thus. They enquire not whe-  
 ther *Galen* hath spoken any thing of worth, but whether thus, or so, or otherwise. Truly there  
 was some reason, this bridle or restraint of our judgements liberty, and this tyranny over our  
 beliefes should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of scholasticall learning,

Plin.

Aug. de spir. &  
anim.



is *Aristotle*: It is religion to debate of his ordinances, as of those of *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*. His doctrine is to us as a canon Law, which peradventure is as false as another. I know not why I should or might not, as soone, and as easie accept, either *Platoes Ideas*, or *Epicurus* his *Atomes* and indivisible things, or the fulnesse and emptines of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, or the water of *Thales*, or of *Anaximanders* infinite of nature, or the aire of *Diogenes*, or the numbers or proportion of *Pythagoras*, or the infinite of *Parmenides*, or the single-one of *Musæus*, or the water and fire of *Apollodorus*, or the similiarie and resembling parts of *Anaxagoras*, or the discord and concord of *Empedocles*, or the fire of *Heracitus*, or any other opinion (of this infinit confusion of opinions and sentences, which this goodly humane reason, by her certainty and cleare-sighted vigilancie brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withal) as I should of *Aristotles* conceit, touching this subject of the principles of naturall things; which he frameth of three parts, that is to say, *Matter*, *Forme*, and *Privation*. And what greater vanitie can there be, than to make inanie it selfe the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: With what humour could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durst no man move that but for an exercise of Logike: Wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to defend the Author of the Schoole from strange objections: His authoritie is the marke, beyond which it is not lawfull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one list upon allowed foundations: For, according to the law and ordinance of this positive beginning, the other parts of the frame are easily directed without crack or danger. By which way we finde our reason well grounded, and we discourse without rub or let in the way: For our masters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beleefe, as they need to conclude afterward what they please, as Geometricians doe by their graunted questions: The consent and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to draw us, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne us. Whosoever is beleevd in his presuppositions, he is our master, and our God: He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if he list, he will carrie us up, even unto the clouds. In this practice or negotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of *Pythagoras* for currant payment; which is, that *every expert man ought to be beleevd in his owne trade*. The Logitian referreth himselfe to the Grammarian for the signification of words: The Rethoritian borroweth the places of arguments from the Logitian: The Poet his measures from the Musitian: The Geometrician his proportions from the Arithmetician: The Metaphisikes take the conjectures of the Physikes, for a ground. For, every art hath her presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridled on all parts. If you come to the shooke or froat of this barre, in which consists the principall error, they immediatly pronounce this sentence; That *there is no disputing against such as deny principles*. There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them unto them: All the rest, both beginning, middle, and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them, the very same axiome, which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, unlesse reason make a difference of it, hath as much authoritie as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall and those that tyrannize us. *A persuasion of certaintie is a manifest testimonie of foolishnesse, and of extreme uncertaintie*. And no people are lesse Philosophers and more foolish, than *Platoes* Philodoxes, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must know whether fire be hot, whether snow be white, whether in our knowledge there be any thing hard or soft. And touching the answeres, whereof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heat, to whom one replied, that to trie he should cast himselfe into the fire; to him that denied the yce to be cold, that he should put some in his bosome; they are most unworthy the profession of a Philosopher. If they had left us in our owne naturall estate, admitting of strange apparences, as they present themselves unto us by our senses, and had suffred us to follow our naturall appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speake so. But from them it is, that we have learn't to become Judges of the world; it is from them we hold this conceit, that mans reason is the generall controulour of all that is, both without and within heavens-vault; which imbraceth all, and can doe all, by meanes wherof, all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the Canibals, who without any of *Aristotles* precepts, or so much as knowing the name of naturall Philosophy, enjoy most happily, a long, a quiet, and a peaceable life. This answer might haply availle more, and be of more force, than all those they



can borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea, beasts and all, where the commandment of the naturall law is yet pure and simple, might with us be capable of this answer; but they have renounced it. They shall not need to tell me, it is true, for you both heare and see, that it is so: They must tell me, if what I thinke I feel, I feel the same in effect; and if I feel it, then let them tell me, wherefore I feel it, and how and what: Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tensions, and the abuttings of heat and of cold, with the qualities of him that is agent, or of the patient; or let them quit me their profession, which is neither to admit, nor approve any thing, but by the way of reason: It is their touchstone, to trie all kindes of Essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weaknesse: which way can we better make triall of it, than by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of her selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters: If she know any thing, it can be but her being and domicile. She is in the soule, and either a part or effect of the same. For, the true and essentiall reason (whose name we steal by false signes) lodgeth in Gods bosome: There is her home, and there is her retreat, thence she takes her flight, when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimps of it: Even as *Pallas* issued out of her fathers head, to communicate and impart her selfe unto the world. Now let us see what mans reason hath taught us of her selfe and of the soule: Not of the soule in generall, whereof well nigh all Philosophy maketh both the celestially and first bodies partakers; nor of that which *Thales* attributed even unto things, that are reputed without soule or life, drawne thereunto by the consideration of the Adamant stone: But of that which appertaineth to us, and which we should know best.

*Lucr. l. 1. 113.*

*Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura animæ,  
Nata sit, an contra nascentibus insinuetur,  
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,  
An tenebras orti visas, vastasque lacunas,  
An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se.*

What the soules nature is, we doe not know;  
If it be bred, or put in those are bred,  
Whether by death divorst with us it goe,  
Or see the darke vast lakes of hell below,  
Or into other creatures turne the head.

To *Crates* and *Dicaarchus* it seemed that there was none at all; but that the body stirred thus with and by a naturall motion: To *Plato*, that it was a substance moving of it selfe: To *Thales*, a Nature without rest; To *Asclepiades*, an exercitation of the senses: To *Hesiodus* and *Anaximander*, a thing composed of earth and water: To *Parmenides*, of earth and fire: To *Empedocles* of blood

*Virg. Æn. l. 9.  
349.*

*Sanguineam vomit ille animam——  
His soule of purple-bloud he vomits out.*

To *Possidonius*, *Cleanthes*, and *Galen*, a heat, or hot complexion:

*Lib. 6. 730.*

*Ignis est ollis vigor, & cælestis origo:  
A fiery vigor and celestially spring,  
In their originall they strangely bring.*

To *Hippocrates*, a spirit dispersed thorow the body: To *Varro*, an aire received in at the mouth, heated in the lungs, tempered in the heart, and dispersed thorow all parts of the body: To *Zeno*, the quintessence of the foure Elements: To *Heraclides Ponticus*, the light: To *Xenocrates*, and to the Egyptians, a moving number: To the Chaldeans, a vertue without any determinate forme.

*Lucr. l. 3. 800.*

*Habitu quendam vitalem corporis esse,  
Harmoniam Græci quam dicunt——*

There of the body is a vitall frame,  
The which the Greeks a harmony doe name.

And not forgetting *Aristotle*, that which naturally causeth the body to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection moving of it selfe (as cold an invention as any other) for he neither speaketh of the essence, nor of the beginning, nor of the soules nature; but onely noteth the effects of of it: *Lactantius*, *Seneca*, and the better part amongst the Dogmatists, have confessed, they never understood what it was: And after all this rable of opinions: *Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, Dem aliquis viderit. Which of these opinions is true, let some God*

*Cic. Tus. qu. l. 1.*

looke



looke unto it; (saith Cicero.) I know by my selfe (quoth Saint Bernard) how God is incomprehensible, since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being: *Heracletus*; who held that every place was full of Soules and Dæmons, maintained nevertheless, that a man could never goe so far towards the knowledge of the soule, as that he could come unto it; so deep and mysterious was her essence. There is no lesse dissention nor disputing about the place, where she should be seated. *Hypocrates* and *Herophilus* place it in the ventricle of the braine: *Democritus* and *Aristotle*, through all the body:

Saint Bernard.

*Ut bona sepe valetudo cum dicitur esse  
Corporis, & non est tamen hac pars ulla valens.*  
As health is of the body said to be,  
Yet is no part of him, in health we see.

Incr. l. 3. 103.

*Epicurus* in the stomacke,

*Hac exultat enim pavor ac metus, hac loca circum  
Latitæ mulcent* —  
For in these places feare doth domineere,  
And neere these places joy keepes merry cheere.

142.

The Stoickes, within and about the heart: *Erasistratus*, joyning the membrane of the Epicuraniū: *Empedocles*, in the blood: as also *Moses*, which was the cause he forbade the eating of beasts blood, unto which their soule is commixed: *Galen* thought that every part of the body had his soule: *Sirato* hath placed it betweene the two upper eye-lids: *Qua facie quidem sit animus aut ubi habitet, nec quarendum quidem est.* We must not so much as enquire, what face the minde beares, or where it dwels: Saith Cicero. I am well pleased to let this man use his owne words: For, why should I alter the speech of eloquence it selfe? since there is small gaine in stealing matter from his inventions: They are both little used, not very forcible, and little unknowne. But the reason why *Chrysippus*, and those of his Sect, will prove the soule to be about the heart, is not to be forgotten. It is (saith he) because when we will affirme or swear any thing, we lay our hand upon the stomacke; And when we will pronounce, *ἐγώ*, which signifieth, my selfe, we put downe our chin toward the stomacke. This passage ought not to be past-over without noting the vanity of so great a personage: For, besides that his considerations are of themselves very slight, the latter proveth but to the Græcians, that they have their soule in that place. *No humane judgement is so vigilant or Argos-eyed, but sometimes shal fall a sleep or slumber.* What shal we feare to say? Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wisdom, who devise that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, unable to free her selfe from that charge, even as a Mouse taken in a trap. Some are of opinion, that the world was made, to give a body in lieu of punishment, unto the spirits, which through their fault were fallen from the puritie, wherein they were created: The first creation having beene incorporeall. And that according as they have more or lesse removed themselves from their spirituality, so are they more or lesse merily and Gioivially; or rudely and Saturnally incorporated: Whence proceedeth the infinite variety of so much matter created. But the spirit, who for his chastizement was invested with the body of the Sun, must of necessitie have a very rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremities of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a dazeling. As *Plutarke* saith, of the off-spring of Histories, that after the manner of Cards or Maps, the utmost limits of knowne Countries, are set downe to be full of thicke marish grounds, shady forrests, desert and uncouth places. See here wherefore the grossest and most Childish dotings, are more commonly found in these which treat of highest and furthest matters; even confounding and overwhelming themselves in their owne curiositie and presumption. The end and beginning of learning are equally accompted foolish. Marke but how *Plato* taketh and raiseth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clouds, or cloudy Poesies. Behold and read in him the gibbrish of the Gods. But what dream'd or doted he on, when he defined man to be a creature with two feet, and without feathers; giving them that were disposed to mocke at him, a pleasant and scopefull occasion to doe it? For, having plucked-off the feathers of a live capon, they named him the man of *Plato*. And by what simplicitie did the Epicureans first imagine, that the Atomes or Motes, which they termed to be bodies, having some weight and a naturall moving downward, had framed the world; untill such time as they were advised by their adversaries, that by this description, it was not possible, they should

Cic. Tusc. qu. li. 1.



joyne and take hold one of another; their fall being so downe-right and perpendicular, and every way engendring Parallel lines? And therefore was it necessarie, they should afterward adde a casuall moving, sideling unto them: And moreover to give their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, that so they might take hold of any thing and claspe themselves. And even then, those that pursue them with this other consideration, doe they not much trouble them? If Atomes have by chance formed so many sorts of figures, why did they never meet together to frame a house, or make a shooe? Why should we not likewise beleieve that an infinit number of Greek Letters confusedly scattred in some open place, might one day meet and joyne together to the contexture of th' Iliads? That which is capable of reason (saith *Zeno*) is better than that which is not. *There is nothing better than the world: then the world is capable of reason.* By the same arguing *Cotta* maketh the world a Mathematician, and by this other arguing of *Zeno*, he makes him a Musitian, and an Organist. The whole is more than the part: We are capable of wisdom, and we are part of the world: Then the world is wise. There are infinit like examples scene, not only of false, but foolish arguments, which cannot hold, and which accuse their authors not so much of ignorance, as of folly, in the reproches that Philosophers charge one another with, about the disagreeings in their opinions and Sects. He that should fardle-up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdom, might recount wonders. I willingly assembl some (as a shew or patterne) by some meanes or byase, no lesse profitable than the most moderate instructions. Let us by that judge, what we are to esteeme of man, of his sense, and of his reason; since in these great men, and who have raised mans sufficiencie so high, there are found so grosse errors, and so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather beleieve, that they have thus casuall treated learning, even as a sporting child's baby, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vaine and frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devices, and fantasies, sometimes more outstretched, and sometimes more loose. The same *Plato*, who defineth man like unto a Capon, saith elsewhere after *Socrates*, that in good sooth, he knoweth not what man is; and that of all parts of the world, there is none so hard to be knowne. By this varietie of conceits and instabilitie of opinions, they (as it were) leade us closely by the hand to this resolution of their irresolution. They make a profession not alwayes to present their advice manifest and unmasked: they have oft concealed the same under the fabulous shadows of Poesie, and sometimes under other vizards. For, our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwayes good for our stomachs: but they must be dried, altred and corrupted, and so doe they, who sometimes shadow their simple opinions and judgements; And that they may the better sute themselves unto common use, they many times falsifie them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecillitie of mans reason, because they will not make children afraid: But they manifestly declare the same unto us under the shew of a troubled Science and unconstant learning. I perswade some body in *Italy*, who laboured very much to speake Italian, that alwayes provided, he desired but to be understood, and not to seek to excell others therein, he should onely imploy and use such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish, or Gascoine, and that adding the Italian terminations unto them, he should never misse to fall upon some idiome of the Countrie, either Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoise, or Neapolitan; and amongst so many severall formes of speech to take hold of one. The very same I say of Philosophy. She hath so many faces, and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreames and devises are found in her. The fantasie of man can conceive or imagine nothing, be it good or evill, that is not to be found in her: *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum.* Nothing may be spoken so absurdly, but that it is spoken by some of the Philosophers. And therefore doe I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to passe in publike; Forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterne; well I wot, they will be found to have relation to some ancient humour, and some shall be found, that will both know and tell whence, and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturall; when I contrived them, I called not for the help of any discipline: And weake and faint as they were, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appeare to the world a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat indevoured to aide them with discourse, and assist them with examples. I have wondred at my selfe, that by meere chance I have met with them, agreeing and suitable to so many ancient examples and Philosophicall discourses. What regi-

*Cic. div. lib. 2.*



ment my life was of, I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne and spent. A new figure: An unpremeditated Philosopher and a casual. But to returne unto our soule, where *Plato* hath seated reason in the braine; anger in the heart; lust in the liver; it is very likely, that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions, than any division or separation he meant to make of it, as of a body into many members. And the likeliest of their opinion is, that it is alwayes a soule, which by her rationall faculty, remembreth her selfe, comprehendeth, judgeth, desireth, and exerciseth all her other functions, by divers instruments of the body, as the *Pilote* ruleth and directeth his ship according to the experience he hath of it; now stretching, haling, or loosing a cable, sometimes hoysing the Main-yard, removing an Oare, or stirring the Rudder, causing severall effects with one only power: And that she abideth in the braine, appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidents, which touch that part, doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whence she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the body:

— *medium non deserit unquam*

*Celi Phœbus iter: radiis tamen omnia lustrat.*

Never the Sunne forsakes heav'n's middle wayes,  
Yet with his rayes he light's all, all surwayes.

as the Sunne spreadeth his light, and infuseth his power from heaven, and therewith filleth the whole world.

*Cætera pars anima per totum diffusa corpus*

*Paret, & ad numen mentis nomenque movetur.*

Th'other part of the soule through all the body sent  
Obeyes, and moved is, by the mindes government.

Some have said, that there was a generall soule, like unto a great body, from which all particular soules were extracted, and returned thither, alwayes reconjoyning and entermingling themselves unto that Universall matter:

— *Deum namque ire per omnes*

*Terrasque tractusque maris cælumque profundum:*

*Hinc pecudes; armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,*

*Quemque sibiennes nascentem arcessere vitas.*

*Sicilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri*

*Omnia: nec mori esse locum —*

For God through all the earth to passe is found,  
Through all Sea currents, through the heav'n profound,  
Here hence men, heards, and all wilde beasts that are,  
Short life in birth each to themselves doe share.  
All things resolved to this point restor'd  
Returne, nor any place to death affoord.

others, that they did but reconjoyne and fasten themselves to it againe: others, that they were produced by the divine substance: others, by the Angels, of fire and aire: some from the beginning of the world; and some, even at the time of need: others, make them to descend from the round of the Moone, and that they returne to it againe. The common sort of antiquitie, that they are begotten from Father to Sonne, after the same manner and production, that all other naturall things are; arguing so by the resemblances, which are betwene Fathers and Children.

*Instillata patris virtus tibi,*

Thy Fathers vertues be

Intilled into thee.

*Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis,*

Of valiant Sires and good,

There comes a valiant brood.

And that from fathers we see descend unto children, not only the marks of their bodies, but also a resemblance of humours, of complexions, and inclinations of the soule.

*Denique cur acrum violentia triste Leonum*

*Seminum sequitur, dolus Vulpibus, & fuga Cervis*

*A patribus datur, & patris pavor incutit Artus*

*Si non certa suo quis semine seminioque*

*Claud. 6. Hon.  
cons. pan. 411.*

*Lucr. lib. 3. 144.*

*Virg. Georg. lib. 4.  
Ge. 222.*

*Hor. car. l. 4. od.  
4. 29.*

*Lucr. l. 3. 766.*

*771.*

*Vin*



*Vis animi pariter crescit cum corpore toto?*

Why followes violence the savage Lyons race?

Why craft the Foxes? Why to Deere to flye apace?

By parents is it given, when parents feare incites,

Unlesse because a certaine force of inward spirits

With all the body growes,

As seed and seed-spring goes?

That divine justice is grounded thereupon, punishing the fathers offences upon the children; forsomuch as the contagion of the fathers vices, is in some sort printed, in childrens soules, and that the misgovernment of their will toucheth them. Moreover, that if the soules came from any other place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body they should have beene some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being: Considering the naturall faculties, which are proper unto him, to discourse, to reason, and to remember.

*Lucr. lib. 3. 692.*

*— si in corpus nascemibim insinatur,*

*Cur super antea tantam aetatem meminisse nequimus,*

*Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?*

If our soule at our birth be in our body cast.

Why can we not remember ages over-past,

Nor any markes retaine of things done first or last?

For, to make our soules-condition, to be of that worth we would, they must all be presupposed wise, even when they are in their naturall simplicitie and genuine puritie. So should they have beene such, being freed from the corporall prison, as well before they entred the same, as we hope they shall be, when they shall be out of it. And it were necessarie they should (being yet in the body) remember the said knowledge (as *Plato* said) that what we learn't, was but a new remembring of that which we had knowne before: A thing that any man may by experience maintaine to be false and erroneous. First, because we doe not precisely remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did meere execute her function, she would at least suggest us with something besides our learning. Secondly, what she knew being in her puritie, was a true understanding, knowing things as they are, by her divine intelligence: Whereas here, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, wherein she cannot imploy her memorie; this image and conception, having never had place in her. To say, that the corporall prison, doth so suppress her naturall faculties, that they are altogether extinct in her: first, is cleane contrarie to this other beleefe, to know ledge her forces so great, and the operations which men in this transitorie life feel of it, so wonderfull, as to have thereby concluded this divinitie, and fore-past eternitie, and the immortalitie to come:

*695.*

*Nam si tantopere est animi mutata potestas,*

*Omnis ne altorum exciderit retinencia rerum,*

*Non ut opinor ea ab letho jam longior errat.*

If of our minde the power be so much altered,

As of things done all hold, all memorie is fled,

Then (as I ghesse) it is not far from being dead.

Moreover, it is here with us, and no where else, that the soules powers and effects, are to be considered; all the rest of her perfections, are vaine and unprofitable unto her: it is by her present condition, that all her immortalitie must be rewarded and paid, and she is only accomptable for the life of man: It were injustice to have abridged her of her meanes and faculties, and to have disarmed her against the time of her captivity and prison, of her weaknesse and sicknesse, of the time and season where she had beene forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endless continuance, and, to relye upon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two houres, or if the worst happen, of an age, (which have no more proportion with infinite, than a moment) definitively to appoint and establish of all her being, by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternall reward in consequence of so short a life. *Plato*, to save himselfe from this inconvenience, would have future payments limited to a hundred yeares continuance, relatively unto a humane continuance: and many of ours have gi-

ven



ven them temporall limits. By this they judged, that her generation followed the common condition of humane things: As also her life, by the opinion of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*, which hath most beene received, following these goodly apparences. That her birth was fene, when the body was capable of her; her vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall encreased; in her infancie might her weaknesse be discerned, and in time her vigor and ripenesse, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitude:

— *gigni pariter cum corpore; & una*

lb. 450.

*Crescere scilicet, pariterque senescere mentem.*

The minde is with the body bred, we doe behold;

It jointly growes with it, with it it waxeth old.

They perceived her to be capable of diverse passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, where through she fell into wearinesse and griefe, capable of alteration and change, of joy, stupefaction and languishment, subject to her infirmities, diseases, and offences, even as the stomacke or the foot,

— *mentem sanari, corpus ut agrum*

lb. 517.

*Cernimus, & flecti medicina posse videmus:*

We see as bodies sicke are cur'd, so is the minde,

We see, how Physicke can it each way turne and winde.

dazled and troubled by the force of wine; removed from her seat by the vapors of a burning feaver; drowzie and sleepey by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed up againe by the vertue of some others.

— *corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est,*

lb. 176.

*Corporeis quoniam telis istuque laborat.*

The nature of the minde must needs corporeall bee,

For with corporeall darts and strokes its griev'd we see

She was seene to dismay and confound all her faculties by the only biting of a sicke dog, and to containe no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiencie, no vertue, no philosophicall resolution, no contention of her forces, that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents: The spittle or slavering of a mastive dog shed upon *Socrater* his hands, to trouble all his wisdom, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull them, that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him:

— *vis animae*

lb. 507.

*Conturbatur, & divisa seorsum*

*Disiectatur eodem illo distracta veneno.*

The soules force is disturbed, seperated,

Distraught by that same poison, alienated.

And the said venome to finde no more resistance in his soule, than in that of a childe of foure yeares old, a venome able to make all Philosophy (were she incarnate) become furious and mad: So that *Cato*, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glasse, or of water; overcome with horreur, and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog, he had fallen into that sicknesse, which Physicians call *Hydrophobia*, or feare of waters.

— *vis morbi distracta per artus*

lb. 495.

*Turbat agens animam, spumantes a quore salso*

*Ventorum ut validis fervescunt viribus undae.*

The force of the disease disperseth through joints offends,

Driving the soule, as in salt Seas the waves ascends,

Foming by furious force which the wind raging lends.

Now concerning this point, Philosophy hath indeed armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether of patience, or if it be overcostly to be found, of an infallible defeat, in conveying herselfe, altogether from the sense: but they are meanes, which serve a soule, that is her owne, and in her proper force, capable of discourse and deliberation: not to this inconvenienc, wherewith a Philosopher, a soule becommeth the soule of a soule troubled, vanquished and lost, which divers occasions may produce, as in an over-violent agitation, which by some vehement passion, the soule may beget in her selfe: or a hurt in some part of the body; or an exhalation from the stomacke, casting us into some asto-

nishment



nishment, dazling, or giddinesse of the head :

ib. 467.

*morbis in corporis avium errat*

*Sape animus, dementis enim, delirique fatur,  
Interdumque gravi Lethargo fertur in altum  
Eternumque soporem, oculis utique cadentis.*

The minde in bodies sicknesse often wandring strays :  
For it enraged rave's, and idle talke outbrayes :  
Brought by sharpe Lethargy sometime to more than deepe,  
While eyes and eye-lids fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have in mine opinion but slightly harp't upon this string, no more than another of like consequence. They have ever this *Dilemma* in their mouth, to comfort our mortall condition. *The soule is either mortall or immortall : if mortall, she shall be without paine : if immortall, she shall mend.* They never touch the other branch : What, if she empaire and be worse ? And leave the menaces of future paines to Poets. But thereby they deal themselves a good game. They are two omissions, which in their discourses doe often offer themselves unto me. I come to the first againe : the soule loseth the use of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant and so firme. Our goodly wisdom must necessarily in this place yeeld her selfe, and quit her weapons. As for other matters, they also considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that the mixture and societie of two so different parts, as is the mortall and the immortall is inimaginable :

ib. 831.

*Quippe etenim mortale aeterno jungere, & una  
Consentire putare, & fungi munera posse,  
Desipere est. Quid enim diversius esse putandum est.  
Aut magis inter se disjunctum discrepansque,  
Quam mortale quod est, immortalis atque perenni  
Iunctum in concilio sivas tolerare procellas ?*

For what immortall is, mortall to joyne unto,  
And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties doe,  
Is to be foolish : For what thinke we stranger is.  
More disagreeable, or more disjoyn'd, than this,  
That mortall with immortall endlessse joyn'd in union,  
Can most outrageous stormes endure in their communion ?

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged in death, as well as the body ;

ib. 463.

*— simul a vo fessa fatiscit,  
It joyntly faint's in one,  
Wearied as age is gone.*

Which thing (according to *Zeno*) the image of sleep doth manifestly shew unto us. For he esteemeth, that it is a fainting and declination of the soule, as well as of the body. *Contrahi animum, & quasi labi putat atque decidere.* He thinks the minde is contracted, and doth as it were slide and fall downe. And that (which is perceived in some) it's force and vigor maintaineth it selfe even in the end of life, they referred and imputed the same to the diversitie of diseases, as men are scene in that extremitie, to maintaine, some one sense, and some another, some their hearing, and some their smelling, without any alteration ; and there is no weaknesse or decay scene so universall, but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

Cic. div. lib. 2.

*Non alio pacto quam si pes cum dolet agri,  
In nullo caput interea sit foret dolore.*

Lucr. l. 1116.

No otherwise, than if, when sick-mans foote doth ake,  
Meane time herhaps his head no fellow-feeling take.

Our judgements sight referreth it selfe unto truth, as doth the Owles eyes unto the shining of the Sunne, as saith *Aristotle*. How should we better convince him, than by so grosse blindness, in so apparent a light ? For, the contrarie opinion of the soules immortalitye, which *Cicero* saith, to have first beene brought in (at least by the testimonie of books) by *Pherecydes Syrius*, in the time of King *Tullus* (others ascribe the invention thereof to *Thales*, and other to others) it is the part of humane knowledge treated most sparingly and with more doubt. The most constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are inforced to cast themselves under the shelter of the Academikes wings. No man knowes what *Aristotle* hath established upon this



this subject, no more than all the ancients in Generall, who handle the same with a very wavering believe: *Rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium. Who rather promise than approve a thing most acceptable.* He hath hidden himselfe under the clouds of intricate and ambiguous words, and unintelligible senses, and hath left his Sectaries as much caule to dispute upon his judgement, as upon the matter. Two things made this his opinion plausible to them: the one, that without the immortality of soules, there should no meanes be left to ground or settle the vaine hopes of glory; a consideration of wonderfull credit in the world: the other (as *Plato* saith) that it is a most profitable impression, that vices, when they steal away from out the light and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blacke before divine justice, which even after the death of the guilty, will severely pursue them. *Man is ever possessed with an extreme desire to prolong his being, and hath to the uttermost of his skill provided for it.* Toombs and Monuments are for the preservation of his body, and glorie for the continuance of his name. He hath imployed all his wit to frame him selfe a new, (as impatient of his fortune) and to underprop or uphold himselfe by his inventions. The soule by reason of her trouble and imbecility, as unable to subsist of her selfe, is ever, and in all places questing and leaching comforts, hopes, foundations, and forraine circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle her selfe. And how light and fantastickall soever his invention doth frame them unto him, he notwithstanding relieth more surely upon them, and more willingly, than upon himselfe: But it is a wonder to see how the most obstinat in this so just and manifest perswasion of our spirits immortalitie, have found themselves short and unable to establish the same by their humane forces. *Somnia sunt non docentis, sed optantis. These are dreames not of one that teacheth, but wisheth what he would have:* said an ancient Writer. Man may by his owne testimonie know, that the truth he alone discovereth, the same he oweth unto fortune and chance; since even when she is false into his hands, he wanteth wherewith to lay hold on her, and keepe her; and that this reason hath not the power to prevaile with it. *All things produced by our owne discourse and sufficiency, as well true as false, are subject to uncertaintie and disputation.* It is for the punishment of our temeritie, and instruction of our miserie and incapacitie, that God caused the trouble, downefall and confusion of *Babels Tower*. Whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, what ever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanity and folly: With our weaknes we corrupt and adulterate the very essence of truth (which is uniforme and constant) when fortune giveth us the possession of it. What course soever man taketh of himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever cometh to that confusion, whose image he so lively representeth unto us, by the just punishment, wherewith he framed the presumptuous over-weening of *Nembroth*, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprises of the building of his high-towering *Pyramis*, or Heaven-menacing Tower. *Perdam sapientiam sapientium, & prudentiam prudentium reprobabo. I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent.* The diversitie of tongues and languages, wherewith he disturbed that worke, and overthrew that proudly-raised Pile; what else is it, but this infinit altercation, and perpetuall discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of humane science? Which he doth most profitably. *Who might containe us, had we but one graine of knowledge?* This Saint hath done me much pleasure: *Ipsa utilitatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio. The very concealing of the profit is either an exercise of humilitie, or a beating downe of arrogancie.* Unto what point of presumption and insolencie, doe we not carrie our blindness and foolishnesse? But to returne to my purpose: Verily there was great reason, that we should be beholding to God alone, and to the benefit of his grace, for the truth of so noble a believe, since from his liberalitie alone we receive the fruit of immortalitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let us ingenuously confesse, that only God and Faith, hath told it us: For, it is no lesson of Nature, nor coming from our reason. And he that shall both within and without narrowly sift, and curiously sound his being and his forces without this divine privilege; he that shall view and consider man, without flattering him, shall nor finde nor see either efficacy or facultie in him, that tasteth of any other thing but death and earth. *The more we give, the more we owe; and the more we yeeld unto God, the more Christian-like doe we.* That which the Stoike Philosopher said, he held by the casuall consent of the peoples voice; had it not beene better he had held it of God? *Cum de animorum*

1 Cor. 1. 19.

Sen. epist. 117.

asernitate



Cic. Tus. qu. 1.

atēritate differimus, non leue momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timendum in-  
feros aut colendum. Vtor hac publica persuasione. When we discourse of the immortalitie of  
soules in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authority, who either feare or adore  
the infernall powers. This publike persuasion I make use of. Now the weaknes of humane Ar-  
guments upon this subject, is very manifestly knowne by the fabulous circumstances they  
have added unto the traine of this opinion, to finde out what condition this our immortalitie  
was of. Let us omit the Stoickes. *Usuram nobis largiuntur, tanquam cornicibus; diu mansuros  
aiunt animos, semper negant.* They grant us use of life, as is unto Ravens: they say, our soules  
shall long continue, but they deny they shall last ever. Who gives unto soules a life beyond this  
but finite. The most universall and received fantasie, and which endureth to this day, hath  
beeene that whereof Pythagoras is made Author; not that he was the first inventor of it, but  
because it received much force and credit by the authoritie of his approbation; Which is,  
that soules at their departure from us, did but passe and roule from one to another body,  
from a Lyon to a Horse, from a Horse to a King, uncestantly wandring up and downe, from  
House to Mansion. And himselfe said, that he remembred to have beeene *Ethales*, then  
*Euphorbus*, afterward *Hermotimus*, at last from *Pyrrhus* to have passed into *Pythagoras*: ha-  
ving memorie of himselfe, the space of two hundred and six yeares: some added more, that  
the same soules doe sometimes ascend up to heaven, and come downe againe:

Virg. Æn. lib. 6.  
739.

*O Pater amē aliquas ad coelum hinc ire putandum est  
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reveri  
Corpora? Quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido?*  
Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe go,  
Raized to heav'n, thence turne to bodies slow?  
Whence doth so dyre desire of light on wretches grow?

Origen makes them eternally to go and come from a good, to a bad estate. The opinion  
that Varro reporteth is, that in the revolution of foure hundred and forty yeares, they recon-  
joyne themselves unto their first bodies. *Chrysippus*, that that must come to passe after a cer-  
taine space of time unknowne, and not limited. *Plato* (who saith that he holds this opinion  
from *Pindarus*, and from ancient Poësie,) of infinite Vicissitudes of alteration, to which the  
soule is prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other World, but temporall, as her life  
in this is but temporall, concludeth in her a singular knowledge of the affaires of Heaven, of  
Hell, and here below, where she hath passed, repassed, and sojourned in many voyages, a mat-  
ter in his remembrance. Behold her progresse elswhere: He that hath lived well, reconjoy-  
neth himselfe unto that Star or Planet, to which he is assigned: Who evill, passeth into a wo-  
man: And if then he amend not himselfe, he transchargeth himselfe into a beast, of condition  
agreeing to his vicious customes, and shall never see an end of his Punishments, untill he re-  
turne to his naturall condition, and by vertue of reason, he have deprived himselfe of those  
grosse, stupide, and elementarie qualities that were in him. But I will not forget the objection,  
which the Epicureans make unto this transmigration from one body to another: Which is  
very pleasant. They demand, what order there should be, if the throng of the dying should  
be greater than that of such as be borne. For, the soules removed from their abode would  
throng and strive together, who should get the best seat in this new case: And demand besi-  
des, what they would passe their time about, whilst they should stay, untill any other man-  
sion were made ready for them: Or contrary-wise, if more creatures were borne than should  
dye; they say, bodies should be in an ill taking, expecting the infusion of their soule, and it  
would come to passe, that some of them should dye, before they had ever beeene living.

Lucr. l. 3. 802.

*Denique connubia adveneris, partusque ferarum,  
Esse animas præsto deridiculum esse videtur,  
Et spectare immortales mortalia membra  
Innumero numero, certareque præproperanter  
Inter se, quæ prima potissimaque insinnetur.*  
Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prest  
To Venus meetings, and begetting of a beast:  
That they to mortall lims immortall be adrest  
In number numberlesse, and over-hasty strive,  
Which of them first and chiefe should get in there to live.

Others



Others have staide the soule in the deceased bodies, therewith to animate serpents, wormes & other beasts, which are said to engender from the corruption of our members, yea & from our ashes: Others, divide it in two parts, one mortall, another immortal: Others make it corporeall, & yet notwithstanding immortal: Others, make it immortal, without any science or knowledge. Nay there are some of ours, who have deemed, that of condemned mens soules devils were made: As *Plutarke* thinks, that Gods are made of those soules which are saved: For, there be few things that this authour doth more resolutely averre, then this; holding every where else an ambiguous & doubtfull kind of speech. It is to be imagined and firmly believed (saith he) that the soules of men, vertuous both according unto nature & divine Justice, become of Men, Saints, & of Saints, Demi Gods, and after they are once perfectly, as in sacrifices of purgation, cleanted and purified, being delivered from all passibility and mortalitie, they become of Demi-Gods (not by any civill ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very very Gods; receiving a most blessed and thrice glorious end. But whosoever shall see him, who is notwithstanding, one of the most sparing & moderate of that faction, so undantedly to skirmish, & will heare him relate his wonders upon this subject, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, & of *Socrates* his *Dæmon*; where as evidently as in any other place, may be averred, that the mysteries of Philosophy have many strange conceits, common with those of Poesie; mans understanding lesing it selfe once goe about to sound and controule all things to the utmost ende; as tired and troubled by a long and wearisome course of our life, we returne to a kind of doting child-hood. Note here the goodly and certaine instructions, which concerning our soules-subject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no lesse rashnesse in that which shee teacheth us touching our corporall parts. Let us make choise but of one or two examples, else should we lose our selves in this troublesome and vaste Ocean of Physicall errors. Let us know whether they agree but in this one, that is to say, of what matter men are derived & produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvel if in a thing so high and so ancient, mans wit is troubled and confounded. *Archelans* the Physitian, to whom (as *Aristoxenus* affirmeth) *Socrates* was Disciple and Minion, assevered that both men & beastes had beene made of milkie slime or mudde, expressed by the heate of the catch. *Pythagoras* saith, that our seed is the scumme or froth of our best blood, *Plato* the distilling of the marrow in the backe-bone, which hee argueth thus, because that place feeleth first the wearinesse which followeth the generative businesse.

*Alcmaeon*, a part of the braines substance, which to prove, he saith, their eyes are ever most troubled, that over-intemperately addict themselves to that exercise. *Democritus*, a substance extracted from all parts of this corporall Masse. *Epicurus*, extracted from the last soule and the body: *Aristotle*, an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the blood, the last scattereth it selfe in our severall members; others, blood, concocted & digested by the heate of the genitories, which they judge, because in the extreame, earnest & forced labours, many shed drops of pure blood; wherein some appearance seemeth to be, if from so infinite a confusion any likelihood may be drawne. But to bring this seed to effect, how many contrary opinions make they of it? *Aristotle* & *Democritus* hold, that women have no sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reason of the pleasure, and frication they cast forth, and availeth nothing in generation.

*Galen*, and his adherents, contrariwise affirme, that there can be no generation, except two seeds meete together. Behold the Physitians, the Philosophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines pell-mell together by the eares with our women about the question and disputation how long women beare their fruite in their wombe. And as for mee, by mine owne example I take their part, that maintaine, a woman may goe clever months with childe. The world is framed of this experience; there is no meane woman so simple, that cannot give her censure upon all these contestations, although we could not agree. This is sufficient to verifie, that in the corporall part, man is no more instructed of himselfe, then in the spirituall. We have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his reason to his reason, to see what shee can tell us of it. Mee thinkes I have sufficiently declared, how little understanding shee hath of her selfe. And hee who hath no understanding of himselfe, what can he have understanding of? *Quasi vero* mensuram illius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat. As though he could take measure of any thing that knowes not his owne measure. Truly *Protagoras* told us prettie tales, when hee makes man

*Plin. Nat. hist. lib. 2. cap. 1.*



the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not he, his dignitie will never suffer any other creature to have this advantage over him. Now he being so contrary in himselfe, and one judgement so uncessantly subverting another, this favorable proposition was but a jest, which induced us necessarily to conclude the nullity of the Compass and the Compasse. *When Thales indgeth the knowledge of man very hard unto man, he teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be impossible unto him.* You for whom I have taken the paines to enlarge so long a worke (against my custome) will not shun to maintaine your *Sebond*, with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are daily instructed, and will therein exercise both your minde and study: For this last trick of fence, must not be employed but as an extreme remedy. It is a desperate thrust, gainst which you must forsake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his, and a secret flight, which must seldom and very sparingly be put in practise. *It is a great fond-hardnesse to lose our selfe for the losse of another.* A man must not be willing to die to revenge himselfe, as *Gobrias* was: who being close by the eares with a Lord of *Persia*, *Darius* chanced to come in with his sword in his hand, and feare to strike, for feare he should hurt *Gobrias*, he called unto him, and bade him smite boldly, although he should smite through both. I have heard, armes, and conditions of single combates being desperate, and in which he that offered them, put both himselfe and his enemy in danger of an end inevitable to both, reproved as vniust, and condemned as unlawfull. The *Portugals* tooke once certaine *Turkes* prisoners in the *Indian* seas, who impatient of their captivity, resolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing of Ship-nailes one against another, & causing sparkles of fire to fall amongst the barrells of powder (which lay not far from them) with intent to consume both themselves, their masters, and the ship. *We but touch the skirts, & glance at the last closings of Sciences.* wherein extremity, as well as in vertue, is vicious. Keepe your selves in the common path, it is not good to be so subtil, and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverbe saith,

*Chi troppos' affettiglia, si scavezza.*

Who makes himselfe too fine,  
Doth break himselfe in fine.

*Petr. p. 1. canz.*  
13. 48.

I perswade you, in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to use moderation and temperance, and avoide all newfangled inventions and strangeness. All extravagant waies displease me. You, who by the authority and preheminance, which your greatnesse hath laied upon you, and more by the advantages, which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with a nod command whom you please, should have laied this charge upon some one, that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have disposed and enriched this fantasie. Notwithstanding here have you enough to supply your wants of it. *Epicurus* said of the lawes, that the worst were so necessary unto us, that without them, men would enter-devoure one another. And *Plato* verifieth, that *without lawes we should live like beastes.* Our spirit is a vagabond, a dangerous, and fond-hardy implement; It is very hard to ioine order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellency above others, or extraordinary vivacity, we see them almost all so lavish and unbridled in licence of opinions & manners, as it may be counted a wonder to find any one settled & sociable. There is great reason why the spirit of man should be so strictly embarr'd. In his study, as in all things else, he must have his steps numbred and ordered. The limits of his pursuite must be cut out by art. He is bridled and fettered with, and by religions, lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines and recompences, both mortall and immortall; yet we see him, by meanes of his volubility and dissolution escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body, that hath no way about him to be seized on, or cut off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily there are few soules, so orderly, so constant, and so well borne, as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may with moderation, and without rashnes, saile in the liberty of their judgments beyond common opinions. It is more expedient to give some body the charge & tuition of them. *The spirit is an outrageous glaive, yea even to his owne possessor, except he have the grace, very orderly & discreetly to arme himselfe therewith.* And there is no beast, to whom one may more justly apply a blinding bord, to keepe her sight in, and force her looke to her footing, and keepe from straying here and there, without the track which use and lawes trace her out. Therefore shall it be better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed path;



path; howeuer it be, then to take your flight to this unbridled licence. But if any one of these new doctors shall undertake, to play the wise or ingenious before you, at the charge of his and your health: to rid you out of this dangerous plague, which daily more and more spreads it selfe in your Courts; this preservative will in any extreame necessity be a let, that the contagion of this venome, shall neither offend you nor your assistance. The liberty then, and the jollity of their ancient spirits brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophy and humane Sciences: every one undertaking to judge and chuse, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walke all one way: *Qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententijs additi & consecrati sunt, ut etiam, que non probant, cogantur defendere.* Who are adduced & consecrated to certaine set & fore-decreed opinions, so as they are enforced to maintaine those things which they prove or approve not: And that wee receive Arts by civill authority and appointment: So that Schooles have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline & institution; no man regardeth more what coines weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value, that common approbation and succession allotteeth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the use. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physike is received as Geometry: and juggling tricks, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, domestications, yea even this ridiculous, wit & wealth-consuming perfiture of the Philosophers stone, all is employed and uttered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know, that *Mars* his place lodgeth in the middle of the hands triangle; that of *Venus* in the Thumme; and *Mercuries* in the little finger: and when the table-line cutteth the teachers rising, it is a signe of cruelty. When it faileth under the middle finger, and that the naturall Median-line makes an angle with the vitall, under the same side, it is a signe of a miserable death: And when a womans naturall line is open, and closes not it angle with the vitall, it evidently denotes that she will not be very chaste. I call your selfe to witnesse, if with this Science onely, a man may not passe with reputation and favour among all companies. *Theophrastus* was wont to say, that mans knowledge, directed by the sense, might judge of the causes of things, unto a certain measure, but being come to the extreame & first causes, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated; either by reason of it's weakness, or of the things difficulty. It is an indifferent and pleasing kind of opinion, to thinke, that our sufficiency may bring us to the knowledge of some things, and hath certaine measures of power, beyond which it's temerity to employ it. This opinion is plausible, & brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limits, being very curious & greedy, & not tied to stay rather at a thousand, then at fifty spaces. Having found by experience, that if one had mist to attaine unto some one thing, another hath come unto it, & that which one age never knew, the age succeeding hath found out: and that Sciences and Arts are not cast in a mold, but rather by little & little formed & shaped by often handling & polishing them over: even as beares fashion their yong whelps by often licking them: what my strength cannot discover, I ceate not to sound & try: & in handling & kneading this new matter, & with removing and chasing it, I open some faculty for him that shall follow me, that with more ease he may enjoy the same, and make it more facile, more supple and more pliable:

— ut hymettia sole

*Cera remollefcit, tractataque pollice, multas  
Vertitur in facies, ipsoque fit utilis usu.  
As the best Bees wax melteth by the Sun,  
And handling, into many formes doth run,  
And is made aptly fit,  
For use, by using it.*

As much will the second do for the third, which is a cause that difficulty doth not make me despaire, much lesse my inability: for it is but mine owne. Man is as well capable of all things, as of some. And it (as *Theophrastus* saith) he avow the ignorance of the first causes & beginnings, let him hardly quit all the rest of his knowledge. If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrowne. *The dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire, no other end, but the principles:* If this end stay not his course, he casteth himselfe into an infinite irresolution. *Non potest aliud alio magis minusque comprehendere, quoniam omnium rerum una est definitio comprehendendi.* One thing can neither more nor lesse be comprehended then another, since of all things there is one definition of comprehending. Now it is likely, that if the soule knew any thing, the

Ec 2

first

Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 2.

*Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 10. 284.*



first knew her selfe: and if she knew any without and besides her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before any thing else. It even at this day the Gods of Physicke are seene to wrangle about our Anatomie,

*Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo,  
Apollo stood for Troy,*

*Vulcan Troy to destroy.*

*Ovid. Trist. li. 1.  
cl. 2. 5.*

When shall we expect that they will be agreed? We are neerer, unto our selves, then is whitenesse unto snow, or weight unto a stone. *If man know not himselfe, how can hee know his functions and forces?* It is not by fortune that some true notice doth not lodge with us, but by hazard. And forasmuch as by the same way, fashion and conduct, errors are received into our soule, she hath not wherewithall to distinguish them, nor whereby to chuse the truth from falshood. The Academikes received some inclination of judgment, and found it over raw, to say, it was no more likely snow should be white then blacke, and that wee should be no more assured of the moving of a stone, which goeth from our hand, then of that of the eighth Spheare. And to avoid this difficultie and strangenesse, which in truth cannot but hardly lodge in our imagination, howbeit they establish, that we were no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is engulfed in the deepest Abysses, where mans sight can no way enter; yet avowed they some things to be more likely and possible then others, and received this faculty in their judgement, that they might rather incline to one apparance then to another. They allowed her this propension, interdicting her all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advise is more hardy, and therewithall more likely. For this Academicall inclination, & this propension rather to one then another proposition, what else is it, then a reacknowledging of some apparant truth, in this than in that? If our understanding be capable of the forme, of the lineaments, of the behaviour & faee of truth; it might as well see it all compleat; as but halfe, growing and imperfect. For this apparance of verisimilitude, which makes them rather take the left then the right hand, doe you augment it; this one ounce of likelihood, which turnes the ballance, doe you multiply it, by a hundred, nay by a thousand ounces; it will in the end come to passe, that the ballance will absolutely resolve and conclude one choice and perfect truth. But how doe they suffer themselves to be made tractable by likelihood, if they know not truth? *How know they the semblance of that, whereof they understand not the essence?* Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutely we cannot. If our intellectuall and sensible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but hull up & downe and drive with the wind, for nothing suffer we our judgment to be caried away to any part of their operation, what apparance soever it seemeth to present us with. And the surest & most happy situation of our understanding should be that, where without any tottering or agitation it might maintaine it selfe settled, upright and inflexible. *Inter visa, vera, aut falsa, ad animi assensum, nihil interest. There is no difference betwixt true and false visions, concerning the mindes assent.* That things lodge not in us in their proper forme and essence, and make not their entrance into us, of their owne power and authority, we see it most evidently. For if it were so, we would receive them all alike: wine should be such in a sicke mans mouth, as in a healthy mans. He whose fingers are chopt through cold, and stiffe or benumbed with frost, should find the same hardnesse in the wood or iron he might handle, which another doth. Then strange subjects yeeld unto our mercy, and lodge with us according to our pleasure. Now if on our part we receive any thing without alteration, if mans holdfasts were capable and sufficiently powerfull, by our proper meanes to seize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would successively remove it selfe from one to another. And of so many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an universall consent should be beleevd of all. But that no proposition is seene, which is not controverted and debated amongst us, or that may not be, declareth plainly, that our judgment doth not absolutly and clearly seize on that which it seizeth: for my judgment cannot make my fellowes judgment to receive the same: which is a signe, that I have seized upon it by some other meane then by a naturall power in me or other men. Leave we apart this infinite confusion of opinions, which is seene amongst Philosophers themselves, and this universall and perpetuall disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

For it is most truly presupposed, that men (I meane the wisest, the best borne, yea and the most sufficient) do never agree; no nor so much that heavē is over our heads: For they who doubt



doubt of all, doe also doubt of this: and such as affirme, that we cannot conceive any thing, say, we have not conceivd whether heaven be over our heads: which two opinions are in number (without any comparison) the most forcible. Besides this diversity and infinite division, by reason of the trouble which our owne judgement layeth upon our selves, and the uncertainty which every man findes in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived, that this situation is very uncertaine and unstaide. How diversly judge we of things? How often change we our phantasies? What I hold & beleeeve this day, I beleeeve and hold with all my beleecie: all my implements, springs and motions, embrace and claspe this opinion, and to the utmost of their power warrant the same: I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keepe it, then I doe this. I am wholly and absolutely given to it: but hath it not beene my fortune, not once, but a hundred, nay a thousand times, nay daily, to have embraced some other thing, with the very same instruments and condition, which upon better advise I have afterward judged false? *A man should at the least become wise, at his owne cost, & learne by others barmes.* If under this colour I have often found my selfe deceived, if my Touch-stone be commonly found false & my ballance vn-even & uniuert; What assurance may I more take of it at this time, then at others? Is it not folly in me, to suffer my selfe so often to be beguiled & conzened by one guide? Nevertheless, let fortune remove us five hundred times from our place, let her doe nothing but uncessantly empty and fill, as in a vessell, other and other opinions in our mind, the present and last is alwaies supposed certaine and infallible. For this must a man leave goods, honour, life, state, health and all:

—posterior res illa reperta

*Perdit; & immutat sensus ad pristina queque.*

The latter thing destroys all found before;

And alters sense at all things lik'd of yore,

LUCR. l. 5. 1424

Whatsoever is told us, and what ever we learne, we should ever remember, it is man, who delivereth, and man that receiveth: It is a mortall hand, that presents it, and a mortall hand, that receives it. Onely things which come to us from heaven, have right and authority of perswasion, and markes of truth: Which we neither see with our eyes, nor receive by our meanes: this sacred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a Mansion, except God prepare it to that use and purpose, unlesse God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor, reforme & strengthē the same. Our fraile & defective condition ought at least make us demeane our selves more moderately, and more circumspectly in our changes. We should remember, that whatsoever we receive in our understanding, we often receive false things, and that it is by the same instruments, which many times contradict & deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so easie to encline, & upon very slight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is, that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in generall, doe suffer according to the bodies motions and alterations, which are continuall. Have we not our spirits more vigilant, our memorie more ready, and our discouries more lively in time of health, then in sicknesse? Doth not ioy and blithnesse make us receive the subjects, that present themselves unto our soule, with another kind of countenance, then lowring vexatiō, and drooping melancholy doth? Doe you imagine, that *Catullus* or *Saphoes* verses, delight and please an old coverous Chuff-penny wretch, as they do a lusty & vigorous yong-man? *Cleomenes* the sonne of *Anaxandridas* being sick, his friends reproved him, saying, he had new strange humors, and unusuall phantasies: It is not unlikely (answered he) for. I am not the man I was wont to be in the time of health: But being other, so are my fantasies & my humors. In the rabble case-canvassing of our plea-courts thus by-word, *Gaudeat de bona fortuna, Let him ioy in his good fortune*, is much in use, and is spoken of criminall offenders, who happen to meete with Iudges in some milde temper, or well-pleated mood. For it is most certaine that in times of condemnatiō, the Iudges doome or sentence is sometimes perceived to be more sharpe, mercilesse and forward, and at other times more tractable, facile, and enclined to shadow or excuse an offence, according as he is well or ill pleased in mind. A man that commeth out of his house troubled with the paine of the gout, vexed with jealousy, or angry that his servant hath robbed him, & whose mind is overcome with griefe, and plunged with vexation, and distracted with anger, there is not question to be made but his judgement is at that instant much distempred, and much transported that way, *That venerable Senate of the Areopagites, was wont to judge and sentence*



by night, for feare the sight of the futers might corrupt justice. The ayre it selfe, and the clearenes of the firmament, doth forebode us some change and alteration of weather, as saith that Greeke verse in Cicero,

Cic. ex incert.

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse*

*Iupiter auctifera lustravit lampade terras.*

Such are mens mindes, as with increasefull light

Our father Iove survaies the world in sight

It is not onely fevers, drinckes and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgement: The least things in the world wil turne it topsieturvie. And although we feele it not, it is not to bee doubted, if a continuall ague may in the end suppress our mind, a certian will also (according to her measure and proportion) breed some alteration in it. If an Apoplexie doth altogether stupifie, and extinguishe the light of our understanding, it is not to be doubted but a cold and rhume will likewise dazle the same. And by consequence, hardly shall a man in all his life find one houre, wherein our judgement may alwaies be found in his right byase, our body being subject to so many continuall alterations, and stult with so divers sorts of ginnings & motions; that, giving credit to Physitions, it is very hard to find one in perfect plight, and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and shute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except, it be altogether extreame and remediable; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting and broken-hipt; and with fallshood as with truth; And therefore it is very hard to discover her mistaking, and disorder. I alwaies call reason, that apparance or shew of discourses, which every man deviseth or forgeth in himselfe: That reason, of whose condition, there may be a hundred, one contrary to another, about one selfe same subject: It is an instrument of lead and Wax, stretching, pliable, and that may be fitted to all byases, and squared to all measures: There remaines nothing but the skill and sufficiency to know how to turne and winde the same. How well soever a Iudge meaneth and what good mind so ever he beareth, if diligent care be not given unto him (to which few amuse themselves) his inclination unto freindship, unto kindred, unto beauty, and unto revenge, and not onely matters of so weighty consequence, but this innated & casuall instinct, which makes us to favour one thing more then another, & encline to one man more then to another, and which without any leave of reason, giveth us the choise, in two like subjects, or some shadow of like vanity, may insensibly insinuate in his judgment the commendation and applause, or disfavoure and disallowance of a cause, and give the ballance a twitch. I that nearest prie into my selfe and who have mine eyes incessantly fixt upon me, as one that hath not much else to doe else where,

Hor. l. 2 od.  
36-3.

— *quis sub Arcto*

*Rex gelida metuat orae,*

*Quid Tyridatem terreat, umicè*

*Securus,*

Onely secure, who in cold coast

Vnder the North-pole rules the rost.

And there is fear'd; or what would fright,

And Tyridates put to flight.

dare very hardly report the vanity & weaknesse I feele in my selfe. My foot is so staggering & unstable, and I finde it so ready to trip, and so easie to stumble; and my sight is so dimme and vncertaine, that fasting I find my selfe other then full fed: If my health applaud me, or but the calmnesse of one faire day smile upon me, then am I a lusty gallant; but if a corne wring my toe, then am I pouting, unpleasant and hard to be pleased. One tame pace of a horse is sometimes hard, and sometimes easie unto me; and one same way, one time short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now lesse agreeable & pleasing to me: Sometimes I am apt to doe any thing; and other times fit to doe nothing: What now is pleasing to me, within a while after will be painful. There are a thousand indiscreet and casuall agitations in me. Either a melancholy humour possesseth me, or a cholericke passion swaileth me, which having shaken off, sometimes frowardnesse and peevishnesse hath predominancy, and other times gladnes and blithnesse overrule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand, I shall in some passages perceive some excellent graces, & which ever wound me to the soule with delight; but let me lay it by, and read him another time,



time; let me turne and tolle him as I list, let me apply and manage him as I will, I shall finde it an unknowne and shapelesse masse. Even in my writings, I shall not at all times finde the tracke, or ayre of my first imaginations; I wor not my selfe what I would have said, & shall vex and fret my selfe in correcting and giving a new sence to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better. I do but come and goe; my judgement doth not alwaies goe forward, but is ever floting, and wandering.

—*velut minuta magno*

*Deprensa navis in mari vesaniato vento.*

Much like a pettie skiffe, that's taken short

In a grand Sea, when winds doe make mad sport.

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-sake undertaken to maintaine an opinion contrarie to mine, my minde applying & turning it selfe that way, doth so tie me unto it, as I finde no more the reason of my former conceit, and so I leave it. Where I encline, there I entertaine my selfe, how soever it be, and am caried away by mine owne weight. Every man could neer-hand say as much of himselfe, would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers know, that the emotion, which surpriseth them, whilst they are in their earnest speech, doth animate them towards believe, & that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our proposition, emprint it in our selves, & embrace the same with more vehemencie and approbation, then we did, being in our temperate and repoled sence. You relate simply your case unto a Lawyer; he answers faltring & doubtfully unto it, whereby you perceive it is indifferent unto him to defend either this or that side, all is one to him: Have you paid him will, have you given him a good baite or fee, to make him earnestly apprehend it, beginnes he to be enteressed in the matter, is his will moved, or his minde enflamed? Then will his reason be moved, and his knowledge enflamed with all. See then an apparant and undoubted truth presents it selfe to his understanding, wherein he discovers a new light, and beleeves it in good sooth, and so perswades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wor not whether the heate proceeding of spight and obstinacie, against the impression and violence of a magistrate, and of danger: or the interest of reputation, have induced some man, to maintaine, even in the fiery flames the opinion, for which amongst his friends, and at libertie, he would never have beene moved, nor have ventred his fingers end. The motions and fits which our soule receiveth by corporall passions, doe greatly prevaile in her, but more her owne; with which it is so fully posselt, as happily it may be maintained, she hath no other way, or motion, then by the blast of her windes, and that without their agitation, she should remaine without action, as a ship at Sea, which the winds have utterly forsaken. And he who should maintaine that, following the Peripatetike faction, should offer us no great wrong, since it is knowne, that the greatest number of the soules actions, proceede and have neede of this impulsion of passion, valor (say they) cannot be perfected without the assistance of choler.

*Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore.*

Ajax every valor had,

Most then, when he was most mad.

Nor doth any man run violently enough upon the wicked, or his enemies, except he be thoroughly angrie; and they are of opinion, that an Advocate or Counseller at the barre, to haue the cause goe on his side, & to have Iustice at the Iudges hands, doth first endeavor to provoke him to anger. Longing-desires moved *Themistocles*, and urged *Demosihenes*, and have provoked Philosophers, to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to lingring peregrinations: and leade us to honours, to doctrine, and to health; all profitable respects. And this demillenes of the soule, in suffering molestation & tediousnes, serveth to no other purpose, but to breed repentance, and cause penitence in our consciences; and for our punishment to feele the scourge of God, and the rod of politicke correction. Compassion serveth as a sting unto clemencie, and wisdom to preserve and governe our selves, is by our owne feare rouzed up; and how many noble actions, by ambition, how many by presumption? To conclude, no eminent or glorious vertue, can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons, which moved the Epicurians, to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: Forsomuch as the very effects of his goodnes, cannot exercise themselves towards us, without disturbing his rest, by meanes of the passions, which

*Catull. lyr. epig.*

22. 12.

*Cic. Tus. qu. 1. A.*



Cic. ib. lib. 5.

are as motives and solicitations, directing the soule to vertuous actions? Or have they thought otherwise & takē them as tempests, which shamfully lead altray the soule from hir rest & tranquillitie? *Vt maris tranquillitas intelligitur, nullā, ne minimā quidem aurā fluctus commovente: Sic animi quietus & placatus status cernitur, quum perturbatio nulla est, quā moveri queat.* As we conceive the Seas calmenesse, when not so much as the least pirling wind doth stirre the waves, so is a peaceable reposed state of the mind then seene, when there is no perturbation, whereby it may be moved. What differences of sense and reason, what contrarietie of imaginations, doth the diversitie of our passions present unto us? What assurance may we the take of so unconstant and wavering a thing, subject by its owne condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If our judgement be in the hands of sickenes itselfe, and of perturbation; if by rashnesse and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands? Dares not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and neereſt approaching to divinity, when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by her drooping. The two naturall waies, to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to foresee the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be considered. By the dislocation that passions bring unto our reason, we become vertuous; by the extirpation which either fury or the image of death bringeth us, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleevd it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration, that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophicall spirit, which against his proposition exacteth from him; that the quiet state of our soule, the best-settled estate, yea the healthfullest that Philosophy can acquire unto it, is not the best estate. *Our vigilancie is more drouzie, then sleepe it selfe: Our wisdomes lesse wise, then folly; our dreames of more worth then our discourses.* The worst place we can take, is in our selves. But thinks it not, that we have the foresight to make, that the voice, which the spirit uttereth, when he is gone from man, so cleare sighted, so great, and so perfect, and whilst he is in man, so earthly, so ignorant, and so overclouded, is a voice proceeding from the spirit, which is in earthly, ignorant, and overclouded man; and therefore a trustles and not to be beleevd voice? I have no great experience in these violent agitations, being of a soft and dull complexion; the greatest part of which, without giving it leasure to acknowledge her selfe, doe sodainely surprisē our soule. But that passion, which in yong mens harts is said, to be produced by idlenes, although it march but leasurely, and with a measured progresse, doth evidently present to those, that have assaid to oppose themselves against her endeavour, the power of the conversion and alteration, which our judgement suffereth. I have some times enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution to abide, resist, and suppress the same. For, I am so farre from being in their ranke, that call and allure vices, that unlesse they entertaine me, I scarcely follow them. I felt it, mauer my resistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment; and in the end being in perfect health, and cleare sighted, to seize upon & possesse me; in such sort, that, as in drunkennes, the image of things began to appeare unto me, otherwise then it was wont: I saw the advantages of the subject I sought after, evidently to swell and growe greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination; and the difficulties of my enterprise to become more easie and plaine; & my discourse and conscience to shrink and draw-backe. But that fire being evaporated all on a sodaine, as by the flashing of a lightning, my soule to reassume an other sight, another state, & other judgement. The difficultie in my retreat seemed great & invincible, & the very same things, of another taste & shew, than the fervency of desire had presented them unto me. And which more truly, *Pyrrho* cannot tell. We are never without some infirmity. Fevers have their heat, & their cold: from the effects of a burning passion, we fall into the effects of a chilling passion. So much as I had cast my selfe forward, so much do I draw

Virg. Æn. 11.  
308.

my selfe backe.

*Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus,  
Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulisq; superjacit undam,  
Spumens, extremamq; sinu perfundit arenam,  
Nunc rapidus retro, atq; est revoluta resorbens  
Saxa, fugit, litusq; vado labente relinquit.  
As th' Ocean flowing, ebbing in due course,  
To land now rushes, foming throw's his source  
On rocks, therewith bedewes the utmost sand,*

Now



Now swift return's, the stones rould backe from strand  
By tide refuck's, foord failing, leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie, I have by accident engendred some constancy of opinions in my selfe; yea have not so much altered my first and naturall ones. For, what apparance soever there be in novelty, I do not easily change, for feare I should lose by the bargain: And since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choise from others; and keepe my selfe in the seate, that God hath placed me in. Else could I hardly keepe my selfe from continuall rowling. Thus have I by the grace of God preserved my selfe whole (without agitation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient belife of our religion, in the midst of so many sects and divisions, which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient fathers (I meane the good, the solide, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me which way they list. Him that I heare seemeth ever the most forcible. I finde them everie one in his turne to have reason, although they contrary one another. That facility which good witts have to prove any thing they please, likely; and that there is nothing so strange, but they will underrake to set so good a glosse on it, as it shall easily deceive a simplicity like unto mine, doth manifestly shew the weaknesse of their proove. The heavens and the planets have moved these three thousand yeares, & all the world beleevd as much, untill *Cleantes* the *Samian*, or else (according to *Theophrastus*) *Nicetas* the *Syracusan* tooke upon him to maintaine, it was the earth that moved, by the oblique circle of the *Zodiacke*, turning about her axell tree. And in our daies *Copernicus* hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all Astrologicall consequences. What shall we reape by it, but only that wee neede not care, which of the two it be? And who knoweth whether a thousand yeares hence a third opinion will rise, which happily shall overthrow these two practice?

LUCY. l. 5. 1286.

*Sic volvenda etas commutat tempora rerum,  
Quodque fuit pretio, fit nullo denique honore,  
Porro aliud succedit, & è contemptibus exit,  
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum  
Laudibus, et miro est morales inter honore.*

So age to be past-over alter's times of things:

What earst was most esteem'd,

At last nought-worth is deem'd:

Another then succeeds, and from contempt upsprings,

Is daily more desir'd, flowreth as found but then

With praise and wondrous honor amongst mortall men

So when any new doctrine is represented unto us, we have great cause to suspect it, & to consider, how, before it was invented, the contrary unto it was in credit; and as that hath beene reversed by this latter, a third invention may peradventure succeed in after-ages, which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles, which *Aristotle* found out, were in credit, other principles contented mans reason, as his doe now content us. What learning have these men, what particular priviledge, that the course of our invention should rely only upon them, and that the possession of our belife shall for ever hereafter belong to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected, then were their fore-fathers. If any man urge me with a new Argument, it is in me to imagine, that if I cannot answer it, another can. For, to believe all apparences, which we cannot resolve, is meere simplicitie. It would then follow, that all the common sort (whereof we are all part) should have his belife turning and winding like a weather-cocke: For, his soule being soft, and without resistance, should uncessantly be enforced to receive new and admit other impressions: the latter ever defacing the precedents trace. He that perceiveth himselfe weake, ought to answer, according to law termes, that he will conferre with his learned counsel, or else referre himselfe to the wisest, from whom he hath had his prentiship. How long is it since *Phylicke* came first into the World? It is reported that a new start-up fellow, whom they call *Paxacellus*, changeth & subverteth all the order of ancient, & so long time received rules, & maintaineth that untill this day it hath only served to kill people. I thinke he will easily verify it. But I suppose it were no great wisdom to hazard my life upon the triall of his new-fangled experience. We must not beleve all men, saith the precept, since every man may say all things. It is not long since, that one of these professours of novelties, and Physicall reformati-  
told



told me, that all our forefathers had notoriously abused themselves in the nature and motions of the winds, which, if I should listen unto him, he would manifestly make me perceive. After I had with some patience give attendance to his Arguments, which were indeed full of likelyhood, I demanded of him, whether they that sailed according to *Theophrastus* his Lawes, went westward, when they bent their course Eastward? Or whether they sailed sliding, or backward? It is fortune, answered he, but so it is, they tooke their make amisse: To whom I then replied, that I had rather follow the effects, then his reason. They are things that often shock together: and it hath beene told mee, that in Geometry (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst all sciences) there are found unavoidable Demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: As *James Peletier* tolde me in mine owne house, that he had found out two lines, bending their course one towards another, as if they would meet and ioine together; neverthelesse he affirmed, that even unto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the *Pyrrhonians* use their Arguments, and Reason, but to destroy the apparance of experience: And it is a wonder to see how far the suppleness of our reason, hath in this designe followed them, to resist the evidence of effects: For, they affirme, that we move not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, nor heat, with the same force of arguing, that wee averre the most likeliest things. *Ptolomey*, who was an excellent man, had established the bounds of the world; All ancient Philosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered Ilands, which might escape their knowledge: It had beene to *Pyrrhonize* a thousand yeares agoe, had any man gone about to make a question of the art of *Cosmography*: and the opinions that have beene received therof, of all men in generall: It had beene flat heresie to avouch, that there were *Antipodes*. See how in our age an infinite greatnesse of firme land hath beene discovered, not an Iland onely, nor one particular country, but a part in greatnesse very neere equall unto that which we knew. Our moderne Geographers cease not to affirme, that now all is found, and all is discovered;

Ib. 1422.

*Nam quod adest praesto, placet, & pollere videtur,*

For, what is present here,

Seemes strong, is held most deare.

The question is now, if *Ptolomey* was hertofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me, to trust what these late fellows say of it, and whether it be not more likely, that this huge body, which we terme the World, is another manner of thing, than we judge it. *Plato* saith, that it often changeth his countenance, that the Heaven, the Starres, and the Sunne do sometimes re-enverse the motion we perceive in them, changing the East into the West. The *Aegyptia* priests told *Herodotus*, that since their first King, which was cleave thousand and odde yeares (when they made him see the pictures of all their former Kings, drawne to the life in statues) the Sun had changed his course foure times: That the sea and the earth doe interchangeably change one into another; that the worlds birth is undetermined: The like said *Aristotle* and *Cicero*. And some one amongst us averreth, that it is altogether eternall, mortal, & new reviving againe, by many vicissitudes, calling *Salomon* and *Esay* to witnesse: to avoid these oppositions, that God hath sometimes beene a Creator without a creature: that he hath beene idle; that he hath unsaid his idlenesse, by setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequence he is subje& unto change. In the most famous Schooles of *Greece*, the World is reputed a God, framed by another greater and mightier God, & is composed of a body and a soule, which abideth in his centre, spreading it selfe by Muscall numbers unto his circumference, divine, thrise-happy, very great, most wise and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the Sea, the Earth, and Plants, which mutually entertaine one another with an harmonious and perpetuall agitation & celestiall dance; sometime meeting, other times farre-fundering themselves; now hiding, then shewing themselves; and changing place, now forward, now backward. *Heraclitus* firmly maintained, that the World was composed of fire, and by the Destinies order, it should one day burnt forth into flames, and be so consumed into cinders, and another day it should be new borne againe. And *Apuleius* of men saith; *figillatim mortales; cunctim perpetui* severally mortall, altogether everlasting. *Alexander* writ unto his mother the narration of an *Aegyptian* Priest, drawne from out their monuments, witnessing the antiquitie of that Nation, infinite; and cōprehending the birth and progresse of their countries to the life. *Cicero* and *Diodorus* said in their daies, that the

L. Apul. de deo  
Socrat.



the Chaldeans kept a register of foure hundred thousand and odde yeares, *Aristotle*, *Plinie*, & others, that *Zoroastes* lived sixe thousand yeares before *Plato*. And *Plato* saith, that those of the citty of *Sais*, have memories in writing of eight thousand yeares, & that the towne of *Athens*, was built a thousand yeares before the citty of *Sais*. *Epicurus*, that at one same time, all things that are, looke how we see them, they are all alike, & in the same fashiō, in divers other Worlds, which he would have spokē more confidently, had he seene the similitudes & correspondencies of this new-found world of the West Indiaes, with ours, both present & past, by so many strange examples. Truly, when I consider what hath followed our learning by the course of this terrestiall policie, I have divers times wondered at my selfe, to see in so great a distance of times & places, the sympathy or jumping of so great a number of popular and wilde opinions, and of extravagant customes and beliefes, and which by no meanes seeme to hold with our naturall discourse. Mans spirit is a wonderfull worker of miracles. But this relatiō hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Heteroclite: which is found both in names, and in a thousand other things. For there were found Nations, which (as far as we know) had never heard of us, where circumcision was held in request; where great states & common wealths were maintained onely by women, & no men: Where our fasts & Lent was represented, adding therunto the abstinence from women; where our crosses were severall waies in great esteeme; In some places they adorned & honored their sepulchres with them, & elsewher, especially that of Saint *Andrew*, they employed to shield themselves from nightly visions, and to lay them upon childrens couches, as good against enchantments & witch-crafts: In another place, they found one made of wood, of an exceeding height, worshipped for the God of raine: which was thrust very deepe into the ground: There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentiaries: the use of *Miters*, the Priestes single life; the Art of Divination by the entrails of sacrificed beasts; the abstinence from all sorts of flesh & fish, for their food; the order amongst Priests in saying of their divine service, to use, a not vulgar, but a particular tongue; and this erroneous and fond conceipt, that the first God was expelled his throne by a younger brother of his: That they were at first created with all commodities, which afterward by reason of their sinnes were abridged them: That their territory hath beene changed; that their naturall conditiō hath beene much impaired: That they have heretofore beene drowned by the inundation of Waters come from heaven; that none were saved but a few families, which cast themselves into the cracks or hollow of high Mountaines, which crackes they stoped very close, so that the Waters could not enter in, having before shut therein many kinds of beasts: That when they perceived the Raine to cease, & Waters to fall, they first sent out certaine doggs which returned cleane-washt, & wet, they judged that the waters were not yet much falne; and that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy and foule, they issued forth of the mountaines, to repeople the world againe, which they found replenished onely with Serpents. There were places found, where they used the perswasō of the day of judgement, so that they grew wondrous wroth & offended with the Spaniards, who in digging & searching of riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their deceased friends; saying, that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjoynd together againe. They also found where they used traffick by exchange, and no otherwise; & had Faires and Markets for that purpose: They found dwarfes, and such other deformed creatures, used for the ornament of Princes tables: They found the use of hawking and fowling according to the Nature of their birdes; tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances upon subjects; delicate & pleasant gardens; dancing, tumbling; leaping and juggling, musike of instruments, armories, dicing-houses, tennis-courts, and casting lottes, or mumme-chaunce, wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves & their liberty: using no other physicke but by charmes: the manner of writing by figures: beleeving in one first man, universall father of all people: The adoration of one God, who heretofore lived man, in perfect Virginitie, fasting, and pennance, preaching the law of Nature, and the ceremonies of religion; & who vanished out of the world, without any naturall death: The opinion of Giants; the use of drunkennesse, with their manner of drinckes and drinking & pledging of healths; religious ornaments, painted over with bones and dead mens sculs; surplices, holy-Water, and holy-Water sprinckles, Women and servants, which strivingly present themselves, to be burned or entered with their deceased husbands or masters: a law  
that



that the eldest or first borne child shall succeed and inherit all; where nothing is reserved for Punies, but obedience: a custome to the promotion of certaine officers of great authority, and where he that is promoted takes upon him a new name, and quitch his owne: Where they vse to cast lime upon the knees of new borne children, saying unto him; from dust thou earnest and to dust thou shalt returne againe: the Arts of Augures or prediction. These vaine shadowes of our religion, which are seene in some of these examples, witnesse the dignity and divinity thereof. It hath not onely in some sort insinuated it selfe among all the infidell Nations, on this side by some imitations, but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as it were by a common and supernaturall inspiration: For amongst them was also found the belief of Purgatory, but after a new forme: For, what we ascribe unto fire, they impute unto cold, & imagine that soules are both purged & punished by the vigor of an extreame coldnesse. This example putteth me in mind of another pleasant diversity: For, as there were some people found, who tooke pleasure to unhood the end of their yard, and to cut off the fore-skinne, after the manner of the Mahometans and Iewes, some there were found, that made so great a conscience to unhood it, that with little strings, they caried their fore-skin very carefully out-streched and fastened above, for feare that end should see the aire. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings, and celebrate our Holy-daies with decking and trimming our selves with the best habilliments we have; in some regions there, to shew all disparity & submission to their King, their subjects present themselves unto him in their basest & meanest apparrell; and entring into his pallace, they take some old torne garment & put it over their other attire, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Sovereigne and Maister.

Cic. de Fato.

But let us goe on: if Nature enclose within the limits of her ordinary progresse, as all other things, so the beliefs, the judgments & the opinions of men; if they have their revolutions, their seasons, their birth, and their death, even as Cabiches: If heaven doth move, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent authority doe we ascribe unto them? If by uncontroled experience we palpably touch, that the forme of our being depends of the aire, of the climate, and of the soile, wherein we are borne, & not onely the hew, the stature, the complexion and the countenance, but also the soules faculties: *Es plaga coeli non solum ad robor corporum, sed etiam animorum facit. The climate helpeth not onely for strength of body, but of minds*, saith *Vegetius*: And that the Goddesse foundresse of the Citie of *Athens*, chose a temperature of a country to situate it in, that might make the men wise, as the *Egyptian* Priests taught *Solon*: *Athenis tenuis coelum: ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis: itaque pingues Thebani, & valentes*: About *Athens* is a thin aire, whereby those Country-men are esteemed the sharper witted: About *Thebes* the aire is grosse, and therefore the *Thebans* were grosse and strong of constitution. In such manner that as fruits and beasts doe spring up diverse and different; So men are borne, either more or lesse warlike, martiall, just, temperate and docile: here subject to wine, there to theft, and whoredome; here inclined to superstition, addicted to mis-believing, here given to liberty, there to servitude; capable of some one art or science; grosse-witted or ingenious: either obedient or rebellious; good or bad, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are seated; and being removed from one soile to another (as plants are) they take a new complexion: which was the cause, that *Cirus* would never permit the *Persians* to leave their barren, rough and craggie Country, for to transport themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine, saying, that fat and delicious countries, make men wanton and effeminate; and fertile soiles yeeld infertile spirits. If sometime wee see one art to flourish, or a belief, and sometimes another, by some heavenly influence; some ages to produce this or that nature, & so to encline mankind to this or that bias: mens spirits one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seene to be; what become of all those goodly prerogatives, wherewith we still flatter our selves? Since a wise man may mistake himselfe; yea many men, and whole nations, and as wee say, mans nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken her selfe. What assurance have we that at any time she leaveth her mistaking, and that she continueth not even at this day, in her error? Me thinkes amongst other testimonies of our imbecilities, this one ought not to be forgotten, that by wishing it selfe, man cannot yet finde out what he wanteth; that not by enjoying or possession, but by imagination and full wishing, we cannot all agree in one,



one, that we most stand in need of, and would best content us. Let our imagination have free liberty to cut out and sew at her pleasure, she cannot so much as desire what is fittest to please and content her.

— *quid enim ratione timeamus*  
*Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te*  
*Conatus non poeniteat, votiq; percelli?*  
 By reason what doe we feare, or desire?  
 With such dexteritie what doest aspire,  
 But thou eftsometimes repentest it,  
 Though thy attempt and vow doe hit?

*Iuven. sat. 10. 4.*

That is the reason why *Socrates*, never requested the gods to give him any thing, but what they knew to be good for him. And the publike and private prayer of the *Lacedemonians*, did merely implice, that good and faire things might be granted them, remitting the election and choise of them to the discretion of the highest power.

*Coniugium petimus partumque uxoris, at illi*  
*Notum quis pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor.*  
 We wish a wife, wives breeding: we would know,  
 What children; shall our wife be sheep or shrow.

*Ibid. 352.*

And the Christian beseecheth God, that his will may be done, least he should fall into that inconvenience, which Poets faine of King *Midas*: who requested of the Gods, that whatsoever he toucht, might be converted into gold: his prayers were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the feathers of his bed, his shirt, and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the inioying of his desire, & being enrich't with an intolerable commoditie, he must now unpray his prayers:

*Attonitus novitate mali, divesque misergue,*  
*Effugere optat opes, & que modo roborat, odit.*  
 Wretched and rich, amaz'd at so strange ill,  
 His riches he would flie, hates his owne will.

*Ovid. Met.*  
*lib. 11. 1. 18.*

Let me speake of my selfe; being yet very yong. I besought fortune aboute all things, that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint *Michael*, which in those daies was very rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French Nobilitie aymed at: she very kindly granted my request; I had it; In lieu of raising and advancing me from my place for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath debased and deprested it, even unto my shoulders and under. *Cleobis* and *Biron*, *Trophonius* and *Agamedes*, the two first having besought the Goddesse, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthy their pietie, received death for a reward: So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have need of. God might grant us riches, honours, long life and health, but many times to our owne hurt: For, *whatsoever is pleasing to us, is not alwaies healthfull for us*; If in lieu of former health, he send us death, or some worse sicknesse: *Virga tua & baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt: Thy rod & thy staffe hath comforted me.* He doth inby the reasons of his providence, which more certainly considereth & regardeth what is meet for us, then we our selves can doe, and we ought to take it in good part, as from a most wise and thrice-friendly-hand.

*Psalm. 23. 4.*

— *si consilium vis,*  
*Permites ipsis expendere numinibus, quid*  
*Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit utile nostris:*  
*Charior est illis homo quam sibi* —  
 If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave  
 To weigh, what is most meet we should receive,  
 And what for our estate most profit were:  
 To them, then to himselfe man is more deare.

*Iuven. sat. 10.*  
 346

For, to crave honours and charges of them, is to request them to cast you in some battle, or play at hazard, or some such thing, whereof the event is unknowen to you, and the fruit uncertaine. There is no combate amongst Philosophers so violent and sharpe, as that which ariseth upon the question of mans chiefe felicitie: from which (according to *Varroes* calculation) arose two hundred and foure score Sects. *Qui autem de summo bono dissentit, de*



*tota Philosophia ratione disputat. But he that disagrees about the chiefest felicitie, calls in question the whole course of Philosophie.*

*Hor. lib. 2. epist.  
2.61.*

*Tres mihi convivæ propè dissentire videntur,  
Poscentes vario multùm diversa palato.  
Quid dem? quid non dem? rennis tu quod iubet alter:  
Quod petis, id sanè est invisum acidiùmque duobus:  
Three guests of mine doe seeme almost at odds to fall,  
Whilest they with divers taste for divers things doe call:  
What should I give? What not? You will not, what he will:  
What you would, to them twaine is hatefull, sowre and ill.*

Nature should thus answer their contestations, and debates. Some say, our felicitie consisteth, and is in Vertue: Others in voluptuousnesse: Others in yeelding unto Nature: Some others in learning: others in feeling no manner of paine or sorrow: Others for a man never to suffer himselfe to be caried away by apparances: and to this opinion seemeth this oyster of ancient *Pithagoras* to incline,

*Lib. 2. epist. 6.1.*

*Nil admirari, propè res est una, Numici,  
Solâque, qua possit facere & servare beatum.  
Sir, nothing to admire, is th'only thing,  
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring.*

which is the end and scope of the *Pyrhonian* Sect. *Aristotle* ascribeth unto magnanimitie, to admire and wonder at nothing. And *Archefilaus* said, that sufferance, and an upright & inflexible state of judgement, were true felicities; whereas consents and applications, were vices & evils. True it is, that where he establisheth it for a certaine Axiome, he started from *Pyrhoniisme*. When the *Pyrhonians* say, that *ataraxy* is the chiefe felicitie, which is the immobilitie of judgement, their meaning is not to speake it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their mind, which makes them to shun downefalls, and to throwd themselves vnder the shelter of calmenesse, presents this phantasie unto them, and makes them refuse another. Oh how much doe I desire, that whilest I live, either some other learned men, or *Iustus Lipsius*, the most sufficient and learned man now living; of a most polished and judicious wit, true *Colin-germane* to my *Turnebus*, had both will, health and leasure enough, sincerely and exactly, according to their divisions and formes, to collect into one volume or register, as much as by us might be seene, the opinions of ancient Philosophy, concerning the subject of our being & customes, their controversies, the credit, & partaking of factions and sides, the application of the Authors and Sectators lives, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplarie accidents. O what a worthy and profitable labor would it be! Besides, if it be from our selves, that we draw the regiment of our customes, into what a bottomles confusion doe we cast our selves? For, what our reason perswades us to be most likly for it, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his country, as is the advise of *Socrates*, inspired (saith he) by a divine perswasion, And what else meaneth she thereby, but only that our devoir or duety hath no other rule, but casuall? Truth ought to have a like and universall visage throughout the world. Law and justice, if man knew any, that had a body and true essence, he would not fasten it to the condition of this or that countries customes. It is not according to the *Persians* or *Indians* fantazie, that vertue should take her forme. Nothing is more subject unto a continuall agitation, thẽ the lawes. I have since I was borne, seene those of our neighbours the *English-men* changed & rechanged three or foure times, not only in politike subjects, which is that some will dispense of constancy, but in the most important subject, that possibly can be, that is to say, in religion; wherof I am so much the more both grieved and ashamed, because it is a nation, with which my countriemen have heretofore had so inward and familiar acquaintance, that even to this day, there remaine in my house some ancient monuments of our former aliance. Nay I have seene amongst our selves some things become lawfull, which erst were deemed capitall: and we that hold some others, are likewise in possibilitie, according to the uncertainty of warring fortune, one day or other, to be offenders against the Majestie both of God and man, if our justice chance to fall under the mercy of justice; and in the space of few yeares possession, taking a contrary essence. How could that ancient God more evidently accuse, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine essence, and teach men that their religiõ was but a peece of their owne invention,



invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaring (as he did) to those which sought the instruction of it, by his sacred Tripes, that the true worshipping of God, was that, which he found to be observed by the custome of the place, where he lived? Oh God, what bond, or duetie is it, that we owe not to our Sovereigne Creators benignitie, in that he hath bene pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefe from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, and fixt it upon the eternall Base of his holy word? What will Philosophie the say to us in this necessity? that we follow the lawes of our country, that is to say, this waving sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them, I cannot have my judgement so flexible. What goodnesse is that, which but yesterday I saw in credit and esteeme, and to morrow, to have lost all reputation, and that the crossing of a River, is made a crime? What truth is that, which these Mountaines bound, and is a lie in the World beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to allow the Laws some certaintie, they say, that there be some firme, perpetuall and immovable, which they call naturall, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in man-kind: of which some make three in number, some foure, some more, some lesse: an evident token, that it is a marke as doubtfull as the rest. Now are they so unfortunate (for, how can I terme that but misfortune, that of so infinite a number of lawes, there is not so much as one to be found, which the fortune or remeritie of chance hath graunted to be universally received, and by the consent of unanimtie of all Nations to be admitted?) they are (I say) so miserable, that of these three or foure choise-selected lawes, there is not one alone, that is not impugned or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generalitie of approbation, the onely likely ensigne, by which they may argue some lawes to naturall: For, what nature had indeed ordained us, that should we doubtlesse follow with one common consent, and not one onely nation, but every man in particular, should have a feeling of the force and violence, which he should urge him with, that would incite him to contrarie and resist that law. Let them all (for examples sake) shew me but one of this condition. *Protagoras* and *Ariston* gave the justice of the lawes no other essence, but the authoritie and opinion of the law-giver, and that excepted, both Good and Honest lost their qualities, and remained but vaine and idle names, of indifferent things. *Thrasymachus* in *Plato*, thinkes there is no other right, but the commoditie of the superiour. There is nothing wherein the world differeth so much, as in customes and lawes. Some things are here accompted abominable, which in another place are esteemed commendable: as in *Lacedemonia*, the slight and subtlety in stealing Mariages in proximity of blood are amongst us forbidden as capitall, elsewhere they are allowed and esteemed;

gentes esse feruntur,

*In quibus & nato genitrix, & nata parenti*

*Injungitur, & pietas geminato crescit amore.*

There are some people, where the mother weddeth

Her sonne, the daughter her owne father beddeth,

And so by doubling love, their kindnesse spreadeth.

The murdering of children and of parents; the communicatiō with womē; traffick of robbing & stealing; free licence to all manner of sensuality: to conclude, there is nothing so extream and horrible, but is found to be received and allowed by the custome of some nation. It is credible that there be naturall lawes; as may be seene in other creatures, but in us they are lost: this goodly humane reason engrafting it selfe among all men, to sway & command, confounding and topsy-turving the visage of all things, according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconstancy. *Nihil itaque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dico, artis est.* Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I call ours, belongs to Art. Subjects have divers lustres, and severall considerations, whence the diversity of opinions is chiefly engendred. One nation vieweth a subject with one visage, and thereon it staies; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horrible, as for one to eate and devoure his owne father. Those people, which anciently kept this custome, hold it neverthelesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affection: seeking by that meane, to give their fathers the worthiest and most honorable sepulchre, harboring their fathers bodies & reliques in themselves and in their marrow; in some sort reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their



quicke flesh, by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abomination and cruelty it had beene, in men accustomed and trained in this inhumane superstition, to cast the carcases of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as food for beasts and wormes. *Licurgus* wisely considereth in theft, the vivacitie, diligence, courage, and nimble, nesse, that is required in surprising or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the commoditie which thereby redoundeth to the common wealth, that every man heedeeth more curiously the keeping of that which is his owne: and judged, that by this twofold institution on to assaile and to defend, much good was drawne for military discipline (which was the principall Science and chiefe vertue, wherein he would enable that nation) of greater respect and more consideration, then was the disorder and injustice of prevailing and taking other mens goods. *Dionysius* the tyrant offered *Plato* a robe made after the Persian fashion, long, damasked and perfumed: But he refused the same, saying, *that being borne a man, he would not willingly put on a womans garment*: But *Aristippus* tooke it, with this answer, *that no garment could corrupt a chaste minde*. His Friends reproved his demissenesse, in being so little offended, that *Dionysius* had spitten in his face. Tut (said he) *Fishers suffer themselves to be washed over head and eares, to get a gudgeon*. *Diogenes* washing of coleworts for his dinner, seeing him passe by, said unto him, *If thou couldest live with coleworts, thou wouldest not curre and faune upon a tyrant*; to whom *Aristippus* replied; *If thou couldest live among men, thou wouldest not wash coleworts*. See here how reason yeeldeth apparance to divers effects. It is a pitcher with two eares, which a man may take hold on, either by the right or left hand.

*Virg. Æn. lib. 3.*  
559.

— bellum ô terra hospita portas,  
Bello armantur equi, bellum hac armenta minantur:  
Sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti  
Quadrupedes, & fræna iugo concordia ferre,  
Spes est pacis —  
O stranger-harb'ring land, thou bringst us warre;  
Stoeds serve for warre;  
These heards doe threaten jarre.  
Yet horses erst were wont to draw our waines,  
And harness matches beare agreeing raines,  
Hope is hereby that wee,  
In peace shall well agree.

*Solon* being importuned not to shed vaine and bootles teares for the death of his sonne; *That's the reason* (answered hee) *I may more justly shed them, because they are bootlesse and vaine*. *Socrates* his wife, exasperated her griefe by this circumstance; *Good Lord* (said she) *how unjustly doe these bad judges put him to death! What? Wouldest thou rather they should execute me justly?* replide he to her. It is a fashion amongst us to have holes bored in our eares: the Greekes held it for a badge of bondage. We hide our selves when we will enioy our wives: The Indians doe it in open view of all men. The Scythians were wont to sacrifice strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

*Juv. sat. 15. 36.*

*Inde furor vulgi, quod numina a vicinorum  
Odis quisque locus, cum solos credat habendos  
Esse Deos quos ipse colit —*  
The vulgar hereupou doth rage, because  
Each place doth hate their neighbours soveraigne lawes,  
And onely Gods doth deeme,  
Those Gods, themselves esteeme.

I have heard it reported of a Iudge, who when he met with any sharp conflict betweene *Bartolus* & *Baldus*, or with any case admitting contrarietie, was wont to write in the margin of his book, *A question for a friend*, which is to say, that the truth was so entrangled, and disputable, that in such a case he might favour which party he should think good. There was no want but of spirit & sufficiency, if he set not every where through his books, *A Question for a friend*. The Advocates and Iudges of our time find in all cases byases too-too-many, to fit them where they think good. To so infinite a science, depending on the authority of so many opinions, and of so arbitrary a subject, it cannot be, but that an exceeding confusiõ of judgements must arise. There are very few processees so cleare, but the Lawiers advises up-



on them will be found to differ: What one company hath judged, another will adjudge the contrary, and the very same will another time change opinion. Whereof we see ordinarie examples by this licence, which wonderfully blennisheth the authoritie and lustre of our law, never to stay upon one sentence, but to run from one to another Iudge, to decide one same case. Touching the libertie of Philosophicall opinions, concerning vice and vertue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherein are found many advices, which were better unspoken, then published to weake capacities. *Arcefilaus* was wont to say, that in pailliardize, it was not worthy consideration, where, on what side, and how it was done. *Et obscenas voluptates, si natura requirit, non genere, aut loco, aut ordine, sed forma, etate, figurametiendas Epicurus putat. Ne amores quidem sanctos à sapiente alienos esse arbitrantur. Quaramus ad quam usq, etatem iuvenes amandi sint. Obscene pleasures, if nature require them, the Epicure esteemeth not to be measured by kind, place, or order; but by forme, age, and fashion. Nor doth he thinke that holy loves should be strange from a wiseman. Let us then question to what yeares yong folke may be beloved.* Theie two last Stoicke places, and upon this purpose, the reproch of *Diogarchus* to *Plato* himselfe, shew how many excessive licenses, & out of common vse, foundelt Philosophy doth tolerate. *Laves take their authoritis from possession and custome*, It is dangerous to reduce them to their beginning: In rowling on, they swell, and grow greater and greater, as doe our rivers: follow them upward, unto their source, & you shall find them but a bubble of water, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud, and gathers so much strength. Behold the ancient considerations, which have given the first motion to this famous torrent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall find them so light and weake, that these men which will weigh all, and complaine of reason, and who receive nothing upon trust and authoritie, it is no wonder if their judgments are often far distant from common judgement. Men that take Natures first image for a patterne, it is no marvaile, if in most of their opinions, they misse the common-beaten path. As for example; few amongst them would have approved the forced conditions of our mariages and most of them would have had women in community, and without any private respect. They refused our ceremonies: *Chrysippus* said, that some Philosophers would in open view of all men shew a dozen of tumbling-tricks, yea, without any slops or breeches, for a dozen of olives. He would hardly have perswaded *Calsithenes* to refuse his faire daughter *Agarista* to *Hippocides*, because he had scene him graft the forked tree in her upon a table. *Metrocles* somewhat indiscreetly, as he was disputing in his Schole, in presence of his Auditorie let a fart, for shame whereof he afterwards kept his house, and could not be drawn abroad, untill such time as *Crates* went to visit him, who to his perswasions and reasons, adding the example of his liberty, began to fart a vie with him, and to remove this scruple from off his conscience; and moreover won him to his Stoicall (the more free) Sect, from the Peripateticall (& more civill) one, which thetherunto he had followed. That which we call civility, not to dare to doe that openly, which amongst us is both lawfull and honest, being done in secret, they termed folly: And to play the wilie Foxe, in concealing and disclaiming what nature, custome, and our desire publish and proclame of our actions, they deemed to be a vice. And thought it a suppressing of *Venus* her mysteries, to remove them from out the private vestry of her temple, & expose thê to the opê view of the people, And that to draw her sports from out the curtines, was to loose them *Shame is matter of some consequence. Concealing reservation, & circumspection, are parts of estimation.* That sensuality under the maske of Vertu did very ingeniously procure not to be prostituted in the midst of highwaies, not trodden upon, & seen by the common sort; alledging the dignity & commodity of her wonted Cabinets. Wherupon some say, that to forbid & remove the commo brothel-houses, is not only to spread whoredome every where, which only was allotted to those places, but also to incite idle and vagabond men to that vice, by reason of the difficultie,

*Machus es Ausidie qui vir Corvine fuisti,*

*Rivalis fuerat qui tuus, ille vir est.*

*Cur aliena placet tibi, qua tua non placet uxor?*

*Namquid securus non potes arrigere?*

This experience is diversified by a thousand examples.

*Nullus in urbe fuit tota, qui tangere vellet*

*Uxorem gratis Ceciliæ tuam,*

*Mart. li. 3. epig.*  
70.

*Lib. 1. epig. 74.*



*Dum licuit: sed nunc positis custodibus, ingens  
Turba futurorum est. ingeniosus homo es.*

A Philosopher being taken with the deed, was demaunded, what he did: answered very mildly, *I plant man*, blushing no more being found so napping, then if he had bin taken setting of Garlike. It is (as I suppose) of a tender and respective opinion, that a notable and religious Author, holds this action so necessarily-bound to secrecy and shame, that in Cynike embracements and dalliances, he could not be perswaded that the worke should come to her end; but rather, that it lingred and staid, only to represent wanton gestures, & lascivious motions, to maintaine the impudency of their schooles-profession: and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfullnesse restrained, they had also afterward need to seeke some secret place. He had not seene far-enough into their licenciousnesse: For, *Diogenes* in sight of all, exercising his Masturbation, bred a longing desire, in the by-standers, that in such sort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the same. To those that asked him, why he sought for no fitter place to feed in, then in the open frequented high-way, he made answer, *It is because I am hungry in the open frequented high-way*. The Philosophers Women, which medled with their Sects, did likewise in all places, & without any discretio meddle with their bodies: And *Crates* had never received *Hipparchia* into his fellowship, but upon condition, to follow all the customes and fashions of his order. These Philosophers set an extreme rate on vertue; & rejected all other disciplins, except the mortall; hence is it, that in all actions, they ascribed the Sovereigne authority to the election of their wife, yea, & above all lawes: & appointed no other restraint unto voluptuousnes, but the moderation, & preservatio of others liberty. *Heraclitus* & *Protagoras*, forsomuch as wine seemeth bitter unto the sick, and pleasing to the healthy; and an Oare crooked in the water, & straight to them that see it above water, and such-like contrary apparances, which are found in some subjects; argued that all subjects had the causes of these apparances in the; & that there was some kind of bitterness in the wine, which had a reference unto the sickmans tast; in the Oare a certain crooked quality, having relatio to him that seeth it in the water. And so of all things else. Which implieth, that all is in all things, & by consequence nothing in any: for either nothing is, or all is. This opiniō put me in mind of the experience we have, that there is not any one sense or visage, either straight or crooked, bitter or sweet, but mans wit shall find in the writings, which he undertaketh to runne-over. In the purest, most unspotted, and most absolutely-perfect word, that possibly can be, how many errors, falshoods, and lies have beene made to proceede from it? What heresie hath not found testimonies and ground sufficient, both to undertake and to maintaine it selfe? It is therefore, that the Authors of such errors will never goe from this proove of the Testimony of words interpretation. A man of worth, going about by authority to approve the search of the Philosophers stone, (wherein he was overwhelmed) alleadged at least five or six severall passages out of the holy bible unto me, upon which (he said) he had at first grounded himselfe, for the discharge of his conscience (for he is a man of the Ecclesiasticall profession) & truly the invention of them, was not only pleasant, but also very fitly applied to the defence of this goodly & mind-inchanting science. This way is the credit of divining fables attained to. There is no prognosticator, if he have but this authority, that any one wil but vouchsafe to read him over, & curiously to search at the infoldings & lustres of his words, but a man shall make him say what he pleaseth, as the Sibils. There are so many meanes of interpretation, that it is hard, be it flat-long, side-long, or edgelong, but an ingenious & pregnant wit, shall in all subjects meet with some aire that wil fit his turn. Therefore is a cloudy, darke, & ambiguous stile found in so frequent & ancient custome. That the Author may gaine, to draw, allure, & busie posterity to himselfe, which not only the sufficiency, but the casuall favour of the matter, may gaine as much or more. As for other matters, let him, be it either through foolishnes or subtilty, shew himself somewhat obscure & divers, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of spirits sitting, & tossing him-over, will find & expresse sundry formes, either according, or collaterally, or contrary to his owne, all which shall do him credit. He shall see himselfe enriched by the meanes of his Disciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maisters. It is that, which hath made many things of nothing, to passe very currant, that hath brought divers books in credit, and charged with all sorts of matter, that any hath but desired: one selfesame thing, admitting a thousand and a thousand, & as many severall images, and divers considerations, as it best pleaseth us. Is it possible,



that ever *Homer* meant all that, which some make him to have meant: And that he prostrated himselfe to so many, and to severall shapes, as, Divines, Lawiers, Captaines, Philosophers & all sort of people else, which, how diversly & contrary soever it be they treat of sciences, do not withstanding wholly rely upon him, & refer themselves unto him; as a Generall Maister for all offices, workes, sciences, & tradimen & an vniverfall counsellor in all enterprises? whosoever hath had need of Oracles or Predictions, & would apply them to himselfe, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, and a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to heare what strange far-fetched conceits, and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him; And can hardly be drawne from this opinion, but that such was *Homers* intent and meaning (yet is *Homer* so familiar unto him, as I thinke no man of our age is better acquainted with him.) And what he finds in favour of our religion, many ancient learned men, haue found in favour of theirs. See how *Plato* is tolled and turned over, every man endeavoring to apply him to his purpose. giveth him what construction he list. He is wrested and inserted to all new-fangled opinions, that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different course of subjects is made to be repugnant unto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to disavow the customes that were lawfull in his daies, in as much as they are unlawfull in these times. All which is very lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quick. Vpon the ground which *Heraclitus* had, and that sentence of his; that *all things had those shapes in the, which men found in them*. And *Democritus* out of the very same drew a clean contrarie conclusion, *id est*, that *subjects had nothing at all in them of that which we found in the*; And forasmuch as honny was sweet to one man, and bitter to another, he argued that honny was neither sweet nor bitter. The *Pyrrhonians* would say, they know not whether it be sweet or bitter, or both, or neither: for, they ever gain the highest point of doubting. The *Cyrenacks* held, that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and only that was perceivable, which by the inward touch or feeling, touched or concerned us, as griefe and sensuality, distinguishing neither tune, nor colours, but onely certaine affections, that came to us of them; and that man had no other seare of his judgement. *Protagoras* deemed, that to be true to all men, which to all men seemeth so. The *Epicurians* place all judgement in the senses, and in the notice of things, and in voluptuousnesse. *Platoes* mind was, that the judgement of truth, and truth it selfe drawne from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit; and to cogitation. This discourse hath drawne me to the consideration of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and triall of our ignorance. Whatsoever is knowne, is without peradventure knowne by the faculty of the knower: For, since the judgement cometh from the operation of him that judgeth, reason requireth, that he performe and act this operation by his meanes and will, and not by others compulsion: as it would follow if wee knew things by the force, and according to the law of their essence. Now all knowledge is addressed unto us by the senses, they are our maisters:

— — — *via qua munita fides*

*Lucr. l. 5. 102;*

*Proxima fert humanum in pectus, templaque mentis:*

Whereby a way for credit lead's well-linde

Into mans breast and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them and in them is resolved. After all, we should know no more then a stone, unlesse we know, that here is, sound, smell, light, savor, measure, weight, softnesse, hardnesse, sharpnesse, colour, smoothnesse, breadth and depth. Behold here the platforme of all the frame, and principles of the building of all our knowledge. And according to some, science is nothing else, but what is knowne by the senses. Whosoever can force me to contradict my senses, hath me fast by the throte, and cannot make me recoyle one foote backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

*Invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam*

*Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.*

*lib. 4. 480.*

*Quid maiore fide porro quam sensus haberi*

*Debet? —*

484.

You shall finde knowledge of the truth at first was bred

From our first senses, nor can senses be misse-led:

What, then our senses, should

With



With us more credit hold ?

Attribute as little as may be unto them, yet must this ever be graunted them, that all our instruction is addressed by their meanes and intermission. *Cicero* saith, that *Chrysippus* having assaid to abate the power of his senses, & of their vertue, presented contrary arguments unto himselfe, and so vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Whereupon *Carneades* (who defended the contrary part) boasted, that he used the very same weapons and words of *Chrysippus* to combate against him; and therefore cried out upon him, *O miserable man! thine owne strength hath foiled thee.* There is no greater absurditie in our judgment, then to maintaine, that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in iron there is neither weight nor firmenesse, which are notices our senses bring unto us: Nor believe or science in man, that may be compared unto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have upon the senses subject, is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all naturall senses, or no. I see divers creatures, that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing; who knoweth whether we also want either one, two, three, or many senses more: For, if we want any one, our discourse cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the senses priviledge, to be the extreame bounds of our perceiving. There is nothing beyond them, that may stead us to discover them: No one sense can discover another.

488.

*An poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an aures  
Tactus, an hunc porro tactum sapor arguet oris,  
An confutabunt nares, oculive revincem ?  
Can eares the eyes, or can touch reprehend  
The eares, or shall mouches-taste that touch amend ?  
Shall our nose it confute,  
Or eyes gainst it dispute?*

They all make the extreamest line of our facultie.

491.

*seorsum cuique potestas  
Divisa est, sua vis cuique est—  
To teach distinctly might  
Is shar'de; each hath its right.*

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he seeth not; impossible to make him desire to see, and sorrow his defect. Therefore ought we not to take assurance, that our mind is contented and satisfied with those we have, seeing it hath not wherewith to feel her owne malady, and perceive her imperfection, if it be in any. It is impossible to tell that blind man any thing, either by discourse, argument, or similitude, that lodgeth any apprehension of light, colour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward, that may push the senses to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to see, it is not to understand what they require; they have learn't of us, that something they want, & something they desire, that is in us, with the effects & consequences thereof, which they call good: Yet wot not they what it is, nor apprehend they it neere or far. I have seene a Gentleman of a good house, borne blind, at least blind in such an age, that he knowes not what sight is; he understandeth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he useth words fitting sight, and applieth them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him to whom he was god-father, taking him in his armes, he said, good Lord what a fine child this is! it is a goodly thing to see him: What a cherefull countenance he hath, how prettily he looketh. He will say as one of us. This hall hath a faire prospect: It is very faire weather: The Sunne shines cleare. Nay, which is more: because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and shuting at buts are our common sports and exercises (for so he hath heard) his mind will be so affected unto them, and he wil so busie himselfe about them, that he will thinke to have as great an interest in them, as any of us, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in liking and disliking them as any else; yet doth he conceive and receive them but by hearing. If he be in a faire champion ground, where he may ride, they will tell him, yonder is a Hare started, or the Hare is killed, he is as busily earnest of his game, as he heareth others to be, that have perfect sight. Give him a ball, he takes it in the left hand, and with the right strikes it away with his racket; In a piece he shutes at randome; and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who knowes



knowes whether mankind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this default, the greater part of the visage of things be concealed from us? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundry of Natures workes, proceede thence? And whether divers effects of beasts, which exceed our capacitie, are produced by the facultie of some sense, that we want? And whether some of them, have by that meane a fuller and more perfect life then ours? We seize on an apple wel nigh with all our senses; We find rednesse, smoothnesse, odor and sweetnesse in it; besides which, it may have other vertues, either drying or binding, to which we have no sense to be referred. The proprieties which in many things we call secret, as in the Adamant to draw iron, is it not likely there should be sensitive faculties in nature able to judge and perceive them, the want whereof breedeth in us the ignorance of the true essence of such things? It is happily some particular sense that unto Cocks or Chanticleares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and moveth them to crow: That teacheth a Hen, before any use or experience, to feare a Hawke, and not a Goose or a Peacocke, farre greater birds: That warneth yong chickens of the hostile qualitie which the Cat hath against them, and not to distrust a Dog, to strut and arme themselves against the mewling of the one (in some sort a flattering and milde voice) and not against the barking of the other (a snarling & quarrelous voice:) that instructeth Rats, Wasps, and Emmets, ever to chuse the best cheele and fruit, having never tasted them before: And that addresseth the Stag, the Elephant, and the Serpent, to the knowledge of certaine herbs and simples, which, being either wounded or sicke, have the vertue to cure them. There is no sense but hath some great domination, & which by his meane affordeth not an infinite number of knowledges. If we were to report the intelligence of soundes, of harmony and of the voice, it would bring an imaginable confusion to all the rest of our learning and science. For, besides what is tyed to the proper effect of every sense, how many arguments, consequences and conclusions draw we unto other things, by comparing one sense to another? Let a skilfull wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without sight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring unto him, and what obscurity and blindnesse in our mind: By that shall wee perceive, how much the privation of one, or two, or three such senses, (if there be any in us) doth import us about the knowledge of truth. We have by the consultation and concurrence of our five senses formed one Verity, whereas peradventure there was required the accord and consent of eight or ten senses, & their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of her, and see her in her true essence. Those Sects which combat mans science, doe principally combare the same by the uncertainty and feeblenesse of our senses: For, since by their meane and intermission all knowledge comes unto us, if they chauce to misse in the report they make unto us, if either they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring unto us, if the light which by them is transported into our soule be obscured in the passage, we have nothing else to hold by. From this extreame difficultie are sprung all these phantazies, which everie subject containeth, whatsoever we find in it: That it hath not what we suppose to find in it: And that of the Epicurians, which is, that the Sinne is no greater than our sight doth judge it.

*Quicquid id est, nibilo fertur maiore figura,*

*Lucr. li. 5. 376.*

*Quam nostris oculis quam cernimus esse videtur.*

What'ere it be, it in no greater forme doth passe,

Then to our eyes, which it behold, it seeming was.

that the apparances, which represent a great body, to him that is neare unto it, and a much lesser to him that is further from it, are both true

*Nec tamen hic oculis falli concedimus bilum*

*Lib. 4. 380*

*Proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere nolumus*

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Yet graunt we not, in this, our eyes deceiv'd or blind,

Impute not then to eyes this error of the mind.

and resolutely, that there is no deceit in the senses: That a man must stand to their mercy, and elsewhere seek reasons to excuse the difference and contradiction we find in them; yea invent all other untruthes, and raving conceits (so farre come they) rather then excuse the causes. Timagoras swore, that howsoever he winked or turned his eyes, he could never perceive the light of the candle to double: And that this seeming proceeded from the vice of opinion,



pinion, and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities, the most absurd amongst the Epicurians, is, to disavow the force and effect of the senses.

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*Proinde quod in quoque est his visum tempore, verum est:  
Et si non potuit ratio dissolvere causam,  
Cur ea que fuerint inxtim quadrata, procul sint  
Visarotunda: tamen prestat rationis egentem  
Reddere mendose causas viriusque figura,  
Quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam,  
Et violare fidem primam, & convellere tota  
Fundamenta, quibus nixatur vita salusque.  
Non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa  
Concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis,  
Præcipitesque locos vitare, & cætera qua sint  
In genere hoc fugienda.*

What by the eyes is seene at any time, is true,  
Though the cause Reason could not render of the view,  
Why, what was square at hand, a farre off seemed round,  
Yet it much better were, that wanting reasons ground  
The causes of both formes we harp: on, but not hit,  
Then let slip from our hands things cleare, and them omit,  
And violate our first believe, and rashly rend  
All those ground-workes, whereon both life and health depend,  
For not alone all reason falls, life likewise must  
Faile out of hand, unlesse your senses you dare trust,  
And breake-neck places, and all other errors shunne,  
From which we in this kinde most carefully should runne.

This desperate and so little Philosophicall counsell, represents no other thing, but that humane science cannot be maintained but by unreasonable, fond and mad reason; yet is it better, that man use it to prevaile, yea and of all other remedies else how phantasticall soever they be, rather then avow his necessarie foolishnesse: So prejudiciall and disadvantageous a veritie he cannot avoide, but senses must necessarily be the Sovereigne maisters of his knowledge: But they are uncertaine and falsifiable to all circumstances: There must a man strike to the utmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to use and employ obstinacie, temeritie and impudencie. If that which the Epicurians affirme be true, that is to say, we have no science, if the apparances of the senses be false: and that which the Stoicks say, if it is also true that the senses apparances are so false as they can produce us no science: We will conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatist Sects, that there is no science. Touching the error and uncertaintie of the senses operation, a man may store himselfe with as many examples as he pleaseth, so ordinary are the faults & deceits they use towards us. And the echoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a Trumpet seemeth to sound before us, which commeth a mile behind us.

Lucr. l. 4. 398.

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*Extantesque procul medio de gurgite montes  
Idem apparent longe diversi lices.*

*Et fugere ad puppim colles campi que videntur*

*Quos agimus propter navim.*

*— ubi in medio vobis equus acer obhasit*

*Flumine, equi corpus transversum ferre videtur*

*Vis, et in adversum flumen contrudere raptim.*

And hills, which from the maine far-off to kenning stand,

Apppeare all one, though they farre distant be, at hand.

And hilles and fields doe seeme unto our boate to flie,

Which we drive by our boate as we doe passe thereby.

When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth stay,

The streame's orethwarting seemes his body crosse to sway,

And swiftly 'gainst the streame to thrust him th'other way.

To roule a bullet under the fore finger, the middlemost being put over it, a man must very much



much enforce himselfe, to affirme there is but one, so assuredly doth our sense present vs two. That the senses do oftē maister our discourse, and force it to receive impressions, which he knoweth and judgeth to be false, it is daily seene. I leave the sense of feeling, which hath his functions neerer, more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the griefe or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him, who hath with all resolution established in his mind this Doctrine, that the cholike, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of Sovereigne good or chiefe felicity, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue: *there is no heart so demisse, but the rattling sound of a drum, or the clang of a Trumpet, will rowze and inflame; nor mind so harsh and sterne, but the sweetnesse and harmony of musicke, will move and tickle; nor any soule so skittish and stubborn, that hath not a feeling of some reverence, in considering the cloudy vastitie and gloomie canopies of our churches, the eye-pleasing diversitie of ornaments, and orderly order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our Organs, the moderate, symphonickall, and heavenly harmonie of our voices: Even those that enter into them with an obstinate will and condemning minde, have in their heart a feeling of remorse, of chillesse, and horreur, that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinions.* As for me, I distrust mine owne strength, to heare with a settled minde some of *Horace* or *Catullus* verses sung with a sufficiently well tuned voice, uttered by, and proceeding from a faire, yong and hart-alluring mouth. And *Zeno* had reason to say, that the voice was the flowre of beauty. Some have gone about to make me beleve, that a man, who most of us French men know, in repeating certaine verses he had made, had imposed upon me, that they were not such in writing, as in the aire, and that mines eyes would judge of them otherwise then mine eares: so much credit hath pronunciation to give price and fashion to those workes that passe her mercy: Whereupon *Philoxenus* was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent to some composition of his, he tooke in a rage some of his pots or bricks, and breaking them, trode and trampled them under his feet, saying unto him, *I breake and trample what is thine, even as thou manglest and marrest what is mine.* Wherefore did they (who with an undanted resolve haue procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow or stroke comming) turne their face away? And those who for their healths sake cause themselves to be cut and cauterized, cannot endure the sight of the preparations, tooles, instruments and workes of the Chirurgion, but because the sight should have no part of the paine or smart? Are not these fit examples to verifie the authoritie, which senses have over discourse? We may long-enough know that such a ones lockes or flaring-tresses are borrowed of a Page, or takē from some Lucky, that this faire ruby-red came from *Spaine*, & this whitenes or smoothes from the Ocean sea: yet must sight force us to find, and deeme the subject more lovely and more pleasing, against all reason. For, in that there is nothing of its owne,

*Auferimur cultu; gemmis, aurôque teguntur*

*Crimina, pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

*Sape ubi sit quod ames inter tam multa requiras:*

*Docipit hâc oculos Agide dives amor.*

We are misse-led by ornaments: what is amisse

Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the maiden is,

\*Mongst things so many you may aske, where your love lies,

Rich love by this Gorgonian shield deceives thine eyes.

How much doe Poets ascribe unto the vertue of the senses, which makes *Narcissus* to have even fondly lost himselfe for the love of his shadow?

*Cunctaque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse,*

*Se cupit imprudens, & qui probat, ipse probatur,*

*Dumq; petis, petisur: pariterq; accendis & ardes.*

He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable,

Fond he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable,

He, that doth like, is lik'd, and while he doth desire;

He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire.

and *Pigmaliôn* wif's so troubled by the impression of the sight of his ivory statue, that hee loveth and serves it, as if it had life:

*Ovid. rem. am.  
lib. 1. 343.*

*Ovid. Metam.  
lib. 3. 424.*

*Oscula*



Ovid. lib. li. 10.  
256.

*Oscula dat, reddique putat, sequiturque, tenetque,  
Et credit tactis digitos insidere membris;  
Et meruit pressos veniat no lior in artus.  
He kisses, and thinks kisses come againe,  
He sues, pursues, and holds, beleeves in vaine  
His fingers sinke where he doth touch the place,  
And feares least black and blew toucht-lims deface.*

Let a Philosopher be put in a Cage made of small and thin-set iron wire, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in *Paris*; he shall, by evident reason, perceive that it is impossible he should fall downe out of it; yet can he not chuse (except he have beene brought up in the trade of Tilers or Thatchers) but the sight of that exceeding height must needs dazle his sight, and amaze or turne his senses. For, we have much ado to warrant our selves in the walks or battlements of an high tower or steeple, if they be battlemented and wrought with pillers, and somewhat wide one from another, although of stone, and never so strong. Nay, some there are, that can scarcely thinke or heare of such heights. Let a beame or planke be laid acrosse from one of those two Steeples to the other, as big, as thick, as strong, and as broad, as would suffice any man to walke safely upon it, there is no Philosophicall wisdom of so great resolution and constancie, that is able to encourage and perswade us to march upon it, as we would, were it below on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it upō our mountaines on this side of *Italie*, yet am I one of those that will not easily be affrighted with such things, and I could not without horror to my minde & trembling of leggs & thighes endure to looke on those infinite precipices and steepy downe-falls, though I were not neere the brim, nor any danger within my length, and more; & unlesse I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possibly have false. Where I also noted, that how deep soever the bottome were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting crag of a Rock presented it selfe unto our eyes, upon those steepie and high Alpes, somewhat to uphold the sight; and divide the same, it doth somewhat ease and assure us from feare, as if it were a thing, which in our fall might either helpe or uphold us: And that we cannot without some dread and giddinesse in the head, so much as abide to looke upon one of those even and downe-right precipices: *Ut despici sine vertigine simul oculorum animiq; non possit.* So as they can not looke downe without giddinesse both of eyes and mindes: Which is an evident deception of the sight. Therefore was it, that a worthy Philosopher pulled out his eyes, that so he might discharge his soule of the seducing & diverting he received by them, & the better & more freely apply himselfe unto Philosophy. But by this accompt, he should also have stopped his cares, which (as *Theophrastus* said) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and sodaine impressions to trouble and alter us, and should, in the end, have deprived himselfe of all his other senses, that is to say, both of his being, and life. For, they have the power to command our discourses and sway our mind: *Fit etiam saepe specie quadam saepe vocum gravitate & cantibus, ut pellantur animi vehementius: saepe etiam cura & timore.* It comes to passe, that many times our minds are much moved with some shadow, many times with deep sounding, or singing of voices, many times with care and feare. Physicians hold, that there are certaine complexions, which by some sounds and instruments are agitated even unto furie. I have seene some, who without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawne under their table: and we see few men, but are much troubled at that sharp, harsh, and teeth-edging noise that Smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of iron and Steele together: others will be offended, if they but heare one chew his meat somewhat aloud; nay, some will be angrie with, or hate a man, that either speaks in the nose, or rattles in the throat. That piping prompter of *Gracchus*, who mollified, raised, & wound his masters voice, whilst he was making Orations at *Rome*; what good did he, if the motion and qualitie of the sound, had not the force to move, & efficacie to alter the auditories judgment? Verily, there is great cause to make so much ado, and keepe such a coyle about the constancie and firmnesse of this goodly piece, which suffers it selfe to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of so light a winde. The very same cheating and cozening, that senses bring to our understanding, themselves receive it in their turnes. Our mind doth like wife take revenge of it, they lie, they cog, and deceive one another a vie. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see nor heare it as it is.

Cy. divin. lib. 2.



*Et solem geminum. & duplices se ostendere Thebas.*

That two Sunnes doe appeare  
And double Thebes are there.

*Virg. Æn. l. 4.  
470.*

The object which we love, seemeth much more fairer unto us, then it is;

*Multimodis igitur praeuos turpesque videmus*

*Esse in delicijs, summoque in honore vigere.*

*Lucr. l. 4. 1147.*

We therefore see that those, who many waies are bad,  
And fowle, are yet belov'd, and in chiefe honour had.

and that much fowler, which we loath. To a pensive and heart-grieved man, a cleare day seemes gloomie and duskie. Our senses are not onely altered, but many times dulled, by the passions of the mind. How many things see we, which we perceive not, if our mind be either busied or distracted else where?

—— *in rebus quoque apertis noscere possis,*

*Si non advertas animum, proinde esse, quasi omni*

*Tempore semota fuerint, longaeque remota.*

*Ibid. 808.*

Ev'n in things manifest it may be scene,

If you marke not, they are, as they had beene

At all times sever'd farre, remooved cleane.

The soule seemeth to retire her selfe into the inmost parts, and amuseth the senses faculties: So that both the inward and outward parts of man are full of weaknes and falshood. Those which have compared our life unto a dreame, have happily had more reason so to doe, then they were aware. When we dreame, our soule liveth, worketh and exerciseth all her faculties, even, and as much, as when it waketh; and if more softly, and obscurely; yet verily not so, as that it may admit so great a difference, as there is betweene a darke night, and a cleare day: Yea as betweene a night and a shadow: There it sleepeth, here it slum-breth: More or lesse, they are ever darknesse, yea Cimmerian darknesse. We wake sleeping, & sleep waking. In my sleep I see not so cleare; yet can I never find my waking cleare enough, or without dimneste. Sleepe also in his deepest rest, doth sometimes bring dreames asleepe: But our waking is never so vigilant, as it may clearely purge and dissipate the ravings or idle phantasies, which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule, receiving the phantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, & authorising our dreames actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daies. Why make we not a doubt, whether our thinking, and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping? If the senses be our first Iudges, it is not ours that must only be called to counsell: For, in this facultie beasts have as much (or more) right, as we. It is most certaine, that some have their hearing more sharpe then man; others their sight; others their smelling; others their feeling, or taste, *Democritus* said, that Gods & beasts had the sensitive faculties much more perfect then man. Now betweene the effects of their senses & ours, the difference is extreame. Our spittle cleanseth and drieth our sores, and killeth Serpents.

*Tantaque in his rebus distantia differit a seque est,*

*Ut quod alijs cibum est, alijs fuit acri venenum.*

*Lucr. l. 4. 640.*

*Sapo etenim serpens, hominis contacta salva;*

*Disperit, ac sese mandendo conficit ipsa.*

There is such distance, and such difference in these things,

As what to one is meate, & another poison brings.

For ofe a Serpent touche with spittle of a man

Doth die, and gnaw it selfe with fretting all he can.

What qualitie shall we give unto spittle, either according to us, or according to the Serpent? by which two senses shall we verifie its true essence, which we seeke for? *Pliny* saith, that there are certaine Sea-hares in *India*, that to us are poison, and we bane to them; so that we die, if we but touch the; now whether is man or the Sea-hare poison? Whom shall we believe, either the fish or man, or the man of fish? Some quality of the ayre infecteth man, which nothing at all hurte the Oxe: Some other the Oxe, and not man: Which of the two is either in truth, or nature the pestilent quality? Such as are troubled with the yellow jaundise, deeme all things they looke upon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to us.



Ibid. 333.

*Lurida præterea sunt quæcunque tumentur**Arquati.*

And all that jaundis'd men behold,  
They yellow straight or palish hold:

Those which are sicke of the disease which Physicians call *Hypoſphagma*, which is a suffusion of blood under the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloodie and red. Those humors that so change the sights operation, what know we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in beasts? For, we see some, whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jaundise, others, that have them all blood-shotten with rednesse: It is likely that the objects-collour they looke upon, seemeth otherwise to them then to us: Which of the two judgements shall be true? For, it is not said, that the essence of things, hath reference to man alone. Hardnesse, whitenesse, depth and sharpnesse, touch the service and concerne the knowledge of beasts as well as ours: Nature hath given the use of them to them, as well as to us. When we winke a little with our eye, wee perceive the bodies we looke upon to seeme longer & out-stretched. Many beasts have their eye as winking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes give it, being in their ordinarie seate. If we close our eye above, things seeme double unto us.

Ibid. 452. 454.

*Bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis,**Et duplites hominum facies, & corpora bina.*

The lights of candelis double flaming then;  
And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.

If our eares chance to be hindred by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing bee stop't, we receive the sound otherwise, then we were ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have hairie eares, or that in lieu of an eare have but a little hole, doe not by consequence heare that we heare, and receive the sound other then it is. We see at solemne shewes or in Theaters, that opposing any collour'd glasse betweene our eyes and the torches light, whatsoever is in the roome seemes or greene, or yellow, or red unto us, according to the collour of the glasse.

Ibid. 73.

*Et vulgò faciunt id lutea ruffaque vela,**Et ferruginea, cum magnis intentia theatris**Per malos volgata trabesque erementia pendent:**Namque ibi concessum caveai subter, & omnem**Scenai speciem, patrum matrumque decorumque**Insiciunt cognuntque suo volitare colore,*

And yellow, russet, rustie curtaines worke this seate  
In common sights abroad, where over skaffolds great  
Stretched on masts, spread over beames, they hang still waving,  
All the seates circuit there, and all the stages braving,  
Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled shewe  
They double-die and in their collours make to flowe.

It is likely, that those beasts eyes, which we see to be of divers collours, produce the appearances of those bodies they looke upon, to be like their eyes. To judge the senses operation, it were then necessary we were first agreed with beasts, and then betweene our selves, which we are not, but ever-and-anon disputing about that one seeth, heareth or tasteth something to be other, then indeed it is; and contend as much as about any thing else, of the diversity of those images, our senses report unto us. A yong child heareth, seeth, and tasteth otherwise by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie yeares; and he otherwise then another of threescore. The senses are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quicke. We receive things differently, according as they are, and seeme unto us. Things being then so uncertaine, and full of controversie, it is no longer a wonder if it be told us, that we may avouch snow to seeme white unto us; but to affirm that its such in essence and in truth, we cannot warrant our selves: which foundation being so shaken, all the Science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: Shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste? There are Hearbs and Ointments, which to some



some parts of the body are good, and to other some hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but unpleasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like feathers or sprigs, which in impreses are called, feathers without ends, no eye can discern the bredth of the, and no man warrant himselfe from this deception, that on the one end or side it groweth not broder and broder, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones finger, when notwithstanding in handling, it seemeth equal in bredth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to use perspective or looking glasses, fit to make the object they represented, appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to use, might by that ocular increase please them the more: to whether of the two senses yeilded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great as they wisht them, or to the feeling, that presented them little and to be disdained? Is it our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that, the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eate: it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof:

*Ve cibis in membra atque artus cum diditur omnis*

*Disperit, atque aliam naturam sufficit ex se.*

*Ibid. l. 3. 728.*

As meate distributed into the members, dies.

Another nature yet it perishing supplies.

The moistnesse which the roote of a tree suckes, becomes a trunke, a leafe and fruite: And the aire being but one; applied unto a trumpeter, becommeth diverse in a thousand sorts of sounds. Is it our senses (say I) who likewise fashion of diverse qualities those subjects, or whether have they them so and such? And upon this doubt, what may wee conclude of their true essence? Moreover, since the accidents of sicknesse, of madnesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other unto us, then they seeme unto the healthie, unto the wise, and to the waking: Is it not likely, that our right seate and naturall humors, have also wherewith to give a being unto things, having reference unto their condition, and to appropriate them to it selfe, as doe inordinate humors; and our health as capable to give them his visage, as sicknesse? Why hath not the temperate man some forme of the objects relative unto himselfe, as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise imprint his Character in them? The distasted impute wallowishnes unto Wine: the healthie, good taste; & the thirsty brisknesse, rellish and delicacie. Now our condition appropriating things unto it selfe, and transforming them to its owne humour: wee know no more how things are in sooth and truth; For: *nothing comes unto us but falsified and altered by our senses.* Where the compasse, the quadrant or the ruler are crooked: all proportions drawne by them, and all the buildings erected by their measure, are also necessarily defective and imperfect. The uncertainty of our senses yeelds what ever they produce, also uncertaine.

*Denique ut in fabrica, si prava est regula prima,  
Normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,  
Et libella aliqua si ex parte claudicat bilum,  
Omnia mendose fieri, atque obliqua necessum est,  
Prava, cubantia, prona, supina, atque absorta recta;  
Iam ruere ut quaedam videantur velle, ruantque  
Prodit judicis fallacibus omnia primis.  
Hic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necesse est,  
Falsaque sit falsis quaecunque a sensibus orta est.*

*Ibid. l. 4. 514.*

As in building it the first rule be to blame,

And the deceitfull squire erre from right forme and frame,

If any instrument want any jot of weight,

All must needs faultie be, and stooping in their height,

The building naught, absurd, upward and downeward bended;

As if they meant to fall, and fall, as they intended;

And all this as betrayde

By judgements formost laid.

Of things the reason therefore needs must faultie bee

And false, which from false senses drawes its pedigree

As for the rest, who shall bee a competent ludge in these differences? As wee said in con-



troversies of religion, that we must have a judge enclined to neither party, and free from partialitie, or affection, which is hardly to be had among Christians; so hapneth it in this: For if he be old, he cannot judge of ages sense; himself being a party in this controversie: & so if he be yong, healthy, sicke, sleeping or waking, it is all one: We had need of some body void and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent unto him: By which account we should have a Iudge, that were no man. To judge of the apparences that we receive of subjects, we had need have a judicatorie instrument: to verifie this instrument; we should have demonstration; and to approve demonstration, an instrument: thus are we ever turning round. Since the senses cannot determine our disputation, themselves being so full of uncertainty, it must then be reason: And no reason can be established without another reason; then are we ever going backe unto infinity. Our phantasie doth not apply it selfe to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interpositiō of senses; & senses cannot comprehend a strange subject; Nay not so much as their owne passions; and so, nor the phantasie, nor the apparence is the subjects, but rather the passions only, and sufferance of the sense: which passion & subject are divers things: Therefore *who judgeth by apparences, judgeth by a thing different from the subject.* And to say, that the senses passions referre the qualitie of strange subjects by resemblance unto the soule: How can the soule and the understanding rest assured of that resemblance, having of it selfe no commerce with forraigne subjects? Even as he that knowes not *Socrates*, seeing his picture, cannot say that it resembleth him. And would a man judge by apparences, be it by all, it is impossible; for by their contraries and differences they hinder one another, as we see by experience. May it be that some choice apparences rule and direct the others? This choice must be verified by another choice, the second by a third: & so shal we never make an end. In few, *there is no constāt existēce, neither of our being, nor of the objects.* And we, and our judgement, and all mortall things else do uncessantly rowle, turne, & passe away. Thus can nothing be certainly established, nor of the one, nor of the other; both the judging and the judged being in continuall alteration and morion. We have no communication with being; for every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure apparence & shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhaps you fix your thought to take it being; it would be even, as if one should go about to graspe the water: for, how much the more he shal close and presse that, which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shal loose what he would hold and fasten. Thus, seeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another; reason, which therein seeketh a reall subsistence, findes her selfe deceived as unable to apprehend any thing subsistent and permanent: for so much as each thing either cometh to a being, and is not yet altogether; or beginneth to dy before it be borne. *Plato* said, that bodies had never an existence but indeed a birth, supposing that *Homer* made the *Ocean* Father, and *Tetis* Mother of the Gods, thereby to shew us, that all things are in continuall motion, change and variation. As he sayth, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time; Only *Parmenides* excepted, who denied any motion to be in things of whose power he maketh no small account. *Pithagoras*, that each thing or matter was ever gliding, and labile. The Stoicks affirme, there is no present time, and that which we call present, is but conjoyning and assembling of future time & past. *Heraclitus* averreth that no man ever entered twise one same river, *Epicarmus* avoucheth, that who ere while borrowed any mony, doth not now owe it; and that he who yesternight was bidden to dinner this day, cometh to day unbidden; since they are no more themselves, but are become others: and that one mortall substance could not twise be found in one self estate: for by the sodainesse and lightnesse of change, sometimes it wasteth, and other times it assembleth; now it comes & now it goes; in such sort, that he who beginneth to be borne, never comes to the perfection of being. For, this being borne cometh never to an end, nor ever stayeth as being at an end; but after the seed proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seed, there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, then a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a sucking babe, afterward he becometh a ladde, then consequently a stripling, then a full growne man, then an old man, and in the end an aged decrepite man. So that age and subsequent generation goeth ever undoing & wasting the precedent, *Mutat enim mundi naturam totius ætatis,*

*Ibid.* 5. 837.

Ex



*Ex aliisque aliis status excipere omnia debet,  
Nec manet ulla suis similis res, omnia migrant,  
Omnia commutat natura & vertere cogit.*

Of th'vniuersall world, age doth the nature change,  
And all things from one state must to another range,  
No one thing like it selfe remaines, all things doe passe,  
Nature doth change, and drive to change, each thing that was.

And when we doe foolishly feare a kind of death, when as we have already past, and dayly passe to many others. For, not only (as *Heracitus* said) the death of fire is a generation of ayre; and the death of ayre, a generation of Water: But also we may most evidently see it in our selves. The flower of age dieth, fadeth and flecteth, when age comes upon us, and youth endeth in the flower of a full growne mans age: Child-hood in youth, and the first age, dieth in infancie: and yesterday endeth in this day, and to day shall die in to morrow. And nothing remaineth or ever continueth in one state. For to prove it, if we should ever continue one and the same, how is it then, that now we rejoyce at one thing, and now at another? How comes it to passe, we love things contrary, or we hate them, or we love them, or we blame them? How is it, that we haue different affections, holding no more the same sense in the same thought? For it is not likely, that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admitteth alterations, continueth not the same: and if it be not one selfe same, than is it not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other. And by consequence Natures senses are deceived and lie falsly, taking what appeareth for what is; for want of truly knowing what it is that is. But then what is it, that is indeed? That which is eternall, that is to say, that which never had birth, nor ever shall have end; and to which no time can bring change or cause alteration. For time is a fleeting thing, and which appeareth as in a shadow; with the matter ever gliding, alwaies fluent, without ever being stable or permanent; to whom rightly belong these termes, *Before* and *After*: and, it *Hath beene*, or *Shall be*. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew, that it is not a thing, which is; for, it were great sottishnesse, and apparent false-hood, to say, that that is which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these words, *Present*, *Instant*, *Even now*, by which it seemes, that especially we uphold and principally ground the intelligence of time; reason discovering the same, doth forthwith destroy it: for presently it severeth it a sunder and divideth it into future and past time, as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much happeneth unto nature, which is measured according unto time, which measureth her: for no more is there any thing in her, that remaineth or is subsistent: rather all things in her are either borne or ready to be borne, or dying. By means whereof, it were a sinne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shall be: for these words are declinations, passages, or Vicissitudes of that, which cannot last, nor continue in being. Wherefore we must conclude; that only God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immoveable & immutable eternity, not measured by time, nor subject to any declination, before whom nothing is, nor nothing shall be after, nor more new nor more recent, but one really being: which by one onely Now or Present, filleth the Euer, and there is nothing that truly is, but he alone: Without saying, he hath bin, or he shall be, without beginning, and sans ending. To this so religious conclusion of a hearthē man, I will only adde this word, taken from a testimony of the same conditiō, for an end of this long and tedious discourse which might well furnish me with endless matter. *Oh what a vile and abject thing is man* (saith he) *vntlesse he raise himselfe above humanity!* Observe here a notable speech, and a profitable desire; but likewise absurd. For to make the hand full greater then the hand, and the embraced greater then the arme; and to hope to straddle more then our legs length; is impossible and monstrous: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for, he cannot see but with his owne eyes, nor take hold but with his owne armes. He shall raise himselfe up, if it please God extraordinarily to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forsaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffering himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.



## CHAP. XIII.

## Of judging of others death.

**W**Hen we judge of others assurance or boldnesse in death, which without all per-  
adventure, is the most remarkable action of humane life, great heed is to be taken  
of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly beleewe he is come to that point. Few men  
die with a resolution, that it is their last houre: And no wher doth hopes deceit amuse us  
more. She never ceaseth to ring in our eares, that others have beene sicker, and yet have  
not died; the cause is not so desperate as it is taken; and if the worst happen, God hath  
done greater wonders. The reason is, that we make too much account of our selves. It  
seemeth, that the generality of things doth in some sort suffer for our annulation, and  
takes compassion of our state. Forso much as our sight being altered, represents unto it  
selfe things alike; and we imagine, that things faile it, as it doth to them: As they who  
travell by Sea, to whom mountaines, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the  
same motion, and keepe the same course, they doe:

Vir. Æn. 3. 72.

*Provehimur portu, terraque urbesque recedunt.*We sayling launch from harbour, and  
Behinde our backes leave townes, leave land.

Who ever saw old age, that commended not times past, and blamed not the present,  
charging the world and mens customes with her misery, and lowring discontent?

Lucr. 1. 113.

*Idemque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,**Et cum tempora temporibus presentia confert**Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis**Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum.*

The gray-beard Plow-man sighes, shaking his hoarie head,

Compares times that are now, with times past heretofore,

Praises the fortunes of his father long since dead,

And crackes of ancient men, whose honesty was more.

We entertaine and carry all with us: Whence it followeth, that we deeme our death to  
be some great matter, and which passeth not so easily, nor without a solemne consultation  
of the Starres; *Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos.* So many Gods keeping a stirre about  
one mans life. And so much the more we thinke it, by how much the more we praise our  
selves. What? should so much learning and knowledge be lost with so great dammage,  
without the Destinies particular care? A soule so rare and exemplar, costs it no more to be  
killed, then a popular and unprofitable soule? This life, that covereth so many others, of  
whom so many other lives depend, that, for his use possesseth so great a part of the world  
and filleth so many places, is it displaced as that which holdeth by its owne simple string?  
No one of us thinkes it sufficient, to be but one. Thence came those words of *Caesar* to  
his pilot, more proudly swolne, then the Sea that threatned him:

Lucan. li. 3. 979.

*Italiam si celo authore recusas,**Me pete: sola tibi causa hac est instatimoris,**Vellorem non nosse tuum; perrumpere procellas**Tutelâ secure mei: ———*If *Italy* thou doe refuse with heaven thy guide,

Turne thee to me: to thee only just cause of feare

Is that thy passinger thou know'st not: stormie tide

Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom thou dost beare.

And these.

Ibid. 653.

*—— credit jam digna pericula Caesar**Fatis esse suis: tantumque evertere (dixit)**Me superis labor est, parvâ quem puppe sedentem.*

Tam



*Tam magno petiere mari.*

Cesar doth now beleeeve those dangers worthie are  
Of his set fate; and saies, doe Gods take so much pain  
Me to undoe, whom they thus to assaule prepare  
Set in so small a skiffe, in such a surging maine?

And this common foppery, that *Phabus* for one whole yeare, bare mourning weedes on his forehead for the death of him:

*Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cesare Roman,*

*Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit.*

The Sunne did pittie take of *Rome* when *Cesar* dide,  
When he his radiant head in obscure rust did hide.

*Virg. Georg. li.  
1.466.*

And a thousand such, wherewith the world suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatcht, deeming that our owne interests disturbe heaven, and his infinitie is moved at our least actions. *Non tanta calo societas nobiscum est, ut nostro fato mortalis sit ille quoque siderum fulgor.* *Plin. nat. hist. l. 2. c. 8.* There is no such societie betweene heaven and us, that by our destinie the shining of the starres should be mortall as we are. And to judge a resolution and constancie in him, who though he be in manifest danger, doth not yet beleeeve it, it is no reason: And it sufficeth not, that he die in that ward, unlesse he haue directly, and for that purpose put himselfe into it: It hapneth, that most men set a sterne countenance on the matter, looke big, and speake stoutly, thereby to acquire reputation, which if they chance to live, they hope to enjoy. Of all I haue seene die, fortune hath disposed their countenances, but not their desseignes. And of those which in ancient times haue put themselves to death, the choise is great, whether it were a sodaine death, or a death having time and leasure. That cruell *Romane* Emperor said of his prisoners, that he would make them feelee death: And if any fortun'd to kill himselfe in prison, That fellow hath escaped me (would he say.) He would extend and linger death, and cause it be felt by torments.

*Vidimus & toto quamvis in corpore caso,*

*Nil anime lethale datum, morēque nefanda*

*Durum sevitie, perennis parcere morti.*

And we have seene, when all the body tortur'd lay,  
Yet no stroke deadly giv'n, and that in humane way  
Of tyranny, to spare his death that sought to die.

*Lucan. l. 2. 179.*

Verily, it is not so great a matter, being in perfect health, and well settled in mind, for one to resolve to kill himselfe: It is an easie thing to shew stoutnesse and play the wag before one come to the pinch. So that *Heliogabalus* the most dissolute man of the world, amidst his most riotous sensualities, intended, whensoever occasion should force him to it, to haue a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, he had purposely caused a stately towre to be built, the nether part and fore-court whereof was floored with boardes richly set and enchas'd with gold and precious stones, from-off which he might headlong throwe himselfe downe: He had also caused cordes to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangle himselfe: and a rich golden rapier, to thrust himselfe through: and kept poison in boxes of *Emeraldes* and *Topases*, to poison himselfe with, according to the humor he might have, to chuse which of these deaths should please him.

*Impiger & fortis virtute coacta.*

A ready minded gallant,

And in forst valour valiant.

*Lb. 4. 797. Ge-  
rin.*

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonnesse of his preparation makes it more likely that he would have fainted, had he beene put to his triall. But even of those, who most undantedly have resolved themselves to the execution, we must consider (I say) whether it were with a life ending stroke, and that tooke away any leasure to feelee the effect thereof. For it is hard to guesse, seeing life droope away by little and little, the bodies feeling entermingling it self with the soules, meanes of repentanc being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constancie or obstinacie were found in him. In *Casars* civill warres, *Lucius Domitius* taken in *Prussia*, hauing empoysoned himselfe, did afterward rue & repent his deede. It hath hapned in our daies, that some having resolved to die, and at first not

stricken



stricken deepe enough, the smarting of his flesh, thrusting his arme backe, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe anew, and yet could never strike sufficiently deepe. Whilst the arraignment of *Plantius Silvanus* was preparing, *Fregulania* his grandmother, sent him a poignard, wherewith not able to kill himselfe thoroughly, he caused his owne servants to cutte his veines. *Albucilla* in *Tiberius* time, purposing to kill her selfe, but striking over faintly, gave her enemies leasure to apprehend and imprison her, and appoint her what death they pleased. So did Captaine *Demosthenes* after his discomfiture in *Sicilie*. And *C. Fimbria* having over feeble wounded himselfe, became a sutor to his boy, to make an end of him. On the other side, *Ostorius*, who forsomuch as he could not use his owne arme, disdained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger stiffe and strongly; and taking his running, himselfe caried his throate to its point, and so was thrust through. To say truth, it is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, unlesse his throate bee frosthod. And therefore *Adrianus* the Emperour made his Physition to marke and take the just compasse of the mortall place about his pap, that so his aime might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loe why *Cesar* being demanded, which was the death he most allowed, answered, *the least promediated, and the shortest*. If *Cesar* said it, it is no faintnesse in me to believe it. *A short death* (saith *Plinie*) *is the chiefe happe of humane life*. It grieveth them to acknowledge it. No man can be said, to be resolved to die, that feareth to purchase it, and that cannot abide to looke upon, and out-stare it with open eies. Those which in times of execution are seene to runne to their end, and hasten the execution, doe it not with resolution, but because they will take away time to consider the same; it grieves them not to be dead, but to die.

*Cic. Tusc. qu. 1.*  
*2. Epicura.*

*Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum, nihil estimo.*

I would not die too soone.

But care not, when tis doone.

It is a degree of constancie, unto which I have experienced to arive, as those that cast themselves into danger, or into the Sea, with closed eies. In mine opinion, there is nothing more worthy the noting in *Socrates* life, thē to have had thirty whole daies to ruminate his deaths-decree, to have digested it all that while, with an assured hope, without dismay or alteration, and with a course of actions and words, rather supprest; and loose hanging, then out-stretched and raised by the weight of such a cogitation. That *Pomponius Atticus*, to whom *Cicero* writeth, being sicke, caused *Agrippa* his sonne in law, and two or three of his other friends to be called for, to whom he said; that having alaid, how he got nothing in going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life did also lengthen & augment his griefe, he was now determined to make an end of one and others; intreating them to allow of his determination, and that by no meanes, they would lose their labour to dissuade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abstinence, his sicknes was cured by accident; The remedy he had employed to make himselfe away, brought him to health againe. The Physitions, and his friends, glad of so happy a successe, and rejoycing thereof with him, were in the end greatly deceived; for, with all they could doe, they were never able to make him alter his former opinion, saying, that as he must one day passe that careire, and being now so forward, he would remove the care, another time to beginne againe. This man having with great leasure apprehended death, is not only no whit discouraged, when he comes to front it, but resolutely falls upon it: for being satisfied of that, for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himselfe into it, to see the end of it. It is farre frō fearing death, to goe about to taste and savour the same. The historie of *Cleanthes* the Philosopher is much like to this. His gummes being swolne, his Physitions perswaded him to use great abstinence, having fasted two daies, he was so well amended, as they told him he was well, & might returne to his wonted course of life. He contrarily, having already tasted some sweetnes in this fainting, resolveth not to draw backe, but finish what he had so well begunne, and was so farre waded into. *Tullius Marcellinus*, a yong Romane Gentleman, willing to prevent the houre of his destiny, to ridde himselfe of a disease, which tormented him more than he would endure, although Physitions promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not sodainely; called his friends unto him to determine about it: some (saith *Seneca*) gave him that counsell, which for weaknesse of heart, themselves would have takē: others for flatterie, that which they imagined would be most pleasing unto him: but a cer-  
taine



taine Stroke standing by, said thus unto him. Toile not thy selfe Marcellinus, as if thou determinedst some weightie matter, to live is no such great thing, thy base groomes and bruit beasts live also, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, wisely and constantly. Remember how long it is, thou doest one same thing, to eate, to drinke, and sleepe, to drinke, to sleepe, to eate. Wee are ever incessantly wheeling in this endlesse circle. Not only bad and intolerable accidents, but the very faculty to live, brings a desire of death. Marcellinus had no need of a man to counsell, but of one to helpe him: his servants were afraid to meddle with him; but this Philosopher made them to understand, that familiars are suspected, onely when the question is, whether the maisters death have beene voluntary: otherwise it would bee as bad an example to hinder him, as to kill him, forasmuch as;

*Inimicum qui servat, idem facit occidendi.*

Who saves a man against his will,

Doth ev'n as much as he should kill.

*Hor. art. Poet.*

467.

Then he advertized Marcellinus, that it would not be unseemely, as fruit or comfets at our tables, when our bellies be full, are given unto by-standers, so the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. Marcellinus being of a frank and liberal disposition, caused certaine summes of mony to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest there needed neither yron nor blood, he underrooke to depart from this life, not by running from it: Not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leisure to condition or bargain with death, having quit all manner of nourishment, the third day ensuing, after he had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with luke-warme water, by litle and litle he consumed away; and (as he said) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and swoownings of the heart, which proceed from weaknesse, say, that they feelee no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passage to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated, and digested deaths. But that Cato alone, may serve to all examples of vertue, it seemeth, his good destiny caused that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatall blow, to be sicke and sore: that so hee might have leisure to affront death and to embrace it, reenforcing his courage in that danger, in lieu of mollifieing the same. And should I have represented him in his proudest state, it should have beene all bloody-gored, tearing his entrailes, and rending his guts, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the statuaries of his time. For, this second murder, was much more furiously, then the first.

### CHAP. XIII.

*How that our spirit hindereth it selfe.*

IT is a pleasant imagination, to conceive a spirit justly ballanced betweene two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved upon any match: Forso-much as the application and choise brings an inequality of prize: And who should place us betweene a Bottle of wine, and a Gammon of Bacon, with an equall appetite to eat and drinke, doubtlesse there were noe remedy, but to die of thirst and of hunger. To provide against this inconvenient, when the Stoikes were demanded, whence the election of two indifferent things commeth into our soule (and which causeth, that from out a great number of Crownes or Angells we rather take one then another, when there is no reason to induce us to preferre any one before others) they answer, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and irregular comming into us by a strange, accidentall and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said, that nothing is presented unto us, wherein there is not some difference, how light so ever it bee. And that either to the sight, or to the feeling, there is ever some choise, which tempteth and drawes us to it, though imperceptible and not to bee distinguished. In like manner, hee that shall presuppose a twine-thrid equally strong all-through, it is impossible by all impossibilitie that it breake, for, where would you have the flaw or breaking to beginne? And at once to breake in all places together, it is not in nature. Who should

also



also adde to this, the Geometricall propositions, which by the certainty of their demonstrations, conclude, the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference: And that finde two lines incessantly approaching one unto another, and yet can never meete and joyne together: And the Philosophers stone, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are so opposite: might peradventure draw thence some argument to salve and helpe this bold speech of Pliny; *Solum certum, nihil esse certi. & homine nihil miserius aut superbius.* This onely is sure, that there is nothing sure; and nothing more miserable, and yet more arrogant then man.

Plin. nat. hist.  
lib. 2. c. 7

## CAP. XV.

*That our desires are encreased by difficultie.*

Here is no reason but hath another contrary unto it, saith the wisest party of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminare upon this notable saying, which an ancient writer allegeth for the contempt of life. *No good can bring us any pleasure, except that, against whose losse we are prepared: In aquo est, dolor amissa rei, & timor amittende.* Sorrow for a thing lost, and feare of losing it, are on an even ground. Meaning to gaine thereby, that the fruition of life cannot perfectly be pleasing unto us, if we stand in any teare to lose it. A man might nevertheless say on the contrary part, that we embrace and claspe this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and feare it should be taken from us. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is roused up by the assistance of cold, even so our will is whetted on by that which doth resist it.

Sen. epist. 98.

Ovid. Am. li.  
2. el. 19. 27.

*Si nunquam Danaen habuisset abenea turris;  
Non esset Danae de Iove facta parens.*

If Danae had not beene clos'd in brazen Tower,  
Iove had not clos'd with Danae in golden shower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste, as satiety, which comes fit to ease and facility, nor nothing that so much sharpeneth it, as rareness and difficulty, *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit.* The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it.

Mart. l. 4. epig.  
38. 1.

*Galla negat, satiatur amor, nisi gaudia torquent.*

Good wench, deny, my love is cloied,

Vnlesse joyes grieve, before enjoyed.

To keepe love in breath and longing, *Lycurgus* ordained, that the married men of *Lacedaemonia* might never converse with their wives, but by stealth, and that it should be as great an imputation and shame to finde them laid together, as if they were found lying with others. The difficulty of assignations or matches appointed, the danger of being surpris'd, and the shame of ensuing to morrow,

Hor. ep. 11. 13

*& languor, & silentium,*

*Et latere petitus imo spiritus.*

And whispering voice, and languishment,

And breath in sighes from deepe sides sent,

are the things that give relish and tartnesse to the sweet. How many most lasciviously-pleasant sports, proceed from modest and shamefast manner of speech, of the dalliances and workes of love? Even voluptuousnesse seekes to provoke and stirre it selfe up by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gaulerh. The curtezan *Flore* was wont to say, that she neuer lay with *Pompey*, but she made him carry away the markes of her teeth.

Quint. l. 4. 1070.

*Quod petiere, premunt arētē, faciūsq; dolorem  
Corporis, & dentes indidant saepe labellis:*

*Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant ledere id ipsum*

*Quodcumque est; rabies unde illi germina surgunt;*



So goes it every where: *Rarenesse and difficultly giveth esteeme unto things.* Those of *Marca d' Ancona* in *Italy*, make their vows, and goe on pilgrimage rather unto *James* in *Galiccia*, and those of *Galiccia* rather unto our Lady of *Loreto*. In the Countrey of *Liege*, they make more account of the Bathes of *Luca*; and they of *Tuscany* esteeme the Bathes of *Spaw* more then their owne: In *Rome* the Fence-schooles are ever full of French-men, when few Romans come unto them. Great *Cato*, as well as any else, was even cloied and distastd with his wife, so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then wished he for her, and would faine have lickt his fingers at her. I have heretofore put forth an old stallion to foile, who before did no sooner see or smell a Mare, but was so lusty, that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him; ease and facilitie, to come to his owne when he list, hath presently quailed his stomacke, and so cloyed him, that he is weary of them: But toward strange Mares, and the first that passeth by his pasture, there is no hoe with him, but suddenly he returnes to his old wonted neighings, and furious heate. Our appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choise and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not.

*Transuolat in medio posita, & fugientia captat.*

It over-flies what open lies;

Pursuing onely that which flies.

To forbid us anything, is the ready way to make us long for it.

—— *nisi tu servare puellam*

*Incipis, incipiet desinere esse mea,*

If you begin not your wench to enshrine,

She will begin to leave off to be mine.

And to leave it altogether to our will, is but to breede dislike and contempt in us; So that to want, and to have store, breedeth one selfe same inconvenience.

*Tibi quod super est, mihi quod desit, dolet.*

You grieue because you have to much;

It griev's me that I have none such.

Wishing and injoying trouble us both alike. The rigor of a mistris is ykesome, but ease and facility (to say true) much more; forasmuch as discontent and vexation proceed of the estimation we have of the thing desired, which sharpen love, and set it afire: Where-as *Satiety* begets distaste: It is a dull, blunt, weary, and drouzy passion:

*Siqua volet regnare diu, contemnat amantem,*

If any list long to beare sway,

Scorne the her lover, ere she play:

—— *contemnite amantes,*

*Sic hodie veniet, siqua negavit heri.*

Lovers, your lovers scorne, contemne, delude, deride;

So will shee come to day, that yesterday denied.

Why did *Poppea* devise to maske the beauties of her face, but to endear them to her lovers? Why are those beauties vailed downe to the heeles, which all desire to shew, which all wish to see? Why doe they cover with so many lets, one over another, those parts, where chiefly consisteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baricadoes, & verdugalles, wherewith our women arme their flanks, but to allure our appetite, and enveagle us to them by putting us off?

*Es fugit ad salices, & se cupit ante videri*

She to the willow's runs to hide,

Yet gladly would she first be spide.

*Interdum tunica duxit aperta moram,*

She cover'd with her core in play,

Did sometime make a short delay.

Whereto serves this mayden-like bashfulness, this wilfull quaintnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things, which they know better than our selves, that goe about to instruct them, but to encrease a desire, and endear a longing in us, to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure, to dispose all this queamish ceremonie, and all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not only a delight, but a glory to besot & debauch this dainty and

*Hor. Ser. l. 2.*

*Sat. 2. 107*

*Ovid. Am. lib.*

*2. el. 19. 47.*

*Ter. Phœr. act. 1*

*1. sc. 3.*

*Ovid. Am. lib.*

*2. el. 19. 33.*

*Prop. lib. 2. el.*

*14. 19.*

*Virg. Bucol. ecl.*

*3. 65.*

*Proibid. eleg.*

*15. 6.*



and nice sweetnesse, and this infantine bashfullnesse, & to subject a marble & sterne gravity to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty, chastity and temperance: and who dissuadeth Ladies from these parts, betraileth both them and himselfe. It is to be supposed, that their heart yerneth for feare, that the sound of our wordes woundeth the purity of their eares, for which they hate us, & with a forced constraint, agree to withstand our importunitie. Beauty with all her might, hath not wherewith to give a taste of her selfe without these interpositions. See in *Italie*, wher most, and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange meanes and fittle devises, arts & tricks, to yeeld her selfe pleasing and acceptable: and yet in good sooth, doe what it can, being venal and common, it remaineth feeble, & is even languishing. *Even as in vertue, of two equall effects, we hold that the fairest, & worthiest, wherein are proposed more lets, & which affordeth greater hazards.* It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church, to be vexed & troubled as we see, with so many troubles and stormes, to rouze, and awaken by this opposition and strife the godly and religious soules, and raise them from out a lethall security, and stupified slumber, wherein so long tranquillity had plunged them. If we shall counterpoize the losse we have had, by the number of those, that have strayed out of the right way, and the profit that accrue unto us, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combate raised our zeale, and forces; I wot not whether the profit doth surmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our mariages the faster, by remouing all meanes to dissolve them; but by how much faster, that of constraint hath bin tied, so much more hath that of our will and affection bin slackened and loosed: Whereas on the contrary side, that, which so long time held mariages in honour and safety in *Rome*, was the liberty to breake them who list. They kept their wives the better, forso much as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely be had, there past five hundred years & more, before any would ever make use of them.

*Ovid. am. lib.*  
*2. cl. 19. 3.*

*Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acius urit,*

What we may doe, doth little please:

It woormes us more, that hath lesse ease.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient Writer be adjoyned; that torments do rather encourage vices, than suppress them; that they beget not a care of well-doing, which is the worke of reason & discipline, but only a care not to be surprized in doing evill.

*Latius excise pestis contagia serpunt.*

Th' infection of the plague nigh spent

And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true, but this I know by experience, that policie was never found to be reformed that way. The order and regiment of manners dependeth of some other meane. The Greeke stories make mention of the Agrippians, neighbouring upon *Scythia*, who live without any rod or staffe of offence, where not onely, no man undertakes to buckle with any other man, but whosoever can but save himselfe, there (by reason of their vertue and sanctity of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary: And no man dares so much as touch him. Many have recourse to them, to attone & take up quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men else where. There is a Nation, where the inclosures of Gardens & Fields they intend to keep severall, are made with a seely twine of cotten, which amongst the is found to be more safe and fast, then are our ditches and hedges. *Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractorum praterit.* Things sealed up sollicite a thiefe to breake them open: Whereas a common burglar will passe by quietly things that lie open. Amongst other meanes, ease and facility doth haply cover and fence my house from the violence of civill wares: Inclosure and fencing drawe on the enterprise; and distrust, the offence; I haue abated and weakned the souldiers designe, by taking hazard & all meanes of military glory from their exploite, which is wont to serve them for a title, and stead them for an excuse. What is performed couragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, & law hath not her due course, is ever done honorably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly & trecherous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other guardian or provision but a Porter, as an ancient custome, and used ceremony, who serveth not so much to defend my gate, as to offer it more decently & courteously to all commers. I have nor watch nor sentinell, but what the Starres keepe for mee. That Gentleman is much to blame, who makes a shew to stand upon his garde, except he be very strong indeed. Who so is open on one side, is so every where. Our Fore-fathers

never

*Sen. epist. 69.*



never dreamed on building of frontire Townes or Castles.

The meanes to assaile (I meane without battery, and troopes of armed men) and to surprise our houses encrease daily beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are generally exasperated and whetted on that way. An invasion concerneth all, the defence none but the rich. Mine was sufficiently strong, according to the times when it was made. I have since added nothing unto it that way; and I would feare; the strength of it should turne against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall unfortifie them. It is dangerous not to be able to recover them againe, and it is hard for one to be assured of them. For, concerning intestine broiles, your owne servant may be of that faction you stand in feare of. And where religion serveth for a pretence, even alliances and consanguinitie become mistrustfull under colour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garrisons. They should all be consumed. We have not wherewith, nor are wee able to doe it, without our apparent ruine, or more incommodiously, and therewithall injuriously, without the common peoples destruction. The state of my losse should not be much worke. And if you chance to be a looser, your owne friends are readier to accuse your improvidence and unhedinesse then to moane you, and excuse your ignorance and carelesnesse, concerning the offices belonging to your profession. That so many strongly garded houses have beene lost, whereas mine continueth still, makes me suspect they were overthrowne, onely because they were so diligently garded. It is that which affoordeth a desire, and ministreth a pretence to the assailant. All gards beare a shew of warre; which if God be so pleased may light upon me. But so it is, I will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or retreat to rest my selfe from warres. I endeavour to free this corner from the publicke storme, as I doe another corner in my soule. Our warre may change forme, and multiply and diversifie how and as long as it list; but for my selfe I never stirre. Amongst so many barricaded and armed houses, none but my selfe (as farre as I know) of my quality, hath meerey trusted the protection of his unto the heavens: for I never removed neither plate, nor hangings, nor my evidences. I will neither feare, nor save my selfe by halves. If a full acknowledgement purchaseth the favour of God, it shall last me for ever unto the end: If not, I have continued long enough, to make my continuance remarkable, and worthy the registering. What? Is not thirtie yeares a goodly time?

## CHAP. XVI.

## Of Glory.

Here is both name, and the thing: the name, is a voice which noteth, and signifieth the thing: the name, is neither part of thing nor of substance: it is a stranger-piece joyned to the thing, and from it. God who in and by himselfe is all fulnesse, and the type of all perfection, cannot inwardly be augmented or encreased: yet may his name be encreased and augmented, by the blessing and praise, which we giue unto his exterior worke; which praise and blessing since we cannot incorporate into him, forsomuch as no accession of good can be had unto him, we ascribe it unto his name, which is a part without him, and the neereſt unto him. And that is the reason why *glory and honour appertaineth to God only*. And there is nothing so repugnant unto reason, as for us to goe about to purchase any for our selves: For, being inwardly needy and defectiue, and our essence imperfect, & ever wanting amendment, we ought only labour about that. We are all hollow and empty, and it is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. We haue need of a more solide substance to repaire our selves. *An hunger starved man might be thought most simple, rather to provide himselfe of a faire garment, then of a good meates-meate*: We must runne to that, which most concerneth us. *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax hominibus*; Luke 2.14  
*Glory be to God on high, and peace in earth amongst men*; As say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beaurtie, health, wisdom, vertue and such like essentiall parts. Exterior ornaments may be sought for when we are once provided of necessary things. Divinitie  
 H h doth



doth very amply & pertinently treat of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. *Chrysippus* and *Diogenes* haue bene the first, and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensualities, they said, there was none so dangerous, nor so much to be avoided, as that which commeth unto us by the approbation of others. Verily experience makes us thereby feeble, and undergoe many damageable treasons. *Nothing so much empoisoneth Princes as flattery*: Nor nothing whereby the wicked minded gaine so easie credit about them; nor any enticement so fit, nor panderish so ordinary to corrupt the chastity of women, then to feed and entertaine them with their praises. The first enchantment the Syrens employed to deceive *Ulysses*, is of this nature.

*Deca vers nous; deca, o treslovable Ulyse,  
Et le plus grand honneur dont la Grece fleurisse.  
Turne to us, to us turne, Ulysses thrice-renowned,  
The principall renowne wherewith all Greece is crowned.*

Philosophers said, that all the worlds glory deserved not, that a man of wisdom should so much stretch forth his finger to acquire it.

*Gloria quantalibet quid eris, si gloria tantum est?  
Neuer so glorious name,  
What ist, be it but fame?*

Juven. Sat. 7.  
81.

I say for it alone: for it drawes many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it selfe desirable: It purchaseth us good will: It makes us lesse exposed to others injuries and offences, and such like things. It was also one of the principall decrees of *Epicurus*: for, that precept of his Sect, *HIDE THY LIFE*, which forbideth men to meddle with publike charges and negotiations, doth also necessarily presuppose that a man should despise glory: which is an approbation the world makes of those actions we giue evidence of. He that bids us to hide our life, and care but for our selves, and would not haue us know of others, would also haue us not to be honoured & glorified thereby. So doth he counsel *Idomeneus*, by no meanes to order his actions, by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation: unlesse it be to avoide other accidentall incommunities, which the contempt of men might bring unto him. Those discourses (are in mine advise) very true and reasonable: But I wot not how, we are double in our selves, which is the cause, that what we beleewe, we beleewe it not, and cannot rid our selves of that, which we condemne. Let us consider the last words of *Epicurus*, and which he speaketh as he is dying: they are notable and worthy such a Philosopher: but yet they haue some badge of his names commendations, and of the humour which by his precepts he had disavowed. Behold here a letter, which he endited a little before he yeelded up the ghost. *Epicurus to Hermachus health and greeting: Whilst I passed the happy, and even the last day of my life I writ this, accompanied nevertheless with such paine in my bladder and anguish in my entrails, that nothing can be added to the greatnesse of it; yet was it recompenced with the pleasure, which the remembrance of my inventions and discourses brought unto my soule. Now as requireth the affection, which even from the infancie thou hast borne me and Philosophy, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children: Loe here his letter.* And which makes me interpret, that the pleasure which in his soule he saith to feeble of his inventions, doth in some sort respect the reputation, which after his death hee thereby hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his last will and testament, by which he willeth, that *Aminomachus* and *Timocrates* his heires, should for the celebration of his birth-day every month of Ianuary supply all such charges as *Hermachus* should appoint: And also for the expence he might be at upon the twentieth of every Moone for the feasting and entertainment of the Philosophers his familiar friends, who in the honour of his memorie and of *Metrodorus* should meete together. *Carneades* hath bene chiefe of the contrary opinion, and hath maintained, that glory was in it selfe to bee desired, even as we embrace our posthumes for themselves, having neither knowledge nor ioyissance of them. This opinion hath not missed to be more commonly followed, as are ordinarily those, that fit most and come nearest our inclinations. *Aristotle* amongst externall goods yeeldeth the first ranke unto it: And avoideth as two extreame vices, the immoderation, either in seeking, or avoiding it. I beleewe, that had we the bookes which *Cicero* writ upon this subject, we should heare strange matters of him: for he was so fond in this passion, as had he dared, he would (as I thinke) haue easily falne into the excelle, that others fell in; which is, that



that even vertue was not to be desired, but for the honour, which ever waited on it :

*Paulum sepulta distat inertia.*

*Celata virtus.*

There is but little difference betweene,  
Vertue conceald, unskilfulnesse unseene.

Hor. car. l. 4.  
od. 9. 29.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed it could ever enter a mans understanding that had the honour to beare the name of a Philosopher. If that were true, a man needed not to be vertuous but in publike: and we should never need to keepe the soules operations in order and rule, which is the true feate of vertue, but only so much as they might come to the knowledge of others. Doth then nothing else belong unto it, but craftily to faile, and subtilly to cozen? If thou knowest a Serpent to be hidden in any place (saith *Carneades*) to which, he by whose death thou hopest to reape commodity, goeth unawares to sit upon, thou committest a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more, because thy action should be knowne but to thy selfe. If we take not the law of wel-doing from ourselves: If impunity be justice in us, to how many kindes of trecherie are we daily to abandon our selves? That which *Sp. Peduceus* did, faithfully to restore the riches which *C. Plotius* had committed to his only trust and secrecie, and as my selfe have done often? I thinke not so commendable, as I would derme it execrable, if we had not done it. And I thinke it beneficiall we should in our daies be mindfull of *Publius Sextilius Rufus* his example, whom *Cicero* accuseth that he had received a great inheritance against his conscience: Not only repugnant, but agreeing with the lawes. And *M. Crassus*, and *Q. Hortensius*, who by reason of their authority and might, having for certaine Quidities been called by a stranger to the succession of a forged will, that so he might make his share good: they were pleased not to be partakers of his forgery, yet refused not to take some profit of it: Very closely had they kept themselves under the countenance of the accusations, witnesses and lawes. *Admirationem Domini se habere testem, id est (ut ego arbitror) mentem suam.* Let them remember they have God to witnesse, that is, (as I construe it) their owne minde. Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing, if it draw her commendation from glory. In vaine should we attempt to make her keepe her rancke apart, and so should we disioyne it from fortune: for, *What is more casuall then reputation? Profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur: Eares enutritas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuraque.* Fortune governeth in all things, and either advanceth or abaseth them rather by forward disposition, then upright judgement. To make actions to be knowne and seene, is the meere worke of fortune. It is chance that applieth glory unto us, according to her merit. I have often seene it to goe before desert; yee and many times to out-goe merit by very much. He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better then he thought of. They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before her body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length. Those who teach Nobility to seeke in valour nothing but honour: *Quasi non sit honestum quod nobilitatum non sit; As though it were not honest, except it were ennobled.* What gaine they by it? But to instruct them neuer to hazard themselves, unlesse they be seene of others; and to be very heedy, whether such witnesses are by, that may report newes of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions, to doe well are daily offered, and no man by to marke them? How many notable particular actions, are buried in the throng of a Battell? Whosoever amuseth himselfe to controle others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly busied about it: and produceth the testimony which he giveth of his fellowes proceedings or exploits against himselfe. *Vera & sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in gloria indicat. A true and wise magnanimitie esteemeth that honesty, which especially followeth Nature, to consist in good actions, and not in glory.* All the glory I pretend in my life, is, that I have lived quietly. Quietly not according to *Metrodorus*, *Arcefilas*, or *Aristippus*, but according to my selfe. Since Philosophie could never find any way for tranquillity, that might be generally good, let every man in his particular seeke for it. To whom are *Cesar* and *Alexander* beholding for that infinite greatnes of their renowne, but to fortune? How many ledge at all, who bare the same courage that others did, if the ill fortune of their chance had not staid them even in the building of their enterprises? Amongst so many and so extreame dangers (to my remembrance) I never read, that *Cesar* received any hurt. A thousand have

H h \*

dyed



2. Cor. 1. 12.  
Aug. Rom. 35.

Ariost. Or. can.  
11. Stan. 81.

dyed in lesse danger, than the least of those he escaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deedes must be lost, before one can come to any good. A man is not alwaies upon the top of the breach, nor in the front of an army, in the sight of his Generall, as upon a stage. A man may be surpris'd betwene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his sodaine shifts, as to try his fortune against a Hens-roost, to ferret out foure seely shotte out of some barn, yea and sometimes straggle alone from his troupes; and enterprise, according as necessity and occasion offereth it selfe. And if it be well noted (in mine advice) it will be found, and experience doth teach it, that the least blazoned occasions, are the most dangerous, and that in our late home-warres, more good men haue perished in flight and little importing occasions, and in contention about a small cottage, than in worthy achievements, and honourable places. Who so thinketh his death ill employed, except it be in some glorious exploit, or famous attempt, in lieu of dignifying his death, he happily obliueth his life: Suffering in the meane time many iust and honor-affoording opportunities to escape, wherein he might and ought adventure himselfe. And all iust occasions are glorious enough; his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all men. *Gloria nostra est testimonium conscientie nostrae: Our glory is the testimony of our conscience.* He that is not an honest man, but by that which other men know by him, and because he shall the better be esteemed; being knowne to be so, that will not do well but upon condition his vertue may come to the knowledge of men; such a one is no man frō whom any great service may be drawne, or good expected. *Credo ch'il resto di quel verno, cose*

*Faceffe degnè di tenerne conto,  
Ma fur fin'a quel tempo si nascose,  
Che non è colpa mia s'hor' non le conto,  
Perche Orlando a far' opre virtuose  
Pin ch'à narrare poi sempre era pronto;  
Ne mai fu alcun' de li suoi fatti espresso,  
Senon quando hebbe i testimonij appresso.  
I guelfe, he of that winter all the rest  
Atchiev'd exploits, whercof to keepe account,  
But they untill that time were so suppress,  
As now my fault 't is not, them not to count,  
Because Orlando ever was more prest  
To doe, than tell deedes that might all surmount.  
Nor was there any of his deedes related  
Vnlesse some witnesse were associated.*

A man must goe to warres for his devoirs sake, and expect this recompence of it, which cannot faile all worthy actions, how secret soever; no nor to vertuous thoughts: It is the contentment that a well disposed conscience receiveth in it selfe, by well doing. A man must be valiant for himselfe and for the advantage he hath to haue his courage placed in a constant and assured seate, to withstand all assaults of fortune.

Hor. car. li. 3. od.  
2. 17.

*Virtus repulse nescia sordide,  
Intaminatis fulget honoribus:  
Nec sumit aut ponit secures  
Arbitrio popularis aura.  
Vertue unskill'd to take repulse that's base,  
In undefiled honors clearely shines,  
At the dispose of peoples airy grace  
She signes of honor tak's nor, nor resignes.*

Cic. fin. 47.

It is not only for an exterior shew or ostentation, that our soule must play her part, but inwardly within our selves, where no eyes shine but ours: There it doth shroud us from the feare of death, of sorrowes and of shame: There it assureth us, from the losse of our children, friends and fortunes; and when oportunitie is offerd, it also leades us to the dangers of warre. *Non emolumento aliquo, sed ipsius honestatis decore: Not for any advantage, but for the gratefulnes of honestie it selfe.* This benefit is much greater, and more worthie to be wished and hoped, then honor and glory, which is nought but a favorable judgement that is made of us. We are often driven to empanell and select a jury of twelve men out of a whole countrie



countrie to determine of an acre of land: And the judgement of our inclinations and actions (the waightiest and hardest matter that is) we referre it to the idle breath of the vaine voice of the common sort and base raskalitie, which is the mother of ignorance, of injustice, and inconstancie. Is it reason to make the life of a wise man depend on the judgement of fooles? *An quidquam stultius, quam quos singulos contemnas, eos aliqua putare esse universos?* Is there any thing more foolish, then to thinke that al together they are oygbes, who every one single you would set at noughts? Whosoever aimeth to please them, hath never done: It is a But, that hath neither forme nor holdfast. *Nil tam inestimabile est, quam animi multitudinis:* Nothing is so incomprehensible to be just waied, as the mundes of the multitude. Demetrius said merrily of the common peoples voice, that he made no more reckoning of that which issued from out his mouth above, then of that which came from a homely place below; and saith moreover: *Ego hoc judico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine laudetur:* Thus I esteeme of it, if of it selfe it be not dishonest, yet can it not but be dishonest, when it is applauded be the many. No art, no mildnesse of spirit might direct our steps to follow so stragling and disordered a guide. In this breathie confusion of brutes, and storthy Chaos of reports and of vulgar opinions, which still pull us on, no good course can be established. Let us not propose so fleeing and so wavering an end unto our selves. Let us constantly follow reason: And let the vulgar approbation follow us that way. If it please: And as it depends all on fortune, we haue no law to hope for it, rather by any other way then by that. Should I not follow a strait path for its straightnesse, yet would I do it because experience hath taught me, that in the end, it is the happiest and most profitable. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus, ut honesta magis juuarent.* Mans providence hath given him this gift, that honest things should more delight and availe him. The ancient Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great storme, *Ob God, thou shalt save me if thou please, if not, thou shalt lose me;* yet will I keepe my helme still fast. I haue, in my daies, seene a thousand middle, mungrell and ambiguous men, and whom no man thought to be more worldly-wise than my selfe, loose themselves, where I haue saved my selfe.

Ælian. var.  
hist. l. 2. c. 1.

Cic. fin. bon. l. 2.

Ovid. epist. P.  
nel. v. 18.

*Risi successu posse carere dolos.*

I smild to see that wily plots

Might want successe (and leave men fols.)

*Paulus Æmilius* going to the glorious expedition of *Macedon*, advertized the people of Rome during his abience, not to speake of his actions: For *The licence of Judgements is an especiall let in great affaires.* Forasmuch as all men haue not the constancy of *Fabius* against common, contrary and detracting voices: who loved better to haue his authority dismembred by mens vaine fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well, with favourable and popular applause. There is a kind of I know not what naturall delight, that man hath to heare himselfe commended, but wee yeeld too roo much unto it.

*Laudari hand met nam, neq; enim mihi curua fibra est,*

*Sed recti finemq; exaruminaq; esse recto*

*Euge tuum & belle*

Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not horne,

But that the utmost end of good should be, I scorne,

Thy O well said, well done, well plaid.

I care not so much what I am with others, as I respect what I am in my selfe. I will be rich by my selfe, and not by borrowing. Strangers see but externall apparances and events: every man can set a good face upon the matter, when within he is full of care, grieve and infirmities. They see not my heart, when they looke upon my outward countenance. There is great reason the hypocrisie that is found in war should be discovered: For, what is more ealie in a man of practise, then to flinch in dangers and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster when his heart is full of faintnesse, and ready to droope for feare? There are so many waies to shunne occasions for a man to hazard himselfe in particular, that wee shall haue deceived the world a thousand times, before we need engage our selves into any perillous attempt; and even when wee find our selves entangled in it, wee shall not want skill how to cloake our sport with a good face, stearne countenance, and bold speeches; although our heart doe quake within us. And hee that had the use of the Platonicall Ring, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it upon his finger, if it were

Pers. sat. 1. 47.



turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves, when they should most make shewe of their worth, and would be sorie to be placed in so honorable a place, where necessity may be their warrant of safetie.

Hor. lib. 1. epi.  
16.39.

*Falsus honor inuat, & mendax infamia terret*

*Quem nisi mendosum & mendacem?* —

False honour tickles; false defame affrights,

Whom, but the faulty, and false-fierd sprights?

See how all those judgements, that men make of outward apparances, are wonderfully uncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man so sure a testimony, as every man is to himselfe: How many horse-boyes have we in them as parteners and companions of our glory? He that keeps his stand in an open trench, what doth he more, but divers poore pioners doe as much before him, who open the way for him, and with their bodies shelter him, for poore six-pence a day, and happily for lesse?

Pers. sat. 15.

— *non quicquid turbida Roma*

*Elevet, accedas, examénque improbum in illa*

*Castiges trutinâ, nec te quasiveris extrâ.*

If troublous Rome set ought at naught, make you not one,

Nor chastise you unjust examination

In balance of their lode:

Nor seeke your selfe abroad.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend & disperse the same in many mouthes, we will have it to be received in good part, & that it's increase redound to his benefit: This is al that is most excusable in it's desseigne. But the infirmity of it's excesse proceeds so farre, that many labour to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. *Tregus Pempeius* saith of *Herostratus*, and *Titus Livius* of *Manlius Capitolinus*, that they were more desirous of great, then good reputation. It is an ordinary fault; we endeavour more that men should speake of us, then how and what they speake, and it sufficeth us, that our name run in mens mouthes, in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be knowen, is in some sort, to have life and continuance in other mens keeping. As for me, I hold that I am but in my selfe; and of this other life of mine, which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply & barely considered in my selfe, well I wot, I neither feele fruite or jovissance of it, but by the vanity of fantastick opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much lesse have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely lose the use of true utilities, which sometimes accidentally follow it: I shall have no more fastnesse to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come unto mee. For, to expect my name should receive it: First I have no name that is sufficiently mine: Of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea and also to others. There is a family at *Paris*, and another at *Montpellier*, called *Montaigne*, another in *Britany*, and one in *Xaintogne*, surnamed *dela-Montaigne*. The removing of one onely syllable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a share in their glory, and they perhaps a part of my shame. And my Ancestors have here-to-fore beene surnamed *Higham*, or *Eyquem*, a surname which also belongs to a house well knowen in *England*. As for my other name, it is any bodies that shall have a minde to it. So shall I happily honour a Porter in my stead. And suppose I had a particular marke or badge for my selfe, what can it marke when I am no more extant? May it desseigne or favour inanity?

Ibid. 37.

— *nunc levior cippus non imprimis ossa?*

*Laudat posteritas, nunc non è manibus illis,*

*Nunc non è tamulo fortunâque favilla*

*Nascuntur viola?*

Doth not the grave-stone on such bones sit light?

Posterity applaudes: from such a spright,

From such a tombe, from ashes blessed so,

Shall there not violets (in Cart-lodes) grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As for the rest, in a whole battell, where ten thousand are either maymed or slaine, there are not peradventure fiftene that shall be much spoken off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequence, that fortune hath joynd

unno



unto it, to make a private action prevaile, not of a meane shot alone, but of a chieftaine: For, to kill a man, or two, or tenne; for one to present himselfe undantedly to death, is indeed something to every one of us in particular; for, a mans free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world, they are such ordinary things, so many are daily scene, and so sundry alike must concurre together to produce a notable effect, that wee can looke for no particular commendation by them.

*Iuven. sat. 13. 9.*

———*casus multis hic cognitus, ac iam*

*Trius, & à medio fortune ductus acervo.*

This case is knowne of many, werne with nothing,  
Drawne from the midle heape of fortunes doting.

Of so many thousands of worthie-valiant men, which fifteene hundred yeares since have died in *France*, with their weapons in hand, not one hundred have come to our knowledge: The memory not onely of the Generals and Leaders, but also of the battels and victories lieth now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more then halfe the world, for want of a register, stirre not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the unknowne events in my possession, I am perswaded I might easily supplant those that are knowne in all kindes of examples. What? Of the Romanes themselves, and of the Grecians, amongst so many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploits and matchles examples? How are so few of them come to our notice?

*Ad nos vix tenuis fama perlabitur aura.*

Scarcely to vs doth passe

Fames thin breath, how it was.

*Virg. Æn. 13. 646.*

It shall be much, if a hundred yeares hence, the civill warres which lately we have had in *France*, be but remembred in grosse. The Lacedemonians as they were going to their battles, were wont to sacrifice vnto the Muses, to the end their deedes might be well written, and worthily registred, deeming it a divine favor, and unusuall grace, that noble actions might finde testimonies able to give them life and memory. Thinke we that at every shot that hits us, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a Clarke present to enrole it: And besides, it may be, that a hundred Clarkes shall write them, whose Commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to any bodies sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to her favor gives them either shorter or longer life; and what we have, we may lawfully doubt-of, whether it be the worse, since we never saw the rest. Histories are not written upon every small trifle: It is requisite that a man have beene conqueror of an Empire, or of a Kingdome; a man must have obtained two and fiftie set battles, and ever with a lesser number, as *Cesar* was and did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great Captaines have died most valiantly and coragiously in pursuite of her, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

———*quos fama obscura recondit.*

Whom fame obscure before

Layes up in vnknowne store.

*Virg. Æn. 1. 5. 291.*

Even of those, whom we see to doe excellently well, if they have but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of thē, then if they had never bin. Whosoever shall in due measure proportion, and impartially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what deedes the glory is kept in the memory of bookes, he shall finde, there are few actions, & very few persons, that may justly pretend any right in them. How many vertuous mea have we scene to survive their owne reputation, who even in their presence have seen the honor & glorie, which in their young daies, they had right-justly purchased, to be cleane extinguished? And doe we for three yeares of this fantastick and imaginarie life, lose and forgoe our right and essentiall life, and engage our selves in a perpetuall death? The wiser sort propose a right-fairer, and much more just end unto themselves, to so urgent and weighty an enterprise. *Rectè facti, fecisse merces est: Officij fructus, ipsum officium est.* The reward of well doing, is the doing, & the fruit of our duty, is our duty. It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter, or other artificer, or also in a Rhetorician, or Gramarian, by his labours to endeavor to purchase a name: But the actions of vertue are themselves too-too noble, to seeke any other reward, then by their own worth and merit, and especially to seeke it in the vanity

*Senec. epist. 81.*

of



Cic. Nat. Deor.  
lib. 1.

of mans judgement. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding serve and stead a common wealth to hold men in their dutie: If the people be thereby stirred up to vertue: If Princes be any way touched, to see the world blesse and commend the memorie of *Traian*, and detest the remembrance of *Nero*: If that doth moove them, to see the name of that arch-villaine, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted of all, so boldly curied, and so freely outraged, by the first scholer that undertakes him. Let it hardly be increased, and let us (as much as in us lieth) still foster the same amongst ourselves. And *Plato* employing all meanes to make his Citizens vertuous, doth also perswade them, not to contemne the peoples good estimation. And saith that through some divine inspiration it cometh to passe, that even the wicked know often, as well by word, as by opinion, how to distinguish justly the good from the bad. This man together with his master, are woonderfull and bold workemen, to joyne divine operations and revelations, wheresoever humane force faileth. And therefore did peraventure *Timon* (deeming thereby to wrong him) surname him the great forger of miracles. *Ut tragici poete configunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt. As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God, when they cannot unfold the end of their argument.* Since men by reason of their insufficiencie cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coine, let them also employ false money. This meane hath beene practised by all the law-givers: And there is no common wealth where there is not some mixture either of ceremonious vanity or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keepe the people in awe and dutie. It is therefore, that most of them have such fabulous grounds and trifling beginnings, and enriched with supernaturall mystiries. It is that which hath given credit unto adulterate and unlawfull religions, and hath induced men of understanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did *Numa* and *Servilius*, to make their men have a better belief, feed them with this topperie; the one, that the Nymph *Egeria*, the other that his white Hinde, brought him all the counsels he tooke from the Gods. And the same authoritie, which *Numa* gave his lawes under the title of this Goddesses patronage, *Zoroastres* Law-giver to the *Bastrians* and *Persians*, gave it to his, under the name of the God *Oromazis*: *Trismegistus* of the *Egyptians*, of *Mercury*: *Zamolxis* of the *Scythians*, of *Vesta*: *Charondas* of the *Chalcedonians*, of *Saturne*: *Adinos* of the *Candiots*, of *Jupiter*: *Licurgus* of the *Lacedemonians*, of *Apollo*: *Dracon* and *Solon* of the *Athenians*, of *Atiderva*. And every common wealth hath a God to her chief: all others falsly, but that truly, which *Moses* instituted for the people of *Jerry* descended from *Egypt*: The *Bedoins* religion (as saith the Lord of *Iovinnile*) held among other things that his soule which among them all died for his Prince went directly into another more happy body, much fairer and stronger than the first: by means wherof, they much more willingly hazarded their lives for his sake.

Lucan. l. 1. 461.

*In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces*

*Mortis: & ignavum est reditura parcere vita.*

Those men sword minded, can death entertaine,

Thinke base to spare the life that turnes againe.

Cic. fin. l. 2.

Loe here, although very vaine, a most needfull doctrine, and profitable belief. Every Nation hath store of such examples in it selfe. But this subject would require a severall discourse. Yet to say a word more concerning my former purpose: I doe not counsell Ladies any longer to call their duty, honour: *ut enim consuetudo loquitur, id solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari fama gloriosum: For as custome speaks, that only is called honest which is glorious by popular report.* Their duty is the marke, their honour but the hooke of it. Nor doe I perswade them to give us this excuse of their refusall, in payment; for I suppose, their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honour can see nothing, forasmuch as nothing appeareth outwardly there, are yet more ordered then the effects.

Ovid Ar. l. 3.  
el. 4. 4.

*Que, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit.*

She doth it, though she do it not,

Because she may not doe: (God wor.)

The offence both toward God, and in conscience, would be as great to desire it, as to effect the same. Besides they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easily be, they would steale some one from others knowledge, whence honour dependeth, had they no other respect to their duty, and affection, which they beare unto chastity, in regard of it selfe. Each honorable person chuseth rather to lose his honour, then to forgoe his conscience.

Chap.



## CHAP. XVII.

## Of Presumption.

There is another kind of glory, which is an over-good opinion we conceiue of our worth. It is an inconsiderate affection, wherewith wee cherish our selves, which presents us unto our selves other then we are. As an amorous passion addeth beauties, and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth, and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceit, and distracted Iudgement, to deeme what they loue, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and seeme more perfect, then in truth it is. Yet would I not haue a man, for feare of offending in that point, to misacknowledge himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is: A true Iudgement should wholly and in every respect maintaine his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject he see what truth presenteth unto him. If he be *Cæsar*, let him hardly deeme himselfe the greatest Captaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie; ceremonie doth transport us, and wee leaue the substance of things; we hold-fast by the boughs, and leaue the trunke or body. Wee haue taught Ladies to blush, onely by hearing that named, which they nothing feare to doe. Wee dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kind of dissolutenesse. Ceremonie forbids us by words to expresse lawfull and naturall things; and we beleue it. Reason willeth us to doe no bad or unlawfull things, and no man giveth credit unto it. Here I find my selfe entangled in the lawes of Ceremonie, for it neither allowes a man to speake ill or good of himselfe. Therefore will wee leaue her at this time. Those whom fortune (whether we shall name her good or bad) hath made to passe their life in some eminent or conspicuous degree, may by their publike actions witness what they are; but those whom she never employed, but in base things, and of whom no man shall ever speake, except themselves doe it, they are excusable, if they dare speake of themselves to such as haue interest in their acquaintance, after the example of *Lucilius*:

*Ille velut fides arcana sodalibus olim  
Credibat libris: neque si male, cesserat usquam,  
Decurrrens aliò, neque si bene: quo fit, ut omnis  
Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabellâ  
Vita senis.*

*Hor. ser. l. 2.  
sat. 1. 30*

He trusted to his booke, as to his trusty friend  
His secrets, nor did he to other refuge bend,  
How ever well, or ill, with him his fortune went.  
Hence is it, all the life is scene the old man spent,  
As it were in a Table noted,  
Which were unto some God devored.

This man committed his actions and imaginations to his paper, and as he felt, so he portrayed himselfe. *Nec id Rutilio & Scauro citra fidem, aut obiretationi fuit.* Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to Rutilius or Scaurus. I remember then, that even from my tenderest infancy, some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body and gestures, witnessing a certaine vaine and foolish fiercenesse. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to haue conditions so peculiar, and propensions so incorporated in us, that we haue no meane to feele, or way to know them. And of such naturall inclinations, unknowne to us, and without our consent, the body doth easily retaine some signe or impression. It was an affectation witting of his beauty, which made *Alexander* to bend his head a little on one side, and *Alcibiades*, his speech somewhat effeminate and lisping: *Inlinus Cæsar* was wont to scratch his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man surcharged with painefull imaginations: And *Cicero* (as I remember) had gotten a custome to wryth his Nose, which signifieth a naturall scoffer. Such motions may unawares and imperceptibly possesse us. Others there be which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations,

*Corn. Tacit. vit.  
Iul. Agric.*

reverences;



reverences, or conges, by which some doe often purchase the honour, (but wrongfully) to be humble, lowly, and courteous: A man may be humble through glory. I am very prodigall of cappings, namely in Summer, and I never receiue any from what quality of men soever, but I giue them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some seruant of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know, would be more sparing, and impartiall dispensers of them; for, being so indiscreetly employed, they haue no force at all: If they be without regard, then are they without effect. Amongst disordered countenances, let us not forget the sterne looke of *Constantius* the Emperour, who in publike held ever his head bolt-upright, without turning or bending the same on any side, no not so much as to looke on them that saluted him sideling, holding his body so fixt and unmoveable, that let his Coche shake never so much, he kept still up-right: he durst never spit nor wipe his Nose nor drie his face before the people. I wot not whether those gestures, which were noted in me were of this first condition, and whether in truth I had any secret propension to this fault, as it may well be: and I cannot answer for the motions of my body. But concerning those of the soule, I will here ingenuously confesse what I thinke of them. There are two parts in this glory: Which is to say, for a man to esteeme himselfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to esteeme of others. For the one, first me thinkes, these considerations ought somewhat to be accompred of. I feele my selfe surcharged with one error of the mind, which both as bad, and much more as importunate, I utterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things, which I possess; and enhance the worth of things, by how much they are more strange, absent and not mine owne. This humorextends it selfe very farre, as doth the perogative of the authority, wherewith husbands looke upon their owne wiues with a vicious disdain, and many fathers upon their children: So doe I, and between two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousie of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that mastery her self begets a contempt of that which a man possesseth and oweth. Policies, far customes and tongues flatter me; and I perceiue the Latine tongue by the favour of her dignity to deceiue me, beyond what belongs unto her, as children and the vulgar sort. My neighbours economic; his house, and his horse, though but of equall value, is more worth then mine, by how much more it is not mine owne. Besides, because I am most ignorant in mine owne matters: I admire the assurance, and wonder at the promise, that every man hath of himselfe: whereas there is almost nothing, that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to doe. I haue not my faculties in proposition, or by estate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect: As doubtfull of mine owne strength, as uncertaine of anothers force. Whence it followeth, if commendably I chance upon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, then ascribe it to mine industry; forasmuch as I deligne them all to hazard, and in feare. Likewise I haue this in generall, that of all the opinions, which Antiquity hath had of men in grose, those which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most vilifie, contemne, and annihilate us. Me thinks Philosophy hath never better cardes to Shew, then when she checketh our presumption, and crosseth our vanity; when in good sooth she acknowledgeth her irrelolution, her weakenesse and her ignorance. Me seemeth the over good conceit, and selfe-weening opinion man hath of himselfe, is the nurse-mother of the falsest opinions, both publike and particular. Those which a cocke-horse will pearch themselves upon the *Epicicle* of *Mercury*, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the study which I professe, the subject whereof is Man, finding so extreme a varietie of judgements, so inextricable a labyrinth of difficulties one upon the necke of another, so great diversitie, and so much uncertaintie, yea even in the Schoole of wisdom it selfe: you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves and of their owne condition, which is continually before their eyes, which is ever within them; since they know not how that moveth, which themselves cause to move, nor how to set forth the springs, and decipher the wards, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the river *Nilus*? The curiosiry to know things hath beene given to men (as saith the holy Scripture) for a scourge. But to come to my particular, it is very hard (mee seemeth) that some other regardeth himselfe



selfe lesse, yea and some other esteemeth me lesse then I esteeme my selfe. I accompt my selfe of the common sort except in that I deeme my selfe guiltie of the basest, and culpable most popular defects: but not disauowed nor excused. And I only prise my selfe, wherein I know my worth. If any glory be in me, it is but superficially infused into me; by the treason of my complexion: and hath no solide body appearing to the sight of my judgement. I am but sprinkled over, but not throughly dyed. For in truth, touching the effects of the spirit, in what manner soever, there never came any thing from me, that contented me. And others approbation is no curreant payment for me. My judgement is tender & hard especially in mine owne behalf. I feele my self to waver & bend through weaknesse: I have nothing of mine owne to satisfie my judgement. My sight is indifferently cleare and regular; but if I take any serious worke in hand, it is troubled and dimmed: as I perceiue most evidently in Poesie: I loue it exceedingly: I haue some insight or knowledge in other mens Labours, but in truth I play the Novice when I set my hand unto it: Then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the foole every where else, but not in Poesie.

— *mediocribus esse poetis*

*Non dy, non homines, non concessere columnæ.*

Nor Gods, nor men, nor pillers gaue the graunt,

That Poets in a meane, should meanelly chaunt.

I would to God this sentence were found in the front of our Printers or Stationers shops, to hinder the entrance of so many bald-rimers.

— *VERVM*

*Nil securius est malo Poeta.*

Nothing securer may be had,

Then is a Poet bold and bad.

*Hor. art. Poet.*

372.

*Mart. lib. 12.*

*epig 64.*

Why haue we no such people? *Dionysius* the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poesie. In the times of the Olimpiké games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent Poets and Musicians to present his verses, with tents and pavilious gilt and most sumptuously tapistred. When they first beganne to rehearse them, the favour and excellencie of the pronounciation did greatly allure the peoples attention: but when they beganne to consider the fondnesse of the composition, they fell as soone to contemne them: and being more & more exasperated fell furiously into an uprore, and headlong ranne in most spitefull manner to teare and cast downe all his pavillions. And forasmuch as his rich chariots did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward missed the shore of *Sicilie*, and was by violent stormes driven and spilt upon the coast of *Tarentum*, they certainly beleeeved, the wrach of the Gods to haue bene the cause of it, as being greatly offended, both against him, and his vile and wicked Poeme: yea and the Mariners themselves that escaped the shipwracke did much second the peoples opinion: to which the Oracle that foretold his death seemed in some sort to subscribe: which implied, that *Dionysius* should be neare his end, at what time he had vanquished those that should be of more worth than himselfe: Which he interpreted to be the Carthaginians, who exceeded him in might. And having at any time occasion to fight or grapple with them, that he might not incur the meaning of his prediction, he would often temper and avoide the victorie. But he mis-understood the matter, for the God observed the time of advantage, when as through partiall favour and injustice he obtained the victory over the tragickall Poets at *Athens*, who were much better than he was, where he caused in contention of them, his Tragedie, entituled the *Leneiens*, to be publickly acted. After which usurped victorie, he presently deceased: And partly through the excessive joy, he thereby conceived. What I finde excusable in mine, is not of it selfe and according to truth: but in comparison of other compositions, worse then mine, to which I see some credit given. I envie the good the happe of those, which can applaude and gratifie themselves by their owne labours; for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he drawes his pleasure from himselfe: Especially if one be somewhat constant in his owne wilfulness. I know a Poetaster, gainst whom both weak and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, affirme and say, he hath no skill or judgement in Poesie, who for all that is nothing dismayed, nor will nor abate one jot of that measure whereunto he hath fitted himselfe; but is ever beginning



ning againe, ever consulting anew, and alwaies persisting, by so much the more fixed in his opinion, by how much the more it concerneth him alone, and he only is to maintaine it. My compositions are so farre from applauding me, that as many times as I looke them over, so often am I vexed at them.

*Cum relego, scripsisse pudeat, quia plurima cerno,*

*Me quoque qui feci, iudice, digna lini.*

When I re-read, I shame I write; for much I see,

My selfe, who made them, being judge, blotted to be.

I have ever an Idea in my mind, which presents me with a better forme, then that I have already framed, but I can neither lay hold on it, nor effect it. Yet is that Idea but of the manner stamp. I thereby conclude, that the productions of those rich and great mindes, or tender ages, are farre beyond the extreame extension of my wish and imagination. Their compositions doe not only satisfie and fill me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beauty, I see it, if not to the end, at least so farre as it is impossible for me to aspire unto it. Whatsoever I undertake (as *Plutarkes* saith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gaine their favour.

— *si quid enim placet,*

*Siquid dulces hominum, sensibus influit,*

*Debentur lepidis omnia gratijs.*

If ought doe please, if any sweet

The sense of men with pleasures greet,

To thanke the Graces it is meet.

They altogether forsake me: What I doe, it is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beauty. I can rare them at no higher value, then they are worth. My workmanship addeth no grace unto the matter. And that's the reason I must haue it strong, with good holdfast, and shining of it selfe. If I chance to seize on any popular and more gay, it is to follow me, who loue not a ceremonious prudence and gloomy wisdom, as doth the world; & to glad my selfe, not my stile, who would rather haue it graue and severe: If at least I may call that a stile, which is a formelesse and abrupt speech; A popular gibbrish, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and sans conclusion, troubled as that of *Amasanius*, and *Rabirius*. I am neither please, nor glad, nor tickle. The best tale in the world comming into my hands, becomes withered and tarnished. I cannot speake but in good earnest, and am altogether barren of that facility which I see in many of my companions, to entertaine commers, to keep a whole troupe in talk, to amuse a Princes cares with all manner of discourses and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the graces they haue in applying their stils approches, and fitting them to the humour and capacity of those they haue to do withall. Princes loue not greatly serious and long discourses, nor I to tell tales. The first and easiest reasons (which are commonly the best taken) I can neither employ nor make use of them. I am an ill Orator to the common sort. I speake the utmost I know of all matters. *Cicero* thinks, in discourses of Philosophy, the exordium to be the hardest part: If it be so, I wisely lay hold on the conclusion. Yet should a man know how to turne his stings to all aines: And the sharpest comes ever last in play. There is at last as much perfection in raising up an empty, as to uphold a weighty thing: A man must sometimes handle matters but superficially, and at other times diue into them. I wot well that most men keep themselves on this low stage, because they conceiue not of things but by the outward shew I also knew, that the greatest Clarkes, yea *Xenophon* and *Plato*, are often scene to yeeld to this low and popular fashion, in speaking of matters, upholding it with these graces, which they never want. As for the rest, my language hath neither facility nor fluency in it, but is harsh and sharpe, having free and unfinnowy dispositions. And so it liketh me, if not by my judgement, yet by my inclination. But yet I perceiue that sometimes I wade too farre into it, and that forcing my selfe to avoide art and affectation, I fall into it another way.

— *brevi esse labore:*

*Obscurus fio.* —

To be short labour I?

I darker grow thereby.

*Plato* saith, that either long or short, are not properties, that either diminish or giue price unto

Gold. Part. 1.  
1. 1. 1.

Hor. art. Poet.  
25.



unto speech. If I should undertake to follow this other smoothe, even and regular stile, I should never attaine unto it. And although the cadences, and breakings of *Salust*, doe best agree with my humour, yet doe I finde *Cesar* both greater, and lesse easie to be represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie mee to the imitation of *Senecaes* stile, I omit not to esteeme *Plutark* much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my naturall forme, whence happily ensueth, that I am more in speaking than in writing. The motions & actions of the body, give life unto words, namely in them that move roundly and without affectation, as I doe, and that will be earnest. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, & the place, may somewhat endear those things, which in themselves are but meane, as prating. *Mossell* complaineth in *Tacitus* of certaine strait garments used in his time, & discommendeth the fashion of the benches whereon the Orators were to speak, saying, they weakened their eloquence. My French tongue is corrupted both in the pronuntiation, and else-where by the barbarisme of my country. I never saw man of these hither-countries, that did not evidently taste of his home-speech, & who often did not wound those eares, that are purely French. Yet is it not because I am so cunning in my *Perigordin*: For I have no more use of it, than of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care. It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of *Poitou*, *Xaintogne*, *Angoulesme*, *Limosin*, and *Avergne*, squattering, dragling, and filthie. There is about us, toward the mountaines, a Gascoine tongue, which I much commend and like, sinnowie, pithie, short, significant, and in truth man-like and military, more than any other I understand. As compendious, powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latine, which was given me for my mother-tongue, by reason of discontinuance, I have so lost the promptitude of it, as I cannot well make use of it in speech, and scarcely in writing, in which I have heeretofore beene so ready, that I was called a master in it. Loe heere my little sufficiencie in that behalfe. *Beauty is a part of great commendation in the commerce and societie of men.* It is the chiefe meane of reconciliation betweene one and other. Nor is there any man so barbarous, and so hard-hearted, that in some sort feeleth not himselfe stricken with her sweetnes. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keepe a speciall rancke: For, his structure & composition are worthy due consideration. Such as goe about to sunder our two principall parts, and separat them one from another, are much to blame: They ought rather to be coupled and joyned fast together. The soule must be enjoined not to retire her selfe to her quarter, nor to entertaine her selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the body (which she cannot well doe, except it be by some counterfaired, apish trick) but ought to combine and cling fast unto him, to embrace, to cherish, assist, correct, perswade and advise him, and if hee chance to swarve or stray, then to leade and direct him: In fine, she should wed and serve him in stead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrary and divers, but agreeing and uniforme. Christians have a particular instruction concerning this bond, for they know that Gods justice alloweth this society, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yea so farre as to make the body capable of everlasting rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, & will have him entirely to receive either the punishment, or the recompence, according to his demerits. The Peripatetike Sect (of all Sects the most sociable) attributeth this onely care unto wisdom, in common to procure and provide, the good of these two associated parts: And declareth other Sects to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this commixture; this one for the body, this other for the soule, with one like error and oversight, & had mistaken their subject, which is Man; and their guide, which in generall they avouched to be Nature. The first distinction, that hath beene amongst men, and the first consideration, that gave preheminences to some over others, it is very likely it was the advantage of beauty.

— agros divisere atque dedere

*Pro facie cuiusque & viribus ingenioque:*

*Nam facies multum valuit, viresque vigebant.*

They lands divided and to each man shared

As was his face, his strength, his wit compared:

For face and strength were then

Much prized amongst men.

I am of a stature somewhat under the meane. This default hath not only uncomeliness in



it, but also incommodie: Yea even in those which have charge and commandement over others; For, the authoritie which a faire presence and corporall majestic endoweth a man withal is wanting. *Caius Marius* did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands, that were not six foot high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinary stature in the Gentleman he frameth, rather, than any other: and to avoid all strangenesse that may make him to be pointed at: But if he misse of this mediocritie, to chuse that he rather offend in lownes, then in tallnes. I would not do it in a militarie man. Little men (saith *Aristotle*) are indeed pretie, but not beauteous, nor goodly: and in greatnes, is a great soule knowne, as is beautie in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians (saith he) in chusing of their Kings and Magistrates, had an especiall regard to the beautie & tallnes of the persons. They had reason, for it breedeth an awfull respect in those that follow him, and a kind of feare in his enemies, to see a goodly, tall and handsome man march as chiefe and Generall in the head of any armie, or front of a troupe:

*Ving. Æn. li. 7.*  
725.

*Ipsæ inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus  
Veritur, arma tenens, & toto vertice supra est.  
Turnus, a goodly man, amongst them that led,  
Stood arm'd, then all they higher by the head.*

*Plat. 45.3.*

Our great, divine and heavenly King, al whose circumstances ought with much care, religion and reverence to be noted and observed, hath not refused the bodies commendation. *Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum. In favor beautiful above the sonnes of men.* And *Plato* wisheth beautie to be joyned unto temperance & fortitude in the preservers of his Commonwealth. Is it not a great spite, if being amongst your owne servants, a stranger cometh to your selfe to aske you where your Lord or Master is? And that you have nothing but the remainder of a capping, which is as well put off to your Barber, or to your Secretarie? As it happened to poore *Philopamen*, who having left his company behind, and coming alone into a house where he was expressly looked for, his hostes who knew him not, and saw him to be so ill-favored a fellow, employed him to helpe her maides draw water, and to mend the fire for the service of *Philopamen*. The Gentlemen of his traine being come and finding him so busily at worke (for he failed not to fulfil his hostesses commandement) enquired of him what he did, who answered, *I pay the penaltie of my unhandsonnesse*. Other beauties are for women. The beautie of a handsome comely tallnesse is the only beautie of men. Where lownesse and littlenesse is, neither the largenesse or roundnesse of a forehead nor the whitenes or lovelinesse of the eyes, nor the pretty fashion of a nose, nor the slendernes of the eare, littlenesse of the mouth, order and whitenesse of teeth, smooth thicknesse of a beard, browne like a chesse-nut, well-curved and upstanding haire, just proportion of the head, freshnes of colour, the cheereful aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-sinelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsome beautilous man. As for me, I am of a strong and well compacted stature, my face is not fat but full, my complexion betweene joviall and melancholy, indifferently sanguine and hot.

*Mart. li. 6. epig.*  
56.1.

*Vnde regent setis mihi crura, & pectora villis:  
Whereby my legs and brest,  
With rough haire are opprest.*

My health is blith and lustie, though well-stroken in age, seldome troubled with diseases: Such I was, for I am now engaged in the approches of age, having long since past over forty yeares.

*Luct. J. 2. 11 40*

*minutatum vires & robur adultum  
Frangit, & in partem pejorem liquitur ætas.  
By little and a little age breakes strength,  
To worse and worse declining melt at length.*

What hereafter I shall be, will be but halfe a being, I shall be no more my selfe. I daily escape, and still steale my selfe from my selfe:

*Mor. li. 2. epist. 2*  
55.

*Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes.  
Yeares as they passe away,  
Of all our things make pray.*

Of addresssing, dexteritie, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the son of a well disposed father, & of so blithe and merry a disposition, that it continued with him even to his extreamest



extreamest age. He seldome found any man of his condition, and that could match him in all exercises of the body; As I have found few, that have not out-gon me, except it were in running, wherein I was of the middle sort. As for musicke, were it either in voice, which I have most harsh, & very unapt, or in instruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wrestling; I could never attaine to any indifferent sufficiencie; but none at all in swimming, in fencing in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are so stiffe and nummie, that I can hardly write for my selfe, so that what I have once scribled, I had rather frame it a new, than take the paines to correct it; and I reade but little better. I perceive how the audiorie censureth me: Otherwise I am no bad clarke. I cannot very well close up a letter; nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arme a Horse: Nor handsomely array a Hawke upon my fist, nor cast her off, or let her flie, nor could I ever speake to Dogges, to Birds, or to Horses. The conditions of my body are, in fine, very well agreeing with those of my minde, wherein is nothing lively; but onely a compleate and constant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, unlesse I carry my selfe unto it, and no longer than my desire leadeth and directh me.

*Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,*  
While earnestnesse for sport or gaine,  
Sweetly deceiv's the slowest paine.

Ser. lib. 2. fa. 2.

21.

Otherwise, if by any pleasure I be not allured, and if I have other direction, than my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well: For I am at such a stay; that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fret my selfe about, or will purchase at so high a rate, as to trouble my wits for it, or be constrained thereunto.

*Tanti mihi non sit opaci*  
*Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare voluitur aurum;*  
So much I weigh not shadow Tagus sande,  
Nor gold that roubles into the Sea from land,

Juven. sat. 3. 54.

I am extreamele lazie and idle, and exceedingly free, both by nature and art. I would as willingly lend my blood as my care. I have a minde free and altogether her owne; accustomed to follow her owne humor. And to this day never had nor commanding nor forced master. I have gon as farre, and kept what pace pleased me best. Which hath enfeebled and made me unprofitable to serve others, and made me fit and apt but onely for my selfe. And as for me, no man ever needed to force this heave, lithier, and idle nature of mine: For, having even from my birth found my selfe in such a degree of fortune, I have found occasiō to stay there: (An occasion notwithstanding, that a thousand others of mine acquaintance would have taken as a plancke to passe over to search, to agitation and to unquietnes.) And as I have sought for nothing, so have I taken nothing.

*Non agimur tuncidis ventis Aquilone secundo,*  
*Non tamen adversis atatem ducimus austris:*  
*Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,*  
*Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.*  
With full sailes, prosperous winde, we do not drive;  
Nor yet with winde full in our teeth doe live.  
In strength, in wit, in vertue, shape, goods, place,  
Last of the first, before the last we pace.

Hor. lib. 2. ediff.  
2. 201.

I have had no need but of sufficiencie to content my selfe: Which being well taken is ever a regiment for the mind, equally difficult in all sorts of condition; and which by use, we see more easily found in want, than in plenty; peradventure, because that according to the course of our other passions, the greedinesse of riches is more sharpened by their uses than by their need: and the vertue of moderation more rare, than that of patience. And I have had no need, but to enjoy those goods quietly, which God of his bounty had bestowed upon me. I have tasted no kinde of tedious trouble: I have seldome mannaged other than mine owne businesse: Or if I have, it hath been upon condition, I might do it at my leisure, and according to my will, committed unto me, by such as trusted me, and knew me well, and would not importune me; For, the skilfull rider, will reape some service of a restie and wind-broken jade. My very Childe-hood hath bene directed by a soft, milde, gentle and free



falliō, and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. Al which hath endowed me with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care: So that I love, men should conceale my losses from me, and the disorders which concerne me. In the Chapter of my charges and expences, I have set downe what my negligence or carelesnesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine my selfe.

Hor. lib. 1. epist.  
6. 45.

— *hac nempe supersunt,  
Quæ dominum fallant, quæ profint furibus.*

This remnant of accompts I have,  
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

I love not to know an accompt of what I have, that I may lesse exactly feele my losses: I desire those that live with me, where they want affection, or good effects, to cezen and pay me with good apparances. For want of sufficient cōstancy to endure the importunity of contray or crosse accidents, whereunto we are subject; and because I cannot alwaies keepe my selfe prepared to governe and order my affaires, as much as I am able, I foster this opinion in me, relying wholly upon fortune, & ready to take every thing at the worst, & resolve to beare that worst, mildely and patiently. About that only doe I busie my selfe, and to that end do I direct all my discourses. In any dangerous matter, I care not so much how I may avoide it, & how little it importeth whether I avoide it or no; And what were it if I would continue in it? Being unable to direct events, I governe my selfe; and if they apply not themselves to me, I apply my selfe to them: I have no great art to shunne fortune, and how to scape or force it, and with wisdom to addresse matters to my liking: I have also lesse sufferance to endure the sharpe and painefull care, which belongeth to that. And the most troublesome state for me, is to be doubtful in matters of weight, & agitated between feare & hope. To deliberate, be it but in slight matters, doth importune me. And I feel my spirit more perplexed to suffer the motions of doubt, and shakings of consultation, than to be settled and resolved about any accident whatsoever, after the chance is once cast. Few passions have troubled my sleepe; but of deliberations the least doth trouble it. Even as of high-waies, I willingly seeke to avoid the downe-hanging, and slippery, & take the beaten-path, though myrie, and deepe, so I may go no lower, and there seeke I safety: So love I pure mishapes, and which exercise and turmoile me no more, after the uncertaintie of their mending: And which even at the first cast, drive me directly into sufferance.

Sen. Agam. act.  
3. sc. 1. 29.

— *dubia plus torquent mala.*

Evils yet in suspence,  
Doe give us more offence.

In events; I carry my selfe man-like; in the conduct childishly. The horror of a fall doth more hurt me, than the blow. The play is not worth the candle. The covetous man hath a worse reckoning of his passion, than the poore; and the jealous man, than the cuckold. And it is often lesse harme for one to loose his farme, than pleade and wrangle for it: *The slowest march, is the safest.* It is the seate of constancie. Therein you have no need but of your selfe. There she takes her footing and wholly resteth upon her selfe. This example of a Gentleman, whom many have knowne, hath it not some Philosophicall shew? This man having passed all his youth like a good fellow, a jollie companion, a great talker, and a merry ladd, being now well in yeares, would needes be married. Remembring himselfe how much the subject of cuckoldry had given him cause to speake, and scosse at others; to put himselfe under covert-baron, he tooke him a wife from out that place, where all men may have them for mony, and with her made his aliance: Good morrow Whoore, Good morrow Cuckold. And there is nothing wherewith he oftner and more openly entertain'd such as came unto him, than with this tale; Whereby he brideled the secret prattlings of mockers, and blunted the point of their reproch. Concerning ambition, which is next neighbor or rather daughter to presumption, it had beene needfull (to advance me) that fortune had come to take me by the hand: For to put my selfe into any care for an uncertaine hope, and to submit my selfe to all difficulties, waiting on such as seeke to thrust themselves into credite and reputation, in the beginning of their progresse, I could never have done it.

Ten. Adel. act. 2.  
sc. 2.

— *Spem pretio non emo,*

Expence of present pay  
For hope, I do not lay.

I fasten



Ifasten my selfe on that which I see and hold and go not far from the shore:

*Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat arenas.*

Keepe water with one Oare,  
With th'other grate the shore.

*Throp. lib. 3. el.  
2. 2.*

Besides, a man seldome comes to these preferments, but in hazarding first his own: And I am of opinion, if that which a man hath, sufficeth to maintaine the condition, wherein he was borne and brought up, it is folly to let it goe upon the uncertainty of encreasing the same. He to whom fortune refuseth meanes to settle his estate and establish a quiet and reposed being, is excusable, if he cast what he hath at hazard, since thus as well as thus, necessity sends him to shift and search out.

*Capienda rebus in malis preceps via est.*

A headlong course is best,

When mischiefes are addrest.

*Sen. Agam. act.  
2. Sc. 1. 47.*

And I rather excuse a yonger brother, to make sale of his inheritance, than him, who hath the honor of his house in charge, who cannot fall into wants but through his default: I have by the counsell of my good friends of former times, found the way shorter and easier to rid my selfe of this desire and keepe my selfe hush:

*Cui sit conditio dulcis, sine pulvere palma.*

Who like it well to beare the prise,

But take no toile in any wise.

*Hor. lib. 1. Epist.  
1. 51.*

Judging also rightly of my forces, that they were not capable of great matters: And remembering the saying of Lord Oliver, whilome Chaunceler of France, who said, that French men might be compared to Apes, who climbing up a tree, never cease skipping from bough to bough, till they come to the highest, where they shew their bare tails.

*Turpe est quod nequeat capiti committere pondus,*

*Et pressum inflexo mox dare terga genu.*

Tis shame, more than it can well beare, on head to packe,

And thereby soone oppress't with bended knee flie backe.

*Prop. lib. 3. el.  
8. 5.*

Such qualities as are now in me void of reproch, in that age I deemed unprofitable. The facilitie of my maners had been named faintnesse and weaknes; faith and conscience wold have beene thought scrupulous & superstitious: liberty and freedome, importunate, inconsiderate and rash. Misfortune serveth to some purpose. It is not amisse to be borne in a much depraved age: for in cōparison of others, you are judged vertuous, very cheape. In our dayes, he that is but a parricide, or a sacrilegious person, is a man of honesty and honor,

*Nunc si depositum non inficiatur amicus,*

*Si reddat veterem cum tota crugine follem,*

*Prodigiosa fides, & Thuscis digna libellis,*

*Quaque coronatâ lustrari debeat agnâ.*

If now a friend deny not what was laid in trust,

If wholly he restore th'old bellowes with their rust:

A wondrous trust, to be in Chronicles related,

And should with sacrifice, as strange, be expiated.

*Juven. Sat. 13.  
60*

And never was there time or place, wherein more assured and great reward was proposed unto Princes for goodnesse and justice. The first that shall be advised, by these meanes to thrust himselfe into favour and credit, I am much deceived if in part of payment, he get not the stare of his fellows. Force and violence can do very much; but never all. Wee see Merchants, countrey-Justices, and Artificers to march cheek by joll with our Nobilitie, in valour, and militarie discipline. They performe honourable combates, both publike and private. They batter and defend Townes and Cities in our present warres. A Prince smoothereth his commendation amid this throng. Let him shine over others with humanitie, with truth, loyaltie, temperance and above all with justice; markes now adaies rare, unknowne and extiled. It is only the peoples will, wherewith he may effect what he pleaseth: And no other qualities can allure their will so much as they, as being the profitablest for them. *Nihil est tam popolare quam bonitas:* Nothing is so popular as goodnesse is. By this proportion I had beene a rare great man: As by that of certaine ages past, I am now a pigmey and popular man; In which it was common, if stronger qualities did not concur with all, To see a



cit. Off. lib. 1.

man temperate in his revenges, milde in revenging of offences, religious in keeping of his word; neither double, nor over tractable, nor applying his faith to others will, or to every occasion. I would rather let all affaires go to wracke, than breake my word for their avails. For, touching this new-found vertue of faining and dissimulation, which now is so much in credit, I hate it to the death: and of all vices, I finde none that so much witnesseth demitlenesse and basenesse of heart. It is a coward and servile humour, for a man to disguise and hide himselfe under a maske, and not dare to shew himselfe as he is. Thereby our men addresse themselves to treacherie: *Being trained to utter false words, they make no conscience to breake them.* A generous minde ought not to belie his thoughts, but make shew of his inmost parts: There al is good, or at least all is humane. *Aristotle* thinks it an office of magnanimitie to hate and love openly, to judge and speake with all libertie, and never (though the praise of truth goe on it) to make esteeme either of the approbation or reprobation of others. *Apollonius* said, it was for servants to lie, and for freemen to speake truth. It is the chiefe and fundamentall part of vertue. Shee must be loved for her owne sake. *He that speaketh truth, because he is bound to doe so, and for that he serveth: and that feares not to tell a lie, when it little importeth another man, is not sufficiently true.* My mind of her own complexion detesteth falshood, & hateth to think on it. I feele an inward bashfulnes, and a stinging remorie, if at any time it scape me; as sometimes it doth, if unpremeditated occasions surpriseth me. *A man must not alwaies say all he knowes, for that were follie: But what a man speakes ought to be agreeing to his thoughts, otherwise it is impiety.* I know not what benefit they expect, that ever faine, & so uncessantly dissemble; except it be not to be beleaved, even when they speake truly. That may deceive men once or twice, but to make a profession to cary it away smoothly, and as some of our Princes have done, to boast, that if their shurt were privie to their secret and true cogitation, they wold burne it: which was the saying of ancient *Metellus Macedonicus*; And that he who cannot dissemble, cannot raaign, serves but only to warne those who have to deale with them, that what they say is but untruth & dissimulation. *Quo quis versutior & callidior est, hoc inuisior & suspectior, detracta opinione probitatis.* The finer-headed, and more subtle-brained a man is, the more is he hated and suspected, if once the opinion of honesty be taken from him. It were great simplicity for a man to suffer himself to be mist-led either by the lookes or words of him, that outwardly professeth what he is not inwardly, as did *Tiberius*. And I know not what share such people may challenge in the commerce or mē, never producing any thing, that may be taken for good payment. *He who is disloyall to truth, is likewise false against lying.* Such as in our daies, in the establishing of a Princes dutie, have only considered the good and felicitie of his affaires, and preferred the same before the respect of his faith and conscience, would say something to a Prince, whose affaires fortune hath so disposed, that with once breaking & falsifying of his word, he might for ever cōsume and establish them. But it goeth other wise. A man may more than once come to such a bargain. A man during his life concludeth more than one peace or treatie. The comodity or profit that inviteth them to the first disloyalty (& daily some offer themselves; as to all other trecheries) sacrileges, murders, rebellions, treasons, are undertaken for some kinde of profit. But this first gain brings ever infinite losses and dangers with it: casting this Prince from-out all commerce and meanes of negotiation, by the example of this infidelitie. *Soliman* of the Ottomans race (a race little regarding the keeping of promises or performance of covenants) at what time he caused his Armie to land at *Otranto* (I being then but a childe) having knowne that *Mercurin* of *Gratinare*, and the inhabitants of *Castro*, were detained prisoners, after the towne was yeilded, contrary to that which by his Captaines had beene capitulated with them, he sent word they should be released, and that having other weighty enterprises in hand in that countrey, such disloyalty, although it had apparance of great and present benefit, yet in time to come it would bring a distrust and reproch of infinite prejudice. As for me, I had rather be importunate and indiscreet, than a flatterer and a dissembler. I allow, a man may entermingle some point of fiercenesse and wilfulness, to keepe himselfe so entite and open as I am, without consideration of others. And mee seemeth I become a little more free, where I should be lesse, and that by the opposition of respect I grow earnest. It may also be, that for want of Art I follow mine owne nature. Pretenting to the greater sort the very same licence of speech and boldnes of countenance, that I bring from my house: I perceive how much it inclineth towards indiscretion and incivilitie. But although I be so fashioned, my spirit is not sufficiently yeelding to avoid a sudden



den question, or to scape it by some winding, nor to dissemble a truth, nor have I memory able to continue it so fained, nor assurance sufficient to maintaine it; and I play the Braggard through feebleness. And therefore I apply my selfe to ingenuitie, and ever to speake truth and what I think, both by complexion and by intention, leaving the successe thereof unto fortune. *Aristippus* said, that the chiefeſt commoditie he reaped by Philosophy, was, that he spake freely and sincerely to all men: Memory is an instrument of great service, and without which, judgement wil hardly discharge his duty, wherof I have great want. What a man will propoſe unto me, he muſt doe it by peece-meales: For, to answer to a diſcourſe that hath many heads, lieth not in my power. I cannot receive a charge, except I have my writing tables about me: and if I muſt remember a diſcourſe of any conſequence, be it of any length, I am driven to this vile and miſerable neceſſitie, to learne every word I muſt ſpeake by rote; otherwiſe I ſhould never do it wel or aſſuredly, for feare my memory ſhould in my greateſt need taile me; which is very hard unto me, for I muſt have three houres to learne three verſes. Moreover in any long diſcourſe, the libertie or authoritie to remoove the order, to change a word, unceſſantly altering the matter, makes it more difficult to be confirmed in the authors memory. And the more I diſtruſt it, the more it troubleth me. It ſerveth me better by chance, and I muſt careleſſly ſollicite her, for if I urge her, ſhe is aſtoniſhed; and if it once beginne to waver, the more I ſound her, the more entangled and intricate ſhe proveth. She wil wait upon me when ſhe liſt, not when I pleaſe. And what I feele in my memorie, I feele in many other parts of mine. I ſchew commandement, duty, and compulſion. What I doe eaſily and naturally, if I reſolve to doe it by expreſſe and preſcribed appointment, I can then doe it no more. Even in my body, thoſe parts, that have ſome liberty, and more particular jurisdiction, doe ſometimes reſuſe to obey me, if at any time I appoint and enjoin them to doe me ſome neceſſarie ſervices. This forced and tyrannicall preordinance doth reſect them, and they either for ſpight or feare ſhrinke & are quailed. Being once in a place, where it is reputed a barbarous diſcourteſie not to pledge thoſe that drinke to you, where although I were uſed with all libertie, in favor of certain Ladies that were in company, according to the faſhion of the country, I would needs play the good fellow. But it made us all mery; for the threats and preparation, that I ſhould force my ſelfe beyond my naturall cuſtome, did in ſuch ſort ſtop, and ſtuffe my throat, that I was not able to ſwallow one drop, and was barr'd of drinking all the repaſt. I found my ſelfe glutted & full of drink by the overmuch ſwilling that my imagination had fore-conceived. This effect is more apparant in thoſe, whoſe imagination is more vehement and ſtrong: yet it is naturall: and there is no man, but ſhall ſometimes have a feeling of it. An excellent Archer being condemned to death, was offered to have his life ſaved, if he would but ſhew any notable triall of his profeſſion, reſuſed to make prooſe of it; fearing leſt the contention of his will ſhould make him to miſſe-direct his hand, and that in lieu of ſaving his life, he might alſo loſe the reputation he had gottē in ſhooting in a bow. A man whoſe thoughts are buſie about other matters, ſhall very neere within an inch keepe and alwaies hit one ſelfe ſame number and meaſure of paces, in a place where he walketh; but if heedily he endeavour to meaſure and count them, he ſhall finde that what he did by nature and chance, he cannot doe it ſo exactly by deſſeign. My Library (which for a countrey Library, may paſſe for a very faire one) is ſeated in a corner of my houſe: if any thing come into my minde, that either I muſt goe ſeeke or write in it, for feare I ſhould forget it in croſſing of my Court, I muſt deſire ſome other body to remember the ſame for me. If ſpeaking, I embolden my ſelfe never ſo little to digreſſe from my Diſcourſe, I doe ever loſe it; which makes me to keepe my ſelfe in my ſpeech, forced, neere and cloſe. Thoſe that ſerve me, I muſt ever call them, either by their office or countrey: for I finde it very hard to remember names. Well may I ſay, it hath three ſyllables, that it's ſound is harſh, or that it beginneth or endeth with ſuch a letter. And ſhould I live long, I doubt not but I might forget mine own name, as ſome others have done heretofore. *Meſſala Corvinus* lived two yeeres without any memory at all, which is alſo reported of *George Trapezuncius*. And for mine owne intereſt, I doe often ruminare what manner of life theirs was, and whether wanting that part, I ſhall have ſufficient to maintaine my ſelfe in any good ſort: which looking neere unto, I feare that this defect, if it be perfect, ſhall loſe all the functions of my ſoule.

*Pleuus rimarum ſum, hâc atque illâc perſſuo.*

*Ter. Eun. act. 7.  
ſcen. 2.*

*I am,*



I am so full of holes, I cannot hold,

I runne out ev'ry way, when tales are told.

It hath often befallen me, to forget the word, which but three houres before I had either given or received of another, and to forget where I had laid my purse; let *Cicero* say what he list. I helpe my selfe to loose, what I particularly locke up. *Memoria certe non modo Philosophiam, sed omnis vite usum, omnesque artes una maxime continet.* Assuredly memorie alone, of all other things, compriseth not onely Philosophy, but the use of our whole life, and all the science. Memorie is the receptacle and case of knowledge. Mine being so weak, I have no great cause to complaine if I know but little. I know the names of Arts in Generall, and what they treat of, but nothing further. I turne and tisse over bookes, but do not studie them; what of them remains in me, is a thing which I no longer acknowledge to be any bodies else. Onely by that hath my judgement profited: and the discourses and imaginations, wherewith it is instructed and trained up. The authours, the place, the words, and other circumstances, I sodainly forget: and am so excellent in forgetting, that as much as any thing else I forget mine owne writings and compositions. Yea, mine owne sayings are every hand-while alleadged against my selfe, when God wot I perceive it not. He that would know of me, whence or from whom the verses or examples, which here I have huddled up are takē, should greatly put me to my shifts, & I could hardly tell it him. Yet have I not begged them, but at famous and very wel known gates, which though they were rich in themselves, did never please me, unlesse they also came from rich and honourable hands, & that authority concur with reason. It is no great marvell, if my booke follow the fortune of other bookes; and my memory forgo or forget as wel what I write, as what I read: and what I give, as well as what I receive. Besides the defect of memory, I have others, which much further my ignorance. My wit is dull and slow, the least cloud dimmeth it, so that (for example sake) I never proposed riddle unto it (were it never so easie) that it was able to expound. There is no subtiltie so vaine, but confounds me. In games, wherein wit may beare a part, as of chesse, of cards, of tables and others, I could never conceive but the common and plainest draughts. My apprehension is very sluggish and gloomy; but what it once holdeth, the same it keepeth fast: and for the time it keepes it, the same it embraceth generally, strictly and deeply. My sight is quicke, sound, perfect and farre-seeing, but easily wearied, if much charged or employed. By which occasiō I can have no great commerce with books but by others service which reade unto me. *Plinie* the yonger can instruct those that have tri'd it, how much this fore flowing importeth those that give themselves to this occupation. There is no spirit so wretched or so brutish, wherein some particular facultie is not seene to shine; and none so low buried, but at one hole or other it will fall out sometimes. And how it cometh to passe, that a minde blinde and lumbering in all other things, is in some particlar effects, lively, cleare and excellent, a man must inquire of cunning masters. But those are the faire spirits, which are universall, open, and readie to all, if not instructed, at least to be instructed. Which I alleage to accuse mine: For, be it either through weakness, or retchlesse-ness (and to be carelesse of that which lieth at our feet, which wee have in our hands, which neere-est concerneth the use of life, is a thing farre from my Dogma or Doctrine) there is none so simple or so ignorant as mine, in divers such common matters, & of which without imputation or shame a man should never be ignorant; whereof I must needs tell some examples. I was borne and brought up in the Countie, and amidst husbandry: I have since my predecessours quit me the place and possession of the goods I enjoy, both businette and husbandry in hand. I cannot yet cast account either with penne or Counters. There are divers of our French Coines, I know not: nor can I distinguish of one graine from another, be it in the field or in the barne, unlesse it be very apparant: nor do I scarcely know the difference betweene the Cabige or Lettice in my Garden. I understand not the names of the most usuall tooles about husbandrie, nor of the meanest principles of tillage, which most children know. I was never skillfull in Mechanicall arts, nor in Traffike or knowledge of Merchandize, nor in the diversitie and nature of fruits, wines, or cates, nor can I make a Hawke, physick a Horse, or teach a Dogge. And since I must make full shew of my shame or ignorance, it is not yet a moneth since, that I was found to be ignorant, wherto Leven served to make bread withal; or what it was to cunne Wine. The *Ashe-nians* were anciently wont to thinke him very apt for the Mathematickes, that could cunningly



ningly order or make up a faggot, of brufne wood? Verily a man might draw a much contrarie conclusion from me: For let me haue all that may belong to a Kitchin, yet shall I be ready to starue for hunger. By these partes of my confession, one may imagine diuers others, to my cost and detriment. But howsoever I make my selfe knowne, alwaies provided it be as I am indeed, I haue my purpose. And I excuse not my selfe, that I dare set downe in writing, so base and frivolous matters as these. The basenesse of the subject forceth me thereunto. Let who so list accuse my project, but not my progeresse. So it is that without being warned of others, I see very well how little this weigheth or is worth, and I perceiue the fondnesse of my purpose. It is sufficient that my Iudgement is not dismayed or distracted, whereof these be the Eliaies.

*Nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus  
Quantum noluerit ferre rogatus Atlas,  
Et possis ipsum tu deridere Latinum,  
Non potes, in nugas dicere plura meas,  
Ipse ego quam dixi: quid dentem dente iuvabit  
Rodere? carne opus est, si satur esse velis.  
Ne perdas operam, qui se mirantur, in illos  
Virus habe, nos hac novimus esse nihil.*

*Mar. l. 13. epig.  
2. 1.*

Suppose you were long nos'd, suppose such nose you weare  
As *Atlas*, if you should intreat him, would not beare,  
That you in flouting old *Latinus* can be fine.

Yet can you say no more against these toyes of mine,  
Then I haue said; what boore, tooth with a tooth to whet?  
You must haue fleshe, if you to glut your selfe be set.

Loose not your paines; 'gainst them who on themselves are doting

Keepe you your sting: we know these things of ours are nothing

I am not bound to utter no follies, so I be not deceived to know them: And wittingly to erre, is so ordinarie in me, that I erre not much otherwise; and seldome erre casually. It is a small matter to yeeld the fond actions unto the rashnesse of my humors, since I cannot warrant my selfe ordinarily to yeeld them the vicious. Being at *Barleduc*, I saw, for the commendatiō of *Renae* the King of *Sicilies* memory a picture which with his owne hands he had made of himselfe, presented unto our King *Francis* the second: why is it not as lawfull for every man else to pourtray himself with his pen, as it was for him to doe it with a penzell? I will not then forget this blemish, unfit to be scene of all. That is irresolution: a most incommodious defect in the negotiation of worldly affaires: I cannot resolve in matters admitting doubtfulnesse:

*Ne si, ne nō, nec uox mi suona intiero.*

Nor yea, nor nay, sounds clearly in my heart.

*Petr. Pa. 1. son.  
138. 8.*

I can maintaine an opinion, but not make choise of it: For in humane things, what side soever a man leaneth on, many apparances present themselves unto us, which confirm us in them: and *Chrysippus* the Philosopher was wont to say; that he would learn nothing else of his maisters *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, but their doctines simply: For, proofes and reasons he would finde enough of himselfe. Let me turne to what side I will, I ever finde sufficient matter, and likly-hood to keepe my selfe unto it. Thus keepe I doubt and liberty to my selfe, to chuse, untill occasion urge me, and then (to confesse the truth) as the common saying is, I cast my feather to the wind, and yeeld to fortunes mercie. A verie light inclination, and a slender circumstance caries me away.

*Dum in dubio est animus paulo momento huc atque illuc impellitur.*

While mind is in suspence, with small a doe,

T'is hither, thither, driven fro and to.

*Ter. And. act. 1.  
scen. 3.*

The uncertainty of my judgement, is in many occurrences so equally ballanced, as I would willingly compromise it to the deciding of chance and of the dice. And I note with great consideration of our humane imbecillitie, the examples, which the history of God it selfe hath left us of this use, to remit the determinatiō of electiōs in doubtfull matters, unto fortune and hazard: *Sors cecidit super Mathiam.* The lot fell upon *Mathias*. *Humane reason* is a two-edged dangerous sword; Even in *Socrates* his hand, her most inward and familiar friend,

*Act. 1. 16.*



friend, marke what a many-ended staffe it is. So am I only fit to follow, and am easily carried away by the throng. I doe not greatly trust mine owne strength, to undertake to command, or to lead. I rejoyce to see my steps traced by others. If I must runne the hazard of an uncertaine choise, I would rather have it be under such a one, who is more assured of his opinions, and more wedded to them, then I am of mine; the foundation and platforme of which, I find to be very slippery; yet am I not very easie to change, forsomuch as I perceive a like weaknesse in contrary opinions. *Ipsa consuetudo assentiendi periculosa esse videtur, & lubrica: The very custome of assenting seemeth hazerdous and slippery: Namely in politike affaires, wherein is a large field open to all motions, and to contestation.*

*Cic. Acad. qu.  
lib. 4.*

*Tibull. lib. 4.  
hero. v. 41.*

*Insta pari premitur veluti cum pondere libra,  
Prona nec hac plus parte sedet, nec surgit ab illa.*

As when an even skale with equall weight is peized,  
Nor fallles it downe this way, or is it that way raised.

As for example, *Machiavels* discourses, were very solid for the subject; yet hath it been very easie to impugne them, and those that haue done, have left no lesse facilitie to impugne theirs. A man might ever find answeres enough to such an argument, both rejoinders, double, treble, quadruple, with this infinite contexture of debates, that our pettie-foggers haue wrye-drawne, and wrested as much as ever they could in favour of their pleas and processe: *Cadimur, & totidem plagis consumimus hostem.*

*Hor. lib. 2. epist.  
2. 97.*

Wee by our foes are beaten, if not slaine,

Wee with as many strokes waste them againe.

Reasons having no other good ground then experience, and the diversity of humane events, presenting us with infinite examples for all manner of formes. A wise man of our times, saith, that where our Almanakes say warme, should a man say cold, and in lieu of drie, moyst; And ever set downe the contrarie of what they foretell; were he to lay a wager of one or others successe, he would not care what side he tooke, except in such things as admit no uncertaintie; as to promise extreame heat at Christmas, and exceeding cold at Midsomer. The like I thinke of these politike discourses. What part soever you are put unto, you haue as good a game as your fellow: Provided you affront not the apparant and plaine principles. And therefore (according to my humor) in publike affaires, there is no course so bad (so age and constancie be joyned unto it) that is not better then change and alteration. *Our manners are exceedingly corrupted, and with a marvelous inclination bend toward worse and worse;* Of our lawes and customes many are barbarous, and divers monstrous; notwithstanding, by reason of the difficultie to reduce us to better estate, and of the danger of this subversion, if I could fixe a pegge into our wheele, and stay it where it now is, I would willingly doe it.

*Juv. sat. 8. 183.*

*— nunquam adeo facis adeoque pudendis*

*Ut imur exemplis, ut non peiora super sint.*

Examples of so filthy shamefull kinde

We never use, but worse remaines behind.

Instabilitie is the worst I find in our state, and that our lawes, no more then our garments, can take no settled forme. *It is an easie matter to accuse a state of imperfektion, since all mortall things are full of it.* As easie is it to beget in a people a contempt of his ancient observances: No man ever undertooke it, but came to an end: But to establish a better state in place of that which is condemned and rased out, divers who haue attempted it, have shronk under the burthen. Touching my conduct, my wisdom hath small share therein. I am very easily to be directed by the worlds publike order. Oh happy people, that doth what is commanded, better then they which command, without vexing themselves about causes; which suffer themselves gently to be rowled on, according to the heavens rowling. Obedience is never pure and quiet in him, who talketh, pleadeth & contendeth. In some, (to returne to my selfe) the only matter, for which I make some accompt of my selfe, is that, wherein never man did thinke himselfe defective. My commendation is vulgar, common and popular; For, who ever thought he wanted wit? It were a propositiō, which in it selfe would imply contradiction. It is an infirmity, that is never where it is seene, it is very strong and last-holding, but yet pierced and dissipated by the first beame of the patients sight, as doth the Sunnes raies scatter and disperse a gloomie mist. For a man to accuse himselfe, were to ex-

cu'e



cuse himselfe of that subject; and to condemne himselfe, an abtolving of himselfe. There was never so base a porter, nor so silly a woman, but thought he had sufficient wit for his provision. We easily know in others, the advantage of courage, of bodily strength, of experience, of disposition and of beautie, but we never yeeld the advantage of judgement to any body: And the reasons, which part from the simple naturall discourse in others, wee thinke, that had we but looked that way, wee had surely found them. The skill, the knowledge, the stile & such like parts, which we see in strange workes, we easily perceive whether they exceede ours; but the meere productions of wit & understanding, every man deemeth it lyeth in him to meete with the very like, and doth hardly perceive the weight and difficultie of it, except (and that very scarcely) in an extreame & incōparable distance. And he that should clearly see the height of a strangers judgement, would come and bring his unto it. Thus, is it a kinde of exercising, whereof a man may hope but for meane commendation and small praise, and a manner of composition, of little or no harme at all. And then, for whom do you write? The wiser sort, unto whom belongeth bookish jurisdiction, know no other price but of doctrine, and avow no other proceeding in our wits, but that of erudition and art. If you have mistaken one *Scipio* for an other, what of any worth have you left to speake-of? He that is ignorant of *Aristotle* (according to them) he is therewithall ignorant of himselfe. Popular and shallow-headed mindes, cannot perceive the grace or comelineffe, nor judge of a smooth and quaint discourse. Now these two kindes possesse the world. The third, unto whose share you fall, of regular wits, and that are strong of themselves, is so rare, that justly it hath neither name or ranke amongst us; he loseth halfe his time, that doth aspire or endeavour to please it. It is commonly said, that the justest portion, nature hath given us of the graces, is that of sense and understanding: for there is no man, but is contented with the share she hath allotted him: Is it not reason? He who should see beyond that, should see further then his sight. I perswade my selfe to have good and sound opinions; but who is not so perswaded of his owne? One of the best trials I have of it, is the small esteeme I make of my selfe: for, had they not bene well assured, they would easily have suffered themselves to be deceived, by the affection I beare unto my selfe, singular, as he who brings it almost all unto my selfe, and that spill but a little besides. All that, which others distribute thereof unto an infinite number of friends and acquaintances, to their glorie and greatnesse, I referre to the repose of my spirit and to my selfe. What else-where escapes of it, is not properly by the appointment of my discourse:

— *mihi nempe valere & vivere doctus.* —

Well learn'd in what concerneth me,  
To live, and how in health to be.

As for my opinions, I finde them infinitely bold and constant to condemne mine insufficiencie. And to say truth, it is a subject, whereabout I exercise my judgement, as much as about any other. The world looks ever for-right, I turne my sight inward, there I fix it, there I amuse it. Every man lookes before himselfe, I looke within my selfe: I have no busines but with my selfe. I uncessantly consider, controule and taste my selfe: other men goe ever else-where, if they thinke well on it: they go ever forward,

— *nemo in sese tentat descendere.* —

No man attempteth this Essay,  
Into himselfe to finde the way.

as for me I roule me into my selfe. This capacitie of sifting out the truth, what, and howsoever it be in me, and this free humour I have, not very easily to subiect my believe, I owe especially unto my selfe, for the most constant, and generall imaginations I have are those; which (as one would say) were borne with me: They are natural unto me, and wholly mine. I produced them raw and simple, of a hardy and strong production, but somewhat troubled and unperfect: which I have since established and fortified by the authoritie of others, and by the sound examples of ancients, with whom I have found my selfe cōformable in judgement: Those have assured me of my hold-fast of them, and have given me both the enjoying and possession thereof more absolute and more cleare. The commendation which every man teekes after, for a vivacitie & promptitude of wit, I chalenge the same by the order of a notable and farre-founding action, or of some particular sufficiencie; I pretend it by the order, correspondencie, and tranquillitie of opinions and customes. *Omnino si quidquam est Cic. Off. lib. 1.*  
*decorum,*

*Pers. sat. 4. 23.*



*decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam equabilitas uniuersae uitae, tum singularum actionum: quam conseruare non possis, si aliorum naturam imitans, omittas tuam. Clearly if any thing bee decent for a man, nothing is more than an even carriage and equability of his whole life, and every action therein: which you cannot uphold, if following the nature of others, you let passe your owne.* Behold here then how far forth I finde my selfe guilty of that first part, I said to be in the vice of presumption. Concerning the second, which consisteth in not esteeming sufficiently of others, I woe not whether I can so well excuse my selfe; for, whatsoever it cost mee, I intend to speake what is of it. It may be, the continuall commerce I have with ancient humours, and the Idea of those rich mindes of former ages doth bring me out of liking and distaste both of others and of my selfe, or that in truth we live in an age, which produceth things but meane and indifferent. So it is, that I know nothing worthy any great admiration. Also I know not many men so familiarly as I should, to be able to judge of them: and those with whom the quality of my condition doth ordinarily make me conversant, are for the most part, such as have little care for the manuring of the soule, and to whom nothing is proposed for chiefe felicitie, but honour; and for absolute perfection, but valour. Whatsoever I see or beauteous or worthy in any other man, I willingly commend and regard; yea and I often endear my selfe with what I thinke of it, and allow my selfe to lie so farre forth: For, I cannot invent a false subject. I willingly witnesse with my friends what I finde praise-worthy in them. And of an inch of valour, I willingly make an inch and a halfe; but to lend them qualities they have not, I cannot; and openly to defend their imperfections, I may not: yet, bee they mine enemies, I shall sincerely give them their due, in witnessing their worth or honour. My affection may change; my judgement never. And I confound not my quarell with other circumstances, that are impertinent and belong not unto it. And I am so jealous of the liberty of my judgement, that for what passion soever, I can hardly quit it. I wrong my selfe more in lying, than him of whom I lie. This commendable and generous custome of the Persian nation, is much noted; *They speake very honourably and justly of their mortall enemies, and with those with whom they were at deadly fude and warre, so farre forth as the merit of their vertue deserved.* I know diuers men who have sundry noble and worthy parts; some wit, some courage, some dexteritie, some conscience, some a readinesse in speech, some one Science, and some another; but of a great man in generall, and that hath so many excellent parts together, or but one, in such a degree of excellencie, as hee may thereby be admired, or but compared to those of former ages whom we honour, my fortune hath not permitted me to see one. And the greatest I ever knew living (I meane of naturall parts of the minde, and the best borne) was *Stephanus de la boitie*: Verily it was a compleat minde, and who set a good face, and shewed a faire countenance upon all matters: A minde after the old stampe, and which, had fortune therewith beene pleased, would no doubt have brought forth wondrous effects; having by skil and study added very much to his rich naturall gifts. But I know not how it comes to passe, and surely it doth so, there is as much vanitie and weakenesse of understanding found in those, that professe to have most sufficiencie, that will entermeddle with learned vacations, and with the charges that depend of books, than in any sort of people; whether it be because there is more required, and expected at their hands, and common faults cannot be excused in them, or that the selfe-opinion of knowledge emboldeneth them the more to produce and discover themselves over-forward, whereby they loose and betray themselves. As an Artificer doeth more manifest his fottishnesse in a rich piece of worke, which he hath in hand, if foolishly and against the rules of his trade he seeke to apply it and entermeddle, than in a vile and base one; and men are more offended at a fault or oversight in a statue of gold, than in one of clay. These doe as much, when they set foorth things, which in themselves and in their place, would be good; for, they employ them without discretion, honouring their memory at the cost and charge of their understanding; and doing honour to *Cicero*, to *Galen*, to *Ulpian*, and to *Saint Ierome*, to make themselves ridiculous. I willingly returne to this discourse of the fondnesse of our institution: whose aime hath beene to make us not good and wittie, but wise and learned; She hath attained her propose. It hath not taught us to follow vertue and embrace wisdom; but made an impression in us of its Etymologie and derivation. *We can decline vertue, yet can we not love it.* If wee know not what wisdom is by effect and experience, wee know it by prattling and by rote. We are not satisfied to know the race, the alliances, and



and the pedegrees of our neighbours, but we wil have them to be our friends, and contract both conversation and intelligence with them: It hath taught us the definitions, the divisions, and distinctions of vertue, as of the surnames and branches of a genealogie, without having other care to contract practise of familiaritie or private acquaintance betweene us and it. She hath appointed us for our learning, not bookes that have sounder and truer opinions, but volumes that speake the best Greeke or latine: and amongst her choise words, hath made the vainest humours of antiquitie to glide into our conceits. *A good institution changeth judgement and manners*, as it hapned to *Polemon*. This dissolute yong Græcian, going on day by chance to heare a Lecture of *Xenocrates*, where he not onely marked the eloquence and sufficiencie of the Reader, and brought not home the knowledge of some notable thing, but a more apparant and solide fruit, which was the sodaine change and amendment of his former life. Who ever heard such an effect of our discipline?

—*faciasne quod olim*

*Mutatus Polemon, ponas insignia morbi,*

*Fasciolus, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille*

*Dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,*

*Postquam est impransu correptus voce magistri?*

Can you doe as did *Polemon* reformed,

Cast-off your sicknes signes, which you deformed;

Your bolsters, mufflers, swatches? As he drink-lin'de,

His drunken gariand covertly declinde,

By speech of fasting reader disciplinde?

*Hor. ser. lib. 2.  
sat. 3. 253.*

The least disdainfull condition of men, me thinkes, is that, which through simplicitie holds the last ranke, and offereth us more regular commerce. The customes and discourses of Countrey-clownish-men, I finde them commonly to be more conformable and better disposed, according to the true prescription of Philosophie, then are those of our Philosophers. *Plus sapit vulgus, quia tantum, quantum opus est, sapit. The vulgar is the wiser, because it is but as wise as it must needs.* The worthiest men, I have judged by externall apparances (for, to judge them after my fashion, they should be sifted nearer) concerning war, and military sufficiencie, have been, the Duke of *Guise*, that died before *Orleans*, and the whilom Marshal *Strozzi*. For men extraordinarily sufficient, and endowed with no vulgar vertue, *Oliver*, & *L'Hospital*, both great Chancelors of *France*. Poetic hath likewise in mine opinion, had his vogue and credit in our age. We have store of cunning and able men in that professiō, *Aurate*, *Beza*, *Buchanan*. *L'Hospital*, *Mont-dore*, & *Turnebus*. As for French-men, I thinke they have attained the highest degree of perfection that can or ever shall be, and in those parts wherein *Ronsart*, and excellent *Bellay* have written, I thinke they are not farre short of the ancient perfection. *Adrianus Turnebus* knew more and better, what he knew, then any man in his age or of many ages past. The lives of the late Duke of *Alva*, and of our Constable *Montmorencie* have bene very noble, and have had sundrie rare resemblances of fortune. But the worthily faire and glorious death of the last, in the full sight of *Paris*, and of his King, for their service against his nearest friends & alliance, in the front of an armie, victorious through his conduct of it, & with an hand-stroke, in that old age of his, deserveth in mine opinion, to be placed and registred amongst the most renoumed and famous accidents of my times. As also the constant goodnes, the mildnes in behaviour, and conscionable facility of *Monsieur la Noüe*, in such an injustice of armed factions (a very schoole of treason, of inhumanitie and brigandage) wherein he was ever brought up, a worthie and famous man of warre, and most experienced in his profession. I have greatly pleased my selfe in publishing in sundrie places, the good hope I have of *Marie Gournay le Lars* my daughter in alliance, and truly of me beloved with more then a fatherly love, and as one of the best parts of my being, enscoted in my home and solitarines. There is nothing in the world I esteeme more then hir. If childe-hoode may presage any future successe, hir minde shall one day be capable of many notable things, and amongst other of the perfection of this thrice-sacred amitie, whereunto we read not, hir sexe could yet attaine; the sinceritie and soliditie of her demeanors are therein alreadie sufficient; hir kinde affection towards me is more then superabounding and such in deede as nothing more can be wished unto it, so that the apprehension, which she hath of my aproching end, by reason of the



fifty five yeares, wherein her hap hath beene to know me, would somewhat lesse cruelly trouble hir. The judgement she made of my first Essayes, being a woman, of this age, so yong, alone where she dwelleth, and the exceeding vehemencie wherewith she loved me, and long time, by the onely esteeme, which before ever she saw me, she had by them conceived of me, she desired me; is an accident most worthy consideration. Other vertues have had little or no currantnesse at all in this age: But valour is become popular by reason of our civill warres, and in this part, there are minds found amongst us very constant, even to perfection, and in great number, so that the choise is impossible to be made. Loehere what hitherto I have knowen of any extraordinary, and not common greatnesse.

## CHAP. 18.

## Of giving the lie.

**Y**Ea but, will some tell me, this desseigne in a man to make himselfe a subject to write of, might be excused in rare and famous men, and who by their reputation, had bred some desire in others of their acquaintance. It is true, I confesse it, & I know, that a handi-craftsman will scarcely looke off his worke, to gaze upon an ordinary man: Whereas to see a notable great person come into a towne, he will leave both worke and shop. It ill beseemeth any man to make himselfe knowen, onely he excepted, that hath somewhat in him worthy imitation, and whose life and opinions may stand as a patterne to all. *Cesar* and *Xenophon* have had wherewithall to ground and establish their narration in the greatnesse of their deedes, as on a just and solid ground-worke. So are the Iornall bookes of *Alexander* the great, the Commentaries which *Augustus*, *Cato*, *Brutus*, *Sylla* and divers others had left of their gests, greatly to be desired. Such mens Images are both beloved and studied, be they either in Brasse or Stone. This admonition is most true, but it concerneth me very little.

*Hor. ser. l. i. sat.*  
4. 73.

*Non recito cuiquam: nisi amicis, idque rogatus.  
Non ubi vis, coramve quibuslibet. In medio qui  
Scripta foro recitant sunt multi, quique lavantes.  
My writings I reade not, but to my friends, to any,  
Nor each-where, nor to all, nor but desir'd: yet many  
In Market-place read theirs,  
In Batches, in Barbers-chaires.*

I erect not here a statue to be set up in the Market-place of a towne, or in a Church, or in any other publike place:

*Pers. sat. 5. 19.*

*Non equidem hoc studeo bullatis ut mihi nugis  
Pagina turgescat: ———  
I studie not, my written leaves should grow  
Big-swolne with bubbled toyes, which vaine breath's blow.  
Secretiloquimur ———  
We speake alone,  
Or one to one.*

21.

It is for the corner of a Library, or to amuse a neighbour, a kinsman, or a friend of mine withall, who by this image may happily take pleasure to renew acquaintance, and to reconverse with me. Others have beene emboldned to speake of themselves, because they have found worthy and rich subject in themselves. I, contrariwise, because I have found mine so barren, and so shallow, that it cannot admit suspition of ostentation. I willingly judge of other mens actions; of mine by reason of their nullity, I give small cause to judge. I finde not so much good in my selfe, but I may speake of it without blushing. Oh what contentment were it unto me, to heare some body that would relate the custome, the visage, the countenance, the most usuall words, and the fortunes of my ancestors. Oh how attentively would I listen unto it. Verily it were an argument of a bad nature, to seeme to de-

spise



spise the very pictures of our friends and predecessors, the fashion of their garments and armes. I keepe the writing, the manuell seale, and a peculiar sword: And I reserve still in my cabinet certaine long switches or wands, which my father was wont to carry in his hand. *Paterna vestis et annulus, tanto charior est posteris, quanto erga parentes maior affectus:* The fathers garment and his ring is so much more esteemed of his successors, as their affection is greater towards their progenitors, Notwithstanding if my posteritie be of another minde, I shall have wherewith to be avenged; for they cannot make so little accompt of me, as then I shal doe of them. All the commerce I have in this with the world, is, that I borrow the instruments of their writing, as more speedy, and more easie; in requitall whereof I may peradventure hinder the melting of some piece of butter in the market, or a Grocer from selling an ounce of pepper.

*Ne toga cordyllis, ne penula desit olivis,*  
 Lest Fish-fry should a fit gowne want,  
 Lest cloakes should be for Olives scant.  
*Et laxas scombris saepe dabo tunicas.*  
 To long-rail'd Mackrels often I,  
 Will side-wide (paper)cores apply.

*Mart. li. 13. epig.*  
 1. 1.

*Cat. epig. 602*  
 27. 8.

And if it happen no man read me, have I lost my time, to have entertained my selfe so many idle houres, about so pleasing and profitable thoughts? In framing this pourtraite by my selfe, I have so often beene faine to frizle and trimme me, that so I might the better extract my selfe, that the patterne is thereby confirmed, and in some sort formed. Drawing my selfe for others, I have drawne my selfe with purer and better colours, then were my first. I have no more made my booke, then my booke hath made me. A booke consubstantiall to his Author: Of a peculiar and fit occupation. A member of my life. Not of an occupation and end, strange and forraine, as all other bookes. Have I mis-spent my time, to have taken an account of my selfe so continually and so curiously? For those who onely run themselves over by fantasie, and by speech for some houres, examine not themselves so primely & exactly, nor enter they into themselves, as he doth, who makes his study his worke, and occupation of it: Who with all his might, and with all his credit engageth himselfe to a register of continuance. The most delicious pleasures, though inwardly digested, shun to leave any trace of themselves; and avoide the sight, not onely of the people, but of any other. How often hath this busines inverted me from tedious and yrksome cogitations? (And all frivolous ones must be deemed tedious & yrksome.) Nature hath endowed us with a large faculty to entertaine our selves apart, and often calleth us unto it: To teach us, that *partly wee owe our selves unto society, but in the better part unto our selves.* To the end I may in some order and project marshall my fantasie, even to dote, and keepe it from loosing, and straggling in the aire, there is nothing so good, as to give it a body, & register so many idle imaginations as present themselves unto it. I listen to my humors, and harken to my conceits, because I must enroule them. How often, being grieved at some action, which civility and reason forbade me to withstand openly, have I disgorged my selfe upon them here, notwithstanding an intent of publike instruction? And yet these Poeticall rods,

*Zon dessus l'œil, zon sur le groin,*  
*Zon sur le dos du Sagoin.*

are also better imprinted upon paper, than upon the quicke flesh; What if I lend mine ears, somewhat more attentively unto bookes, sith I but watch if I can filch something from the, wherewith to enammell and uphold mine? I never studie to make a booke, Yet have I somewhat studied, because I had already made it (if to nibble or pinch, by the head or feet, now one Author, and then another be in any sort to study) but nothing at all to forme my opinions: Yea being long since formed, to assist, to second and to serve them. *But whom shall we believ speaking of himselfe, in this corrupted age?* Since there are few or none, whom we may beleev speaking of others, where there is lesse interest to lie. The first part of customes corruption, is, the banishment of truth: For as *Pindarus* said, *to be sincerely true, is the beginning of a great vertue;* and the first article *Plato* requireth in the Governor of his Common-wealth. Now-adaies, that is not the truth which is true, but that which is perswaded to others. As



we call money not onely that which is true and good, but also the false; so it be currant. Our Nation is long since taxed with this vice. For *Salvianus Massiliensis* who lived in the time of *Valentinian* the Emperour, saith, that amongst French-men, to lie and forswear is no vice but a manner of speech. He that would endear this Testimonie, might say, it is now rather deemed a vertue among them. Men frame and fashion themselves unto it, as to an exercise of honour; for, *dissimulation is one of the notablest qualities of this age*. Thus have I often considered, whence this custome might arise, which we observe so religiously, that we are more sharply offended with the reproach of this vice, so ordinary in us, than with any other; and that it is the extremest in jury, may be done us in words, to upbraid & reproch us with a lie. Therein I find, that it is naturall, for a man to defend himselfe most from such defects as we are most tainted with. It seemeth that if we but shew a motion of revenge, or are but moved at the accusation, we in some sort discharge our selves of the blame or imputation; if we have it in effect, at least we condemne it in apparence. May it not also be, that this reproch seemes to enfold cowardise and faintnesse of hart? Is there any more manifest, than for a man to eate and deny his owne Word? What? To deny his Word wittingly? To lie is a horrible-filthy vice; & which an ancient writer setteth forth very shamefully, whē he saith, that *whosoever lieth, witnesseth that he contemneth God and therewithall feareth men*. It is impossible more richly to represent the horror, the vilenesse and the disorder of it: For, *What can be imagined so vile, and base, as to be a coward towards men, and a boaster towards God?* Our intelligence being onely conducted by the way of the Word: Who so falsifieth the same, betrayeth publick society. It is the onely instrument, by meanes whereof our wils and thoughts are communicated: it is the interpretour of our soules: If that faile us we hold our selves no more, we enter-know one another no longer. If it deceive us, it breaketh al our commerce, and dissolveth al bonds of our policie. Certaine Nations of the new Indiaes (whose names we need not declare, because they are no more; for the desolation of this conquest hath extended it selfe to the absolute abolishing of names and ancient knowledge of Places, with a marvellous and never the like heard example) offered humane blood unto their Gods, but no other than that which was drawne from their tongues and eares, for an expiation of the sinne of lying as well heard as pronounced. That good-fellow-Græcian said, children were dandled with toies, but men with words. Concerning the sundry fashions of our giving the lie, and the lawes of our honour in that and the changes they have received, I will refer to another time to speake what I thinke and know of it, and if I can, I will in the meane time learne, at what time this custome tooke his beginning, so exactly to weigh and precizely to measure words, and tie our honour to them: for it is easie to judge, that it was not anciently amongst the Romans and Græcians. And I have often thought it strange, to see them wrong and give one another the lie, and yet never enter into quarrell. The lawes of their duty, tooke some other course than ours. *Cæsar* is often called a thiefe, and sometimes a drunkard to his face. We see the liberty of their investives, which they write one against another: I meane the greatest Chieftaines and Generals in war, of one and other Nation, where words are onely retorted and revenged with words, and never wrested to further consequence.

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#### CHAP. 19.

##### *Of the liberty of Conscience.*

**I**T is ordinarily seene, how good intentions being managed without moderation, thrust men into most vicious effects. In this controversie, by which France is at this instant molested with civill warres, the best and safest side, is no doubt, that which maintaineth both the ancient religion and policy of the Country. Nevertheless amongst the honest men that follow it (for my meaning is not to speake of those, who use the the as a colour, either to exercise their particular revenges, or to supply their greedy avarice, or to follow the favour of Princes: But of such as do it with a true zeale toward their religion, and an unfained holy affection, to maintaine the peace and uphold the state of their country) of those I say, divers are



are scene, whome passion thrusts out of the bounds of reason, & often forceth them to take and follow unjust, violent and rash counsels. Certaine it is, that when first our religion beganne to gaine authoritie with the Lawes, it's zeale armed many against all sorts of Pagane bookes, whereof the learned sort have a great losse. My opinion is, that this disorder hath done more hurt to learning, than all the Barbarian flames. *Cornelius Tacitus* is a sufficient testimonie of it: for howbeit the Emperor *Tacitus* his kinsman had by expresse appointment stored all the libraries in the World with it, notwithstanding one onely entire copy could not escape the curious search of those, who sought to abolish it, by reason of five or sixe vaine clauses, contrary to our beleefe. They have also had this easily to afford false commendations to all the Emperours, that made for us, and universally to condemne al the actions of those, which were our adversaries, as may plainly be scene in *Iulian* the Emperor, surnamed the Apostata, who in truch was a notable-rare-man, as he whose mind was lively endowed with the discourses of Philosophy, unto which he professed to conforme all his actions; & truely there is no kind of vertue, whereof he hath not left most notable examples. In chastity (whereof the whole course of his life giveth apparant testimony) a like example, unto that of *Alexander* and *Scipio* is read of him, which is, that of many wonderfull faire captive Ladies, brought before him, being evē in the very prime of his age (for he was slain by the Parthians about the age of one & thirty yeares) he would not see one of them. Touching justice, himselfe would take the paines to heare al parties: And although for curiosity sake, he would enquire of such as came before him, what religion they were of, nevertheles the enmitie he bare to ours, did no whit weigh downe the ballance. Himselfe made sundrie good Lawes, and revoked diverse subsidies and impositions, his predecessours before him had received. We have two good Historians, as eye-witnesses of his actions. One of which (who is *Marcellinus*) in sundry places of his Historie bitterly reprooveth this ordinance of his, by which he forbade schooles, and interdicted al Christian Rhetoricians, & Grammarians to teach: Saying, he wished this his actiō might be buried under silence. It is very likely, if he had done any thing else more sharpe or severe against us, he would not have forgot it, as he that was well affected to our side. Hee was indeede very severe against us, yet not a cruell enemy. For, our people themselves report this Historie of him, that walking one day about the City of *Calcedon*, *Maris* Bishop thereof, durst call him wicked and traitor to Christ, to whom he did no other thing, but answered thus: Goe wretched man, weepe and deplore the losse of thine eyes; to whom the Bishop replied, I thank Iesus Christ, that he hath deprived me of my sight, that so I might not view thy impudent face, affecting thereby (as they say) a kind of Philosophicall patience. So it is, this part cannot be referred to the cruelties, which he is said to have exercised against us. He was (saith *Entropius* my other testimony) an enemy unto Christianity, but without shedding of blood. But to returne to his justice, he can be accused of nothing but of the rigors he used in the beginning of his Empire, against such as had followed the faction of *Constantinus* his Predecessour. Concerning sobriety, he never lived a Souldiers kinde of life, & in time of peace, would feed no other wise, than one who prepared and enured himselfe to the austeritie of war. Such was his vigilancie, that he divided the night into three or foure parts, the least of which he allotted unto sleepe; the rest he employed in visiting the state of his army, and his guardes, or in study; for, amongst other his rare qualities, he was most excellent in al sorts of learning. It is reported of *Alexander* the Great, that being laid downe to rest, fearing lest sleepe should divert him from his thoughts and studies, he caused a bason to be set neere his bed side, & holding one of his hands out, with a brazen ball in it, that if sleepe should surprize him, loosing his fingers ends, the ball falling into the bason, might with the noyse rouze him from out his sleepe. This man had a mind so bent to what he undertook, and by reason of his singular abstinence so little troubled with vapours, that he might well have past this devise. Touching military sufficiencie, he was admirable in all parts belonging to a great Captaine. So was he almost al his life time in continual exercise of war, and the greater part with us in *France* against the *Alemans* and *French*. Wee have no great memory of any man, that either hath scene more dangers, nor that more often hath made triall of his person. His death hath some affinitie with that of *Epaminondas*, for being stricken with an arrow, and attempting to pull it out, he had surely done it, but that being sharpe-cutting, it hurt and weakened his hand. In that plight he earnestly requested to be carryed forth in the middest of his army,



that so he might encourage his souldiers, who without him courageously maintained the battel, until such time as darke night severed the Armies. He was beholding to Philosophie for a singular contempt, both of himselfe and of all humane things. He assuredly believed the eternitie of soules. In matters of religion, he was vicious every where. He was surnamed *Apostata*, because he had forsaken ours; notwithstanding this opinion seemes to mee more likely, that he never took it to heart, but that for the obediēce which he bare to the law, he dissembled til he had gotten the Empire into his hands. He was so superstitious in his, that even such as lived in his time, and were of his owne religion, mocked him for it, and it was said, that if he had gained the Victory of the Parthians, he would have consumed the race or breede of Oxen, to satisfie his sacrifices. He was also besotted with the Art of sooth-saying, and gave authoritie to all manner of prognostikes. Amongst other things hee spake at his death, he said, he was much beholding to the Gods, and greatly thanked them, that they had not suffered him to be slain suddenly or by surprize, as having long before warned him both of the place and houre of his end; nor to die of a base and easie death, more beleeving idle & effeminate Persons, nor of a lingring, languishing, and dolorous death; and that they had deemed him worthy to end his life so nobly in the course of his victories & in the flower of his glory. There had before appeared a vision unto him, like unto that of *Marcus Brutus*, which first threatned him in *Gaule*, and afterward even at the point of his death, presented it selfe to him in *Persia*. The speach he is made to speak whē he felt himselfe hurt, *Thou hast vanquished oh Nazaraā*; or as some will have it, *Cōtēnt thy selfe oh Nazaraan*, would scarce have beene forgotten, had it beene believed of my testimonies, who being present in the army, have noted even the least motions, and words at his death, no more than certaine other wōders, which they annex unto it. But to return to my theame, he had long before (as saith *Marcellinus*) hatched Paganisme in his hart, but forsomuch as he saw al those of his arme to be Christians, he durst not discover himselfe. In the end, when he found himselfe to be sufficiently strong, and durst publish his minde, he caused the Temples of his Gods to be opened, and by all meanes endeavoured to advance idolatrie. And to attaine his purpose, having found in *Constantinople* the people very loose, and at ods with the Prelates of the christian Church, and caused them to appeare before him in his pallace, he instantly admonished them to appeale all their civill dissensions, and every one without hinderance or feare apply themselves to follow and serve religion. Which he very carefully solicited, hoping this licence might encrease the factions, and controversies of the division, and hinder the people, from growing to any unity, and by consequence from fortifying themselves against him, by reason of their concord and in one mind-agreeing intelligence: having by the cruelty of some Christians found, that *There is no beast in the world so much of man to be feared, as man*. Loe here his very words, or very neare: Wherein this is worthy consideration, that the Emperor *Julian*, useth the same receipt of libertie of conscience, to enkindle the trouble of civill dissention, which our Kings employ to extinguish. It may be said on one side, that, *To give faction the bridle to entertaine their opinion, is to scatter contention and sow division*, and as it were to lend it a hand to augment and encrease the same: There beeing no Barre or Obstacle of Lawes to bridle or hinder his course. But on the other side, it might also be urged, that to give factions the bridle to uphold their opinion, is by that facilitie and ease, the readie way to mollifie and release them; and to blunt the edge, which is sharpened by rarenesse, noveltie, and difficultie. And if for the honour of our Kings devotion, I believe better, it is, that since they could not doe as they would, they have fained to will what they could not.

## CHAP. 20.

*We taste nothing purely.*

**T**He weaknes of our condition, causeth, that things in their naturall simplicitie and puritie cannot fall into our use. The elements we enjoy are altered: Metals likewise, yea gold



golde must be empaired with some other stufte to make it fit for our service. Nor vertue so simple, which *Ariston*, *Pirrho*, and the *Stoikes*, made the end of their life, hath beene able to doe no good without composition: Nor the *Cirenaike* sensualitie or *Aristippian* voluptuousness. *Of the pleasures and goods we have, there is none exempted from some mixture of evill, and incommoditie.* — *medio de fonte leporum*

*Lucr. l. 4. 12. 24.*

*Surgit amari aliquid, quod in ipsis floribus angat.*

From middle spring of sweetes some bitter springs,  
Which in the vety flower smartly stings.

Our exceeding voluptuousnesse hath some aire of groning and wailing: Would you not say, it dieth with anguish? Yea when we forge it's image in hir excellencie, we deck it with Epithers of sickish and dolorous qualities: languor, effeminacy, weaknesse, fainting & *Morbidezza*, a great testimony of their consanguinity and consubstantiality: Excessive joy hath more severity, then jolity: Extreame and full content, more settlednes then cheerefulness. *Ipsa felicitas, se nisi temperat, premit. Felicitie it selfe, unlesse it temper it selfe, distempers us.* Ease consumeth us. It is that, which an old Greeke verse saith of such a sense. The Gods sell us all the goods they give us; that is to say, they give us not one pure and perfect, and which we buy not with the price of some evill. Travell and pleasure, most unlike in nature, are notwithstanding followed together by a kind of I wor not what natural coniunction, *Socrates* saith, that some God attempted to huddle up together, and confound sorrow and voluptuousnesse: but being unable to effect it, he berhought himselfe to couple them together, at least by the taile. *Metrodorus* said, that in sadnesse there is some aloy of pleasure. I know not whether he meant any thing else, but I imagine, that for one to enure himselfe to melancholy, there is some kind of purpose, of consent and mutuall delight: I meane besides ambition, which may also be joynd unto it. There is some shadow of delicacy, and quaintnesse, which smileth & fawneth upon us, even in the lap of melancholy. Are there not some complexions, that of it make their nourishment?

*Sest. quare & c.*

— *est quadam flere voluptas.*

It is some pleasure yet,  
With teares our cheekes to wet.

*Ovi. Trist. l. 4.  
el. 3. 37.*

And one *Attalus* in *Seneca* saith, the remembrance of our last friends is as pleasing to us, as bitternesse in wine that is over old,

*Minister veteris puer falerni*

*Ingere mi calices amariores:*

Sir boy, my servitor of good old wine,  
Bring me my cup thereof bitter, but fine.

*Cal. lyr. epi.  
24. 1.*

and as of sweetly-tower apples; Nature discovereth this confusion unto us: painters are of opinion, that the motions and wrinkles in the face, which serve to weepe, serve also to laugh. Vicerely, before one or other be determined to expresse which; behold the pictures successe, you are in doubt toward which one enclineth. And the extreame of laughing entermingles it selfe with teares. *Nullum sine aneloroamento malum est. There is no evill without some obligation.* *Sen. epig. 69.* When I imagine man fraught with all the commodities may be wished, let us suppose, al his severall members were for ever possessed with a pleasure like unto that of generatiō, evē in the highest point that may be: I finde him to sincke under the burthen of his ease, and perceive him altogether unable to beare so pure, so constant, and so universall a sensuality. Truly he flies when he is even upon the nicke, and naturally hastneth to escape it, as frō a step, whereon he cannot stay or containe himselfe, and feareth to sincke into it. When I religiously confesse my selfe unto my selfe, I finde the best good I have, hath some vicious taint. And I feare that *Plato* in his purest vertue (I that am as sincere and loyall an esteemer thereof, and of the vertues of such a stampe, as any other can possibly be) if he had neerely listened unto it (and sure he listened very neere) he would therein have heard some harsh tune, of humane mixture, but an obscure tune, and onely sensible unto himselfe. *Man all in all, is but a botching and party coloured worke. The very Lawes of Iustice, can not subsist without some commixture of Injustice: And Plato saith, They undertake to cut off Hydraes heades, that pretend to remove all incommodities and inconveniences from the Lawes. Onne magnum exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod contra singulos utilitate publica reprehenditur. Every great example hath some touch of injustice, which is requited by the cōmon good against particulars,* *Tacitus Ann. l. 14. Cassi.* saith



saith *Tacitus*. It is likewise true, that for the use of life and service of pulike society, there may be excesse in the purity and perspicuity of our spirits. This piercing brightnes hath overmuch subtility and curiositie. They should be made heavy and dull; to make them the more obedient to example and practise; and they must be thickned and obscured, to proportion them to this shady and terrestriall life. Therefore are vulgar and lesse-wire-drawn-wits found to be more fit and happy in the conduct of affaires. And the exquisite & high-raised opinions of Philosophy, unapt and unfit to exercise. This sharp vivacity of the spirit, & this supple & restless volubility, troubleth our negotiations. Humane enterprises should be managed more grosely and superficially, and have a good and great part of them left for the rights of fortune. Affaires neede not bee sifted so nicely and so profoundly. A man loo-  
*liv. dec. 4. l. 2.* seth himselfe about the considerations of so many contrary lustres and diverse formes. *Voluntantibus res inter se pugnantes, obtorpuerant animi. Their mindes were astonished, while they revolved things so different.* It is that which our elders report of *Simonides*, because his imagination, concerning the question *Hieron* the King had made unto him (which the better to answer he had diverse dayes allowed him to think of it) presented sundry subtile and sharpe considerations unto him; doubting which might be the likeliest; he altogether dispaireth of the truth. Whosoever searcheth al the circumstances & embraceth all the consequences therof, hindereth his election, *A meane engine doth equally conduct, and sufficeth for the executions of great and little weights.* It is commonly scene, that the best husbands and the thriftest, are those who cannot tell how they are so; and that these cunning Arithmeticians doe seldome thrive by it. I know a notable pratler, and an excellent blasoner of all sorts of husbandry and thrift, who hath most pittcoulsy let ten thousand pound sterline a yeare passe from him. I know another, who saith, he consulteth better then any man of his counsell, and there cannot be a properer man to see unto or of more sufficiencie, notwithstanding when he commeth to any execution, his own servants finde he is far otherwise: This I say without mentioning or accounting his ill lucke.

## CHAP. 21.

*Against idlenesse, or doing nothing.*

**T**He Emperor *Vespasian*, lying sicke of the disease whereof he died, omitted not to endeavour to understand the state of the Empire; and lying in his bed, unceassantly dispatched many affaires of great consequence; and his Physitians chiding him, as of a thing hurtfull to his health: he answered, *That an Emperour should die standing upright.* Loe heere a notable saying, fitting my humour, and worthy a great Prince. *Adrian* the Emperour vsed the same afterward to like purpose. And Kings ought often to be put in minde of it, to make them feele, that this great charge, which is give them of the commandement over so many men, is no idle charge: and that there is nothing may so justly distaste a subject from putting himselfe in paine and danger for the service of his Prince, then therewithilst to see him given to lazinesse, to base and vaine occupations, and to have care of his conservation, seeing him so carelesse of ours. If any shall go about to maintaine, that it is better for a Prince to mannage his wars by others, then by himselfe; Fortune will store him with sufficient examples of those, whose Lieutenants have atchieved great enterprises; and also of some whose presence would have beene more hurtfull, then profitable. But no vertuous and coragious Prince will endure to be entertained with so shamefull instructions. Vnder colour of preserving his head (as the statue of a *St.*) for the good fortune of his estate, they degrade him of his office, which is altogether in military actions, & declare him uncapable of it. I know one, would rather chuse to be beaten, then sleep whilst others fight for him; and who without jealousie never saw his men performe any notable act in his absence. And *Solim* the 1. had reason to say, that *he thought victories gotten in the masters absence, not to be complete.* So much more willingly would he have said, that such a master ought to blush for shame, who  
 only



onely by his name should pretend any share in it, having thereunto employed nothing but his thought and verbal direction: Nor that, since in such a busines, the advices & commandements, which bring honor, are only those given in the field & even in the action. No Pilot exerciseth his office standing still. The Princes of *Otomans* race (the chiefest race in the world in warlike fortune) have earnestly embraced this opinion. And *Bajazeth* the second with his sonne, who amusing themselves about sciences, and other private home-matters, neglected the same, gave diverse prejudiciall blowes unto their Empire. And *Amurath* the third of that name, who now raigneth, following their example, beginneth very wel to feeble their fortunes. Was it not the King of *England*, *Edward* the third, who spake these words of our King *Charles* the fifth? *There was never King that lesse armed himselfe; and yet was never King, that gave me so much to doe, and put me to so many plunges.* He had reason to thinke it strange, as an effect of fortune, rather then of reason. And let such as will number the Kings of *Castile* and *Portugall* amongst the warlike and magnanimous conquerors, seeke for some other adherent thē my selfe; for so much as twelve hundred leagues from their idle residence they have made themselves masters of both *Indies*, onely by the conduct and direction of their factors; of whom it would be knowne, whether they durst but goe and enjoy them in person. The Emperor *Julian* said moreover, that a Philosopher and gallant minded man ought not so much as breathe; that is to say, not to give corporall necessities, but what may not be refused them; ever holding both minde and body busied about notable, great and vertuous matters. He was ashamed, any man should see him spitte or sweate before people (which is also said of the *Lacedemonian* youths, and *Xenophon* reporteth it of the *Persian*) forasmuch as he thought that continuall travel, exercise and sobriety shold have concocted and dried up all such superfluities. What *Seneca* saith shall not impertinently be alleadged here; That the ancient *Romans* kept their youth upright, and taught their children nothing, that was to be learned sitting. It is a generous desire, to endeavor to die both profitable and manlike: But the effect consisteth not so much in our good resolution, as in our good fortune. A thousand have resolved to vanquish or to die fighting, which have missed both the one and other: Hurts or imprisonment, crossing their desseigne and yeelding them a forced kinde of life. There are diseases which vanquish our desires and knowledge. Fortune should not have seconded the vanitie of the *Romane* Legions, who by oathe bound themselves, either to die or conquer. *Victor, Marce Fabi, revertar ex asie: Si fallo, Iovem patrem Gradivumque Martem atiosque iratos invoco Deos.* I will, O *Marcus Fabius*, retorne conqueror from the armie. If in this I deceive you, I wish both great *Jupiter* and *Mars*, and the other Gods offended wish me. The *Portugalles* report, that in certaine places of their *Indian* conquests, they found some Souldiers, who with horrible execrations had damned themselves, never to enter into any composition, but either they would be killed or remaine victorious; & in signe of their vowe wore their heads and beards shaven. We may hazard and obstinate our selves long enough. It seemeth that blowes shunne them, who over-joyfully present themselves unto them; and unwillingly reach those that overwillingly goe to meete them and corrupt their end. Some unable to lose his life by his adversaries force, having assaied all possible meanes, hath been enforced to accomplish his resolution, either to beare away the honor; or not to carry away his life, & even in the fury of the fight to put himselfe to death. There are sundrie examples of it; but note this one. *Philistus*, chiefe Generall of yong *Dionysius* his navie against the *Siracusans*, presented them the battle, which was very sharply withstood, their forces being alike; wherein, by reason of his prowesse he had the better in the beginning. But the *Siracusans* flocking thicke and threefold about his gally to grapple and board him, having performed many worthy exploits with his owne person, to ridde himselfe frō them, despairing of al escape, with his own hand deprived himselfe of that life, which so lavishly and in vaine he had abandoned to his enemies hands. *Moly Moluch*, King of *Fez*, who not long since obtained that famous victory against *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*; a notable victorie, by reason of the death of three Kings, and transmission of so great a Kingdome to the crowne of *Castile*, chanced to be grievously sicke, at what time the *Portugales* with armed hand entred his dominions, and afterward, though he foresaw it, approaching nearer unto death, empaired worse and worse. Never did man more stoutly, or more vigorously make use of an undanted courage, than he. He found himselfe very weake to endure the ceremonious pompe which the Kings of that Country, at their entrance into the

Liv. dec. 1. 1.



the Camp, are presented withall, which according to their fashion is full of all magnificence and state, and charged with al manner of action; and therefore he resigned that honour to his brother, yet resigned he nothing but the office of the chiefe Captaine. Himselfe most gloriously executed, and most exactly perfourmed all other necessary duties and profitable Offices. Holding his body laid along his couch, but his minde upright and courage constant, even to his last gaspe; and in some sort after. He might have undermined his enemies, who were fond-hardly advanced in his dominions: and was exceedingly grieved, that for want of a little longer life, & a substitute to manage the warre, and affaires of so troubled a state, he was enforced to seeke a bloody and hazardous battel, having another pure and undoubted victory in hand. He notwithstanding managed the continuance of his sicknes so miraculously, that he consumed his enemy, diverted him from his Sea-Fleete, and Maritime places, he held along the Coast of *Affricke*, even untill the last day of his life, which by designe he reserved and employed for so great and renowned a fight.

He ranged his battell in a round, on ev'ry side besieging the Portugals army, which bending round, & comming to close, did not onely hinder them in the conflict (which through the valor of that yong-assailant King was very furious) since they were to turne their faces on all sides, but also hindred them from running away after the towre. And finding all issues seized, and all passages closed, they were constrained to turne upon themselves: *coercuanturque non solum cede, sed etiam fuga*; They fall on heapes, not only by slaughter but by flight. And so pel-mell to heape one on anothers neck, preparing a most murtherous & compleat victory to the Conquerours. When he was even dying, he caused himselfe to be carryed and haled, where-ever neede called for him; and passing along the files, he exhorted the Captaines, and animated the Souldiers one after another. And seeing one wing of the fight to have the worst, and in some danger, no man could hold him, but he would needs with his naked-sword in hand get on horse-backe, striving by al possible meanes, to enter the throng; his men holding him, some by the bridle, some by the Gowne, and some by the Stirrops. This toyle and straining of himselfe, made an end of that little remainder of his life: Then was he laid on his bed: But coming to himselfe again, starting up, as out of a swoon, each other faculty failing him he gave them warning to conceale his death (which was the necessaryest commandement he could give his servants, lest the souldiers hearing of his death, might fall into dispaire) and so yeilded the Ghost, holding his fore-fingers upon his mouth; an ordinary signall to impose silence. What man ever lived so long and so neere death; Who ever died so upright and undaunted? The extreamest degree, and most naturall, couragiously to manage death, is to see or front the same, not onely without amazement, but without care; the course of life continuing free, even in death. As Cato, who annuized himselfe to studie and sleepe, having a violent and bloody death, present in his heart, and as it were holding it in his hand.

## CHAP. 22.

*Of running Posts, or Curriers.*

I Have been none of the weakest in this exercise, which is proper unto men of my stature, well-trust, short and tough, but now I have given it over: It toyles us over-much, to hold out long. I was even-now reading, how King *Cyrus*, that he might more speedily receive news from al parts of his Empire, (which was of exceeding great length) would needs have it tried, how far a horse could in a day goe out-right, without baiting, at which distance he caused statiōs to be set up & mē to have fresh horses ready, for al such as came to him. And some report, this swift kind of running, answereth the flight of Cranes. *Caesar* saith, that *Lurinus Vibulus Rufus*, making hast to bring *Pompey* an advertisement, rode day and night, and to make more speed shifted many horses. And himselfe (as *Suetonius* writeth) would upon an hyred coache runne a hundred miles a day. And sure he was a rancke-runner: for where any river hindred his way, he swam it over, & never went out of his way to seek for a bridge



or foard. *Tiberius Nero* going to visite his brother *Drusus*, who lay sick in *Germanie*, having three Coaches in his company, ranne two hundred miles in foure and twenty houres. In the Romane warres against King *Antiochus*, *Titus Sempronius Gracchus* (saith *Titus Livius*) *per dispositos equos prope incredibili celeritate ab Amphisa tertio die Pellam pervenit*: By horse laid poste, with incredible speede within three dayes he past from Amphisa to Pella. And viewing the place, it seemeth, they were set Stations for Postes, and not newly appointed for that race. The invention of *Cecinna* in sending newes to those of his house had much more speede; he carried certaine swallows with him, and having occasion to send newes home, he let them flie toward their nests, first marking them with some colour, proper to signifie what he meant, as before he had agreed upon with his friends. In the Theaters of *Rome*, the household Masters, carried Pigeons in their bosomes, under whose wings they fastened letters, when they would send any word home, which were also taught to bring back an answer. *D. Brutus*, used some being being besieged in *Mutina*, and others else-where. In *Peru* they went poste upon mens backs, who took their Masters upon their shoulders, sitting upon certaine beares or chaires, with such agilitie, that in full running speede the first porters without any stay, cast their load upon other who upon the way waited for them, and so they to others. I understand that the *Valachians*, which are messengers unto the great Turk, use extreame diligence in their businesse, forasmuch as they have authoritie to dis-mount the first passengers they meet upon the high-way, and give him their tyred Horse. And because they shal not be weary, they are wont to swathe themselves hard about the bodie with a broad Swathe or Seare-cloth, as diverse others doe with us: I could never finde ease or good by it.

## CHAP. 23.

## Of bad meanes employed to a good end.

There is a woonderfull relation and correspondencie found in this universall policie of Natures workes, which manifestly sheweth, it is neither casual, nor directed by diverse masters. The infirmities and conditions of our bodies, are likewise scene in states and governments: *Kingdomes and Commonwealthes as well as we, are borne, flourish, and fade through age*. We are subject unto a repleaness of humours, hurtfull and unprofitable, yea be it of good humours (for even Physicians feare that, and because there is nothing constant in us, they say, that perfection of health over joyfull and strong, must by art be abated and diminished, lest our nature unable to settle it selfe in any certaine place, and for hir amendmēt to ascend higher, should over-violently recoil backe into disorder, & therefore they prescribe unto Wrestlers purging and phlebotomie, to substract that superabundance of health from them) or of bad, which is the ordinary cause of sicknesse. Of such like repletion are States often scene to be sicke, and divers purgations are wont to be used to purge them. As wee have scene some to dismisse a great number of families (chiefly to disburthen the country) which elsewhere goe to seeke where they may at others charge seat themselves. In this sorte our ancient *French* leaving the high Countries of *Germanie*, came to possesse *Gaulle*, whence they displaced the first Inhabitants. Thus grew that infinite confluence of people, which afterward under *Brennus* and others, over-ranne *Italie*. Thus the *Goths* and *Vandalls*, as also the Nations which possesse *Greece*, left their naturall cuntries, to go where they might have more elbow-roume: And hardly shali we see two or three corners in the worlde, that have not felt the effect of such a remooving alteration. The *Romans*, by such meanes, erected their Colonies; for perceiving their Citie to growe over-populous, they were wont to discharge it of unnecessarie people, which they sent to inhabite and manure the Countries they had subdued. They have also sometimes maintained warre with some of their enemies, not onely thereby to keepe their men in breath, lest Idlenesse the mother of Corruption, should cause them some worse inconvenience.



Iuven. sat. 6. 192

*Et patimur longa pacis mala, saviour armis  
Luxuria incumbit.*

We suffer of long peace the soking harmes,  
On us lies luxury more fierce then armes.

But also to let the Common-wealth blood, and somewhat to allay the over vehement heat of their youth, to lop the sprigs, & thin the branches of this over-spreading tree, too much abounding in ranknesse and gaillardise. To this purpose they maintained a good while war with the Carthaginians. In the treaty of *Bretigny*, *Edward the 3. King of England*, would by no meanes comprehend in that general peace the controversie of the Dutchie of *Britany* to the end he might have some way to disburthen himselfe of his men of war, and that the multitude of English men, which he had emploied about the warres of *France* should not returne into *England*. It was one of the reasons, induced *Philip* our King to consent, that his sonne *John* should be sent to warre beyond the seas, that so he might carry with him a great number of yong hot-blounds, which were amongst his trained military men. There are divers now adaies, which will speake thus, wishing this violent and burning emotion we see and feele amongst us, might be derived to some neighbor war, fearing lest those offending humours, which at this instant are predominant in our bodie, if they be not diverted elsewhere, will still maintaine our fever in force, & in the end cause our utter destruction: And in truth a *forraine warre* is nothing so dangerous a disease as a *civill*: But I will not believe that God would favour so unjust an enterprize, to offend and quarrell with others for our commodity.

cat. epig. eleg. 4.  
77.

*Nil mihi tam valde placeat Rhannusia virgo,  
Quod temere invitis suscipiatur heris.*

That fortune likes me not, which is constrained,  
By Lords unwilling rashly entertained.

Notwithstanding the weaknesse of our condition, doth often urge us to this necessary, to use bad meanes to a good end. *Lycurgus* the most vertuous & perfect Law-giver that ever was, devised this most unjust fashio, to instruct his people unto temprance, by force to make the *Helotes*, which were their servants, to be drunke, that seeing them so lost and buried in wine, the *Spartanes* might abhor the excesse of that vice. Those were also more to be blamed, who anciently allowed that criminall offenders, what death soever they were condemned unto, should by Physicians all alive be torne in pieces, that so they might naturally see our inward parts, & thereby establish a more assured certainty in their art: For if a man must needes erre or debauch himselfe, it is more excusable, if he doe it for his soules health, then for his bodie good. As the *Romans* trained up, and instructed their people to valour, and contempt of dangers and death, by the outrageous spectacles of *Gladiators*, and deadly fighting *Fencers*, who in presence of them all combated, mangled, flced and killed one another;

*Quid vesani aliud sibi vult ars impia Indis,  
Quid mortes invenum, quid sanguine pasta voluptas?*  
What else meanes that mad art of impious fense,  
Those yong mens deaths, that bloud-fed pleasing fense?

which custome continued even untill the time of *Theodosius* the Emperour,

Prud. tof. Sym. 4.  
2.f.

*Arripe delas am tua dux in tempora famam,  
Quodque patris superest successor laudis habetor  
Nullus in vrbe cadat, cuius sit poena voluptas,  
Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena,  
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis.  
The fame deser'd to your times entertaine,  
Enherite praise which doth from Sire remaine;  
Let none die to give pleasure by his paine:  
Be shamefull Theaters with beasts content,  
Not in goar'd armes man-slaughter represent.*

Surely it was a wonderfull example and of exceeding benefit for the peoples institution, to see dayly one or two hundred, yea sometimes a thousand brace of men armed one against another, in their presence to cut and hacke one another in pieces with so great constancy



stancy of courage, that they were never seene to utter one word of faintnes or commiseration, never to turne their backe, nor so much as to shew a motion of demissenesse, to avoide their adversaries blowes: but rather to extend their necks to their swords, and present themselves unto their strokes. It hath hapned to diverse of them, who through many hurts being wounded to death, have sent to aske the people, whether they were satisfied with their duty, before they would lie down in the place. They must, not only fight and die constantly, but jocondly: in such sort as they were cursed & bitterly scolded at, if in receiving their death they were any way seene to strive, yea maidnesse encited them to it.

— *consurgit ad ictus,*

*Et quoties victor ferrum in gulo inseris, illa*

*Delicias ait esse suas, pectusque jacetis*

*Virgo modesta inbet converso pollice rumpi.*

The modest Maide, when wounds are giv'n, upriseth;

When victors sword the vanquish'd thoroate surpriseth,

She saith, it is hir sport, and doth command

T'embrue the conquer'd breast, by signe of hand,

The first Romans disposed thus of their criminals: But afterward they did so with their innocent servants, yea of their free men, which were sold to that purpose: yea of Senators, and Roman Knights, and women also.

*Nunc caput in mortem vendunt, & sumus arena,*

*Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cum bella quiescent.*

They sell mens lives to death and stages fight,

When wars do cease, they finde with whom to fight.

*Hos inter fremitus novosque lusus,*

*Stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri,*

*Et pugnas capis improbum viriles.*

Amidst these tumults, these strange sporting fights,

That Sex doth sit, which knowes not how sword bites,

And entertaines unmov'd, those manly fights,

Which I should deeme very strange and incredible; if we were not dayly accustomed to see in our wars many thousands of forraigne nations, for a very small some of mony to engage both their blood and life in quarrels wherein they are nothing interested.

Prud. cont. Sym.  
lib. 2.

Manih. lib. 4.  
24.

## CHAP. 24.

### Of the Roman greatnesse.

I Will but speake a word of this infinite argument, & slightly glance at it, to shew the simplicity of those, who compare the seely greatnesse of these times unto that: In the seventh booke of Ciceroes familiar Epistles (and let Gramarians remove this title of Familiar, if they please, for, to say truth, it makes but little to the purpose: and they who in lieu of familiar, have placed *ad familiares*, may wrest some argument from themselves, from that which Suetonius saith in *Caesars* life, that there was a volume of his Epistles *ad familiares*) there is one directed unto *Caesar* then being in *Gaul*, in which *Cicero* repeats these very words, which were in the end of a former letter that *Caesar* had writen to him: Touching *Marcus Furius*, whom thou hast comended unto me, I will make him King of *Gaul*, & if thou wilt have me preferre any other of thy friends, send them to me. It was not new in a simple Roman Citizen (as *Caesar* then was) to dispose of Kingdomes, for as well deprived he King *Deiotarus* of his, to give it to a Gentleman of the City of *Pergamo*, called *Mithridates*. And those who writ his life, mention many Kingdomes sold by him. And *Suetonius* reporteth, that he at one time wrested three millions and sixe hundred thousand crownes of gold from King *Protomachus*, which amounted very neere unto the price of his Kingdome.

*Tot Galata, tot Pontus eat, tot Lydia nummis:*

Ll

Claud. in E.  
For so much trop. 6. 1. 203.



Forſomuch let *Galatia* go,  
Forſomuch *Lidia*, *Pontus* ſo.

*Marcus Antonius* ſaid, the greatneſſe of the *Romane* people was not ſo much diſcerned by what it tooke, as by what it gave. Yet ſome ages before *Antonius*, was there one amongſt others of ſo wonderfull authoritie, as through all his hiſtory I know no marke, carrieth the name of his credit higher. *Antiochus* poſſeſſed all *Egypt*, and was very neere to conquer *Cyprus*, and others depending of that Empire. Vpon the progreſſe of his victories, *C. Popilius* came unto him in the behalfe of the Senate, and at firſt arrivall, reſuſed to take him by the hand, before he had read the letters he brought him. The King having read them, ſaid, he wold deliberate of them. *Popilius* with a wand encircled the place about, where he ſtood, and thus beſpake him; Give me an answer to carry backe to the Senate, before thou goeſt out of this circle. *Antiochus* amazed at the rudeneſſe of ſo urging a commandement, after he had pawſed a while, replied thus, I will doe what the Senate commandeth me. Then *Popilius* ſaluted him as a friend unto the *Roman* people. To have renounced ſo great a Monarchy, and ſorgon the courſe of ſo ſucceſſefull proſperity, by the only impreſſion of three written lines. He had good reaſon, as afterward he did, by his Ambaſſadors to ſend the Senate word, that he had received their ordinances with the ſame reſpect, as if they had come from the immortall Gods. All the Kingdomes *Auguſtus* ſubdued by right of war, he reſtored to thoſe who had loſt them, or preſented ſtrangers with them: And concerning this purpoſe, *Tacitus* ſpeaking of *Cogidunus* King of *England*, by a wonderful tract makes us perceive this infinit greatnes and might, The *Romans* (ſaith he) were from all antiquity accuſtomed to leave thoſe Kings whom they had vanquiſhed, in the poſſeſſion of their kingdomes, under their authority: *Vi habere instrumenta ſervitutis & reges. That they might have even Kings alſo for instruments of their bondage.* It is very likely, that *Soliman* the great *Turke*, whom we have ſeene to uſe ſuch a liberality, and give away the kingdom of *Hungary*, and other dominions, did more reſpect this conſideration, then that he was wont to allcage; which is, that he was over wearied with the many Monarchies, and ſurcharged with the ſeverall dominions, which either his owne or his anceſtors vertue had gotten him.

Cor. Tac. vit. lul.  
Agric.

## CHAP. 25.

*How a man ſhould not counterfeit to be ſicke.*

There is an epigram in *Martiall*, that may paſſe for a good one (for there are of all ſortes in him) wherein he pleaſantly relateth the ſtorie of *Calius*, who to avoide the courting of certaine great men in *Rome*, to give attendance at their riſing, and to waite, aſſiſt and follow them, fained to be troubled with the gout; and to make his excuſe more likely, he cauſed his legges to be ointed and ſwathed, and lively counterfeted the behaviour and countenance of a goutie man. In the end fortune did him the favour to make him goutie indeede.

Mart. lib. 7. epig  
388.

*Tantum cura poteſt & ars doloris,  
Deſit fingere Calius podagram.  
So much the care and cunning can of paine:  
Calius (growne gowry) leaves the gowt to faine.*

As farre as I remember, I have read a like Hiſtory in ſome place of *Appian*, of one who purpoſing to eſcape the proſcriptions of the *Triumvirat* of *Rome*, and to conceale himſelfe from the knowledge of thoſe who purſued him, kept himſelfe cloſe and diſguiſed, adding this other inventiō to it, which was to counterfeit blindnes in one eye, who when he came ſomewhat to recover his liberty, and would have leſt off the plaſter he had long time worne over his eyes, he found that under that mask he had altogether loſt the ſight of it. It may be the action of his ſight was weakned, having ſo long continued without exerciſe and the uſual vertue was wholly cōverted into the other eye. For, we may plainly perceive, that holding one eye ſhut, it conveyeth ſome part of it's effect into his fellow; in ſuch ſort as it will



will swell and growe bigger. As also the idlenes, together with the warmth of the medicaments & swathing, might very wel draw some goutie humor into the legge of *Martials* goutie fellow. Reading in *Froisart*, the vow which a gallant troupe of young English-men had made, to weare their left eyes hudwink't, until such time as they should passe into *Franco*, and there performe some notable exploite of armes upon us, I have often laughed with my selfe to think what they would have imagined, if as to the fore aledged, it had hapned to them, and had all beene blind of the left eye, at what time they returned to look upon their mistresses, for whose sake they had made their vowe and undertaken such an enterprise. Mothers have great reason to chide their children whē they counterfeite to be blind with one eye, crompt backe, squint-eyed, or lame, and such other deformities of the body; for besides that the body thus tender may easily receive some ill custome, I know not how, it seemeth that fortune is glad to take us at our word; And I have heard diverse examples of some, who have fallen sicke in very deede, because they had purposed to feigne sicknes. I have at all times enured my selfe; whether I be on horsebacke or a foote, to carry a good heaue wand or cudgell in my hand; yea I have endeoured to doe it handsomely, and with an effected kinde of countenance to continue so. Many have threatned me, that fortune will one time or other turne this my wantonnes into necessitie. I presume upon this, that I should be the first of my race, that ever was troubled with the gowt. But lett us somewhat amptifie this chapter, & patch it up with another piece concerning blindnes. *Plinie* reports of one, who dreaming in his sleepe, that he was blind, awaking the next morning, was found to be sturke blinde, having never had any precedent sickenes. The power of imagination may very well further such things, as elsewhere I have shewed; And *Plinie* seemeth to bee of this opinion; but it is more likely, that the motions, which the body felt inwardly (whereof Physicians, may if they please, finde out the cause) and which tooke away his sight, were the occasion of his dream. Let us also adde another storie, concerning this purpose, which *Seneca* reporteth in his Epistles. *Thou knowest* (saith he writing unto *Lucilius*) that *Harpagite* my wives foole, is left upon me as an hereditarie charge; for by mine owne nature, I am an enemy unto such men, and if I have a desire to laugh at a foole, I need not seeke one farre; I laugh at my selfe. This foolish woman hath sodainly lost hir sight. I report a strange thing, but yet very true: She will not beleewe she is blind; and urgeth her keeper unnecessarily to lead her, saying still, my house is very darke. What we laugh at in hir, I entreat thee to beleewe, that the same hapneth to each for us. No man knoweth himselfe to be covetous, or niggardly. Even the blind require a guide, but wee get from our selves. I am not ambitious, say we, but no man can live otherwise at Rome: I am not voluptuous, but the Citie requireth great charges. It is not my fault, if I be collicke; If I have not yett set downe a sure course of my life, the fault is in youth. Let us not seeke our evill out of us; it is within us, it is rooted in our entrails. And only because we perceiue not that we are sick, makes our recoverie to prove more difficult. If we beginne not betimes to cure our selves, when should we provide for so many sores, for so many evils? Yet have we a most sweete and gentle medicine of Philosophy; for of others, no man feelles the pleasure of them, but after his recoverie, whereas she pleaseth, easeth, and cureth all at once. Lo here what *Seneca* saith, who hath some what diverted me from my purpose: But there is profit in the exchange,

## CHAP. 26.

## Of Thumbs.

*Plinie* reporteth, that amongst certaine barbarous Kings, for the confirmatiō of an in-  
 deed, to be bonde, or covenant, their manner was, to joyne their right hands close and  
 interlacing their thumbs: And when by hard wringing them the  
 blood appeared at their ends, they pricked them with some sharp point, and then mutually  
 overluckt each one the others. Physicians say, thumbs are the master-fingers of the hand,  
 and that their Latine Etymologie is derived of *Pollere*. The Gracians call it *arxip*, as a man  
 L 12 would



would say, another hand. And it seemeth, the Latins likewise take them sometimes in this sense, *id est*, for a whole hand:

Mart. lib. 12. e.  
pigram. 99. 8.

*Sed nec vocibus excitata blandis,*

*Mollis pollice nec rogata surgit.*

It wil not rise, though with sweet words excited,

Nor with the touch of softest thumb invited.

In Rome it was heretofore a signe of favor, to wring and kisse the thumbs,

Hor. lib. 1. epist.  
18. 66.

*Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum:*

He that applaudes will praise,

With both his thumbs, thy plaies.

and of disfavour or disgrace to lift them up, and turne them outward:

Juven. sat. 3. 36.

*converso pollice vulgi*

*Quemlibet occidunt populariter.*

When people turne their thumbs away,

They popularly any slay.

Such as were hurt or maymed in their thumbs, were by the Romanes dispensed from going to warre, as they who had lost their weapons hold-fast. *Augustus* did confiscate all the goods of a *Romane* Knight, who through malice had cut off the thumbes of two yong children of his thereby to excuse them from going to warre: And before him, the Senate in the time of the Italian warres, had condemned *Caius Vatiennus* to perpetuall prison, and confiscated all his goods, forsomuch as he had willingly cut off the thumb of his left hand, so to exempt himselfe from the voyage. Some one, whose name I remember not, having gained a great victory by Sea, caused al the enemies whom he had vanquished and taken prisoners, to have their thumbs cut off, thinking thereby to deprive them of all meanes of fighting, of rowing, or handling their oares. The Athenians likewise caused them to be cut off from them of *Agina*, to take from them the preheminence in the art of navigation. In *Lacedaemon* masters punished their Schollers by byting their thumbs.

## CHAP. 27.

### *Cowardize, the mother of Crueltie.*

I Have often heard it reported, that *Cowardize is the mother of Crueltie*: And have perceived by experience, that this malicious sharpnes, & inhumane severitie of corage, is commonly accompanied with feminine remissenesse: I have seene some of the cruelest subject to weep easily, and for frivolous causes. *Alexander* the tyrant of *Pheres*, could not endure to see tragedies acted in the Theaters, for feare his subjects should see him sob and weepe at the misfortunes of *Hecuba* and *Andromaca*; he who without remorse or pitty caused daily so many poore people to be most cruelly massacred and barbarously murdered. May it be weaknesse of spirit, makes them so pliable to all extremities? valor (whose effect is onely to exercise it selfe against resistance,

Claud. epist. ad  
Hadr. v. 39.

*Nec nisi bellantis gaudet cervice iuvenci.*

Nor takes he joy to domineere

But on the necke of sturdie steere)

refraines it selfe in seeing her enemy prostrate to her mercy: But pusillanimitie, to say that she also is of the feast, since it cannot bee joyned to the first part, takes for her share the second, which is massacre and blood. Murthers after victories, are commonly effected by the baser kinde of people, and officers that waite upon the baggage and cariage. And the reason we see so many unheard-of cruelties in popular warres, is, that this vulgar rascallitie doth martially flesh and enure it selfe to dive in blood up to the elbowes, and mangle a bodie, or hacke a carcase lying and groveling at their feete, having no manner of feeling of other valor.

Ovid. Trist. lib. 3.  
el. 5. 35.

*Et Lupus & turpes instant morientibus Ursi.*

Es



— *Et quaecumque minor nobilitate fera est.*

A Wolfe or filthie Beare the dying man oppresse.  
Or some such beast as in nobilitie is lesse.

As the Craven Curre, which at home or in their Kennels will tugge and bite the skins of those wilde beastes, which in the fields they durst not so much as bark-at. What is it that now adaies makes all our quarrels mortall? And whereas our forefathers had some degree of revenge, we now beginne by the last, and at first brunt nothing is spoken of but killing? What is it, if it be not cowardise? Every man seeth, it is more bravery and disdain for one to beat his enemy, than make an end of him; and to keep him at a bay, than make him die. Moreover, that the desire of revenge is thereby alayed: and better contented, for, it aymeth at nothing so much as to give or shew a motion or feeling of revenge onely of her self. And that's the reason we do not challenge a beast, or fall upon a stone, when it hurts us, because they are incapable to feele our revenge. And to kill a man, is to shelter him from our offence. And even as *Bias*, exclaimed upon a wicked man; *I know that soone or late thou shalt bee punished for thy lewdnes, but I feare me I shall not see it*: And moaned the Orchomenians, because the penance which *Liciscus* had for his treason committed against them, came at such a time, as none of them were living, whom it had concerned, and whom the pleasure of that punishment might most delight: So ought revenge to be moaned, whē he on whom it is inflicted, looseth the meanes to endure or feel it. For, even as the revenger, wil see the action of the revenge, that so he may feele the pleasure of it, so must he on whom he is revenged, both see and feele, that he may hereby receive both repentance & grieve. He shal rew it, say we. And though he receive a stab or a blow with a pistoll on his head, shal we think he will repent? Contrariwise, if we marke him wel, we shal perceive that in falling, he makes a moc or bob at us. Hee is farre from repenting, when he rather seemes to be beholding to us: In asmuch as we afford him the favourablest office of life, which is to make him dye speedily and as it were insensibly. We are left to shift up and downe, runne and trot, and squat heere and there, and al to avoyd the officers, or escape the Magistrates that pursue us, and he is at rest. *To kill a man, is good to escape a future offence, and not revenge the wrongs past.* It is rather an action of feare, than of bravery: Of precaution, than of courage: Of defence, thā of an enterprise. It is apparant, that by it, we quit both the true end of revenge, and the respect of our reputatiō: If he live we feare he wil or may charge us with the like. It is not against him it is for thee, thou riddest thy selfe of him. In the Kingdome of *Narsinga*, this expedient would be bootelesse: There, not only Souldiers, & such as professe armes, but every meane Artificer, decide their quarels with the Swords point. The King never refuseth any man the combate, that is disposed to fight: and if they be men of qualitie he wil be by in person, and reward the victor with a chaine of Gold: Which, whosoever hath a mind unto, and wil obtaine it, may freely challenge him that weareth the same, & enter combate with him. And having overcome one combate, hath many following the same. If we thought by vertue to be ever superiors unto our enemy, and at our pleasure gourmandize him, it would much grieve us he should escape us, as he doth in dying: We rather endeavour to vanquish surely then honourably. And in our quarrels we rather seeke for the end, thē for the glory. *Asinius Pollio* for an honest man, lesse excusable, committed a like fault; Who having written many invectives against *Plancus*, staid untill he were dead to publish them. It was rather to flurt at a blind man, and raile in a dead mans eare, and to offend a senselesse man, then incurre the danger of his revenge. And men answered in this behalfe, that it onely belonged to *Hobgoblins* to wrestle with the dead. He who stayeth till the Author be dead, whose writings he will combate, what saith he, but that he is weake and quarrellous? It was told *Aristotle*, that some body had spoken ill of him, to whom he answered, *Let him also whippe me, so my selfe be not by.* Our forefathers were content to revenge an injurie with a lie: a lie with a blowe, a blowe with blood, and so in order. They were sufficiently valiant, not to feare their adversary, though he lived and were wronged: whereas we quake for feare, so long as we see him a foot. And that it is so, doth not our moderne practise, pursue to death, as well him who hath wronged us, as him whom we have offended? It is also a kind of dastardlinesse, which hath brought this fashion into our single combates, to accompany us in the fields with seconds, thirdes, and fourths. They were anciently single combates, but now they are skirmishes and batrels. To be alone, feared the first that invented it: *Quum in senig, minimum fiducia esset*



*When every man had least confidence in himselfe.* For, what company soever it be, it doth naturally bring some comfort & ease in danger. In ancient time they were wont to employ third persons as sticklers, to see no trechery or disorder were used, & to beare witness of the combates successe. But now this fashion is come up, let any man be engaged whosoever is invited, can not well containe himselfe to be a spectator, lest it be imputed unto him, it is either for want of affection, or lacke of courage. Besides the injustice of such an action and villany, for your honours protection, to engage other valour and force then your owne, I find it a disadvantage in an honest and worthy man, & who wholly trusts unto himselfe, to entermingle his fortune with a second man: every one runneth sufficient hazard for himselfe, and neede not also runne it for another: And hath enough to doe, to assure himselfe of his owne vertue for the defence of his life, without committing so precious a thing into third-mens-hands. For, if the contrary hath not expressly beene covenanted of all foure, it is a combined party. If your fellow chance to faile, you have two upon you, and not without reason: and to say, it is a Superchery, as it is indeed: as being wel armed, to charge a man who hath but a piece of a sword, or being sound & strong, to set upon a man sore hurt. But if they bee advantages you have gotten fighting, you may use them without imputation. Disparitie is not considered, and inequality is not balanced, but by the state wherein the fight is begun. As of the rest you must rely on fortune: and if alone or single, you chance to have three upon you, your other two companions being slain, you have no more wrong done you, than I should offer in Wars in striking an enemy, whom at such an advantage I should finde grappled with one of my fellow souldiers. The nature of societie beareth, where troupe is against troupe (as where our Duke of Orleans chalenged Hen. King of England, one hundred against another hundred; three hundred against as many, as did the Argiās against the Lacedemonians; three to three, as were the Horatij against the Curatij) the pluralitie of either side is never respected for more than a single man. Whersoever there is company, the hazard is confused and disordered. I have a private interest in this discourse. For, my brother, the Lord of Mateconlom, being desired in Rome, to second and accompany a Gentleman, with whom he had no great acquaintance, who was defendant and chalenged by another; The fight begunne, my brother by chance found himselfe confronted with one neerer & better known to him (I would faine be resolved of these Lawes of honor, which so ofte shooke & trouble those of reason) whom after he had vanquished and dispatched, seeing the two principals of the quarrell yet standing and unhurt, he went to reskew his fellow. What could he do lesse? should he have stood still, and (if chance would so have had it) see him defeated, for whose defence he was entred the quarrell? What until then he had done, was nothing to the purpose, and the quarrel was still undecided. Al the courtesie you can, you ought surely use to your enemy, especially when you have brought him under, and to some great disadvantage; I know not how a man may use it, when anothers interest depends on it, where you are but accessory, & where the quarrel is not yours. Hee could never be just nor courteous, in hazard of him unto whom he had lent himselfe. So was he presently delivered out of the Italian prisons, by a speedy and solemne letter of commendations from our King. Oh indiscreet Natiō. We are not contented to manifest our follies, & bewray our vices to the world by reputation: but we go into forraigne Nations and there in person shew them. Place three French-men in the deserts of Libya, and they wil never live one moneth together without brawling, falling out and scratching one another: you would say this peregrinatiō, is a party erected to please strangers with our tragedies, and those most commonly, who rejoyce and scoffe at our evils. We travel into Italie to learne the art of fencing, and practise it at the cost of our lives, before we know it; it were requisite according to the order of true Discipline, we should preferre the Theorike before the practise. We betray our apprenticeship.

Stat. Sylv. lib. 5.

*Primitia iuvenum misera, bellique futuri**Dura rudimenta.*

The miserable first essayes of youth,

And hard beginnings of warre that ensueth.

I know it is an art profitable to her end (in the single combate betweene the two Princes, cousin-Germans, in Spaine, the eldest of which (saith T. Livius) by the skil of his weapons, & by craft, overcame easily the dismayed forces of the yonger) and as by experience I have knowen, the knowledge and skil wherof, hath puffed up the heart of some, beyond their



their naturall proportion. But it is not properly a vertue, since she draweth her stay from dexteritie, and takes her foundation from other than from her selfe. *The honour of combates consisteth in the jealousie of the heart, not of the science.* And therefore have I seene some of my friends, renowned for great Masters in this exercise in their quarels to make choise of weapons, that might well take the meane of this advantage, or odde from them; and which wholly depended on fortune, and assurance that their victorie might not rather be imputed to their fencing, than ascribed to their valour. And in my infancy, our nobility scorned the reputation of a fencer, though never so cunning, as injurious; and if any learnt it, they would sequester themselves from company, deeming the same as a mystery of craft & subtilty, derogating from true and perfect vertue.

*Non schivar, non parar, non ritirarsi  
Vogliono, co'lor, ne qui destrezza ha parte;  
Non danno i colpi finiti hor pieni, hor scarfi;  
Toglie l'ira il furor l'uso deil arte,  
Odie le spade horribilmente urtarsi  
A mezzo il ferro, il pie d'orma non parte,  
Sempre è il pie fermo, è la man sempre in moto,  
Ne scende taglio in van, ne punta à voto.  
T'avoyde, toward retiring to give ground  
They reke not, nor hath nimblenes heere part,  
Nor give false blowes, nor full, nor scarce, nor sound,  
Rage and revenge bereave all use of arte.  
Their Swordes at halfe Sword horribly resound  
You might heare mette: No foote from steppe doth parte:  
Their foote still fast, their hand still faster mooveth:  
No stroke in vaine, no thrust in vaine, but prooveth.*

Tasso Giur.  
can. 1 a. Stan. 55

*Shooting at Butts, Tilting, Torneyes, Barriers, the true images of martiall combates, were the exercises of our forefathers.* This other exercise is so much the lesse noble, by how much it respecteth but a private end; which against the lawes of justice, teacheth us to destroy one another, and every way produceth ever mischievous effects. *It is much more worthy, and better becomming, for a man to exercise himselfe in things that assure and offend not our Commonwealth; and which respect publike securitie and generall glory.* *Publius Consus*, was the first that ever instituted the Souldier to manage his armes by dexteritie and skil, and joyned art unto vertue, not for the use of private cōtentions, but for the wars & Roman peoples quarels. A popular and civill manner of fencing. And besides the example of *Cesar*, who appointed his Souldier, above all things, to aime and strike at the face of *Pompeyes* men in the battell of *Pharsalia*: A thousand other Chieftaines and Generals have devised new fashions of weapons, and new kindes of striking, and covering of themselves, according as the present affaires require. But even as *Philopamen* condemned wrestling, wherein hee excelled others, for so much as the preparations appertaining to this exercise differed from those that belong to military discipline, to which he supposed, men of honour should amuse & addiect themselves. Me thinks also, that this nimblenesse or agilitie, to which men fashion and enure themselves, their limbes, their turnings, windings, and nimble-quick motions, wherein youth is instructed and trained in this new schoole, are not onely unprofitable, but rather contrary and damageable for the use of militarie combate: And we see our men do commonly employ particular weapons, in their fence schooles, and peculiarly appointed for that purpose. And I have seene it disallowed, that a gentleman chalenged to fight with Rapier and Dagger, should present himselfe in the equipage of a man at armes; or that another should offer to come with his cloake insteade of a Dagger. It is worthy the noting, that *Lachaz* in *Plato*, speaking of an apprentillage, how to manage armes, conformable to ours, saith, he could never see any notable warrior come of a schoole of fence, and especially from among the maisters. As for them our owne experience confirms as much. And for the rest we may at least say, they are sufficiencies of no relation or correspondency. And in the institution of the children of his Common weale, *Plato* interdicts the artes of striking or playing with fists, devised by *Amymus* and *Epeius*, and to wrestle invented by *Antheus* and *Cecyr*: because they aime at another end, then to adapt youth to warlike service,



vice, and have no affinitie with it. But I digresse much from my theame. The Emperour *Mauricins*, being forewarned by dreames, and sundry prognostications, that one *Phocas* a Souldier at that time yet unknowne, should kil him, demanded of *Philip* his sonne in law, who that *Phocas* was, his nature, his conditions, and customes, and how amongst other things *Philip* told him, he was a faint cowardly, and timorous fellow: The Emperour thereby presently concluded, that he was both cruel & a murtherer. What makes tyrants so bloud-thirstie? it is the care of their securitie, & that their faint-hart yeelds them no other meanes to assure themselves, then by rooting out those which may in any sort offend them; yea silly women, for feare they should or bite or scratch them;

*Claud in En-  
trop. lib. I. 18.*

*Cuncta ferit dum cuncta timet.*

Of all things he afraide,

At all things fiercely laide.

The first cruelties are exercised by themselves, thence proceedeth the feare of a just revenge, which afterward produceth a swarme of new cruelties; by the one to stifle the other. *Philip*, the King of *Macedon*, who had so many crowes to pul with the Romanes, agitated by the horror of so many murders committed by his appointment, and unable to make his partie good, or to take any safe resolution against so many families, by him at severall times injured, resolved at last to seize upō al their childrē whom he had caused to be murdered, that so he might day by day one after another rid the world of them, & so establish his safety. *Matters of worth are not impertinent wheresoever they be placed.* I, who rather respect the weight and benefite of discourses, then their order and placing, need not feare to place here at randone a notable storie. When they are so rich of their owne beautie, and may very well uphold themselves alone, I am content with a hairens end, to fitte or joyne them to my purpose. Amongst others who had beene condemned by *Philip*, was one *Herodius*, Prince of the *Theffalians*: After whom he caused his two sonnes in lawe to be put to death; each of them leaving a young sonne behind him. *Theoxena* and *Arco* were the two widowes. *Theoxena* although she were instantly urged thereunto, could never be induced to marry againe. *Arco* tooke to husband *Poris* a chiefe man amongst the *Ænians*, and by him had divers children, all which she left very young. *Theoxena* moved by a motherly charitie toward her young nephews, and so to have them in her protection and bringing up, wedded *Poris*. Vpon this came out the proclamation of the Kings Edict. This noble-minded mother, distrusting the Kings crueltie & fearing the mercilesnes of his Satelities or officers towards these noble, hopefull and tender youths, feared not to say, that shee would rather kil them with her own hands, thē deliver them. *Poris* amazed at her protestations, promiset her secretly to convey them to *Athens*, ther by some of his faithful friends to be kept safely. They take occasion of a yearely feast, which to the honor of *Aeneas* was solemnized at *Aeneas*, and thither they goe, where having all day-lōg assisted to the ceremonies, and publike banket: night being come, they convey themselves into a shippe appointed for that purpose, in hope to save themselves by Sea. But the winde fell out so contrarie, that the next morning they found themselves in view of the town, whence the night before their had hoised sailes, where they were pursued by the guarders and Souldiers of the Port. Which *Poris* perceiving, laboured to hasten and encourage the Mariners to shift away: But *Theoxena*, engaged through love and and revenge, remembering her first resolution, prepared both weapons and poison, and presenting them to their sight, thus shee bespake them: Oh my deare children, take a good heart, death is now the onely meane of your defence and libertie, and shall be a just cause unto the Gods for their holy justice. These bright-keene blades, these full cuppes shall free you the passage unto it. Courage therefore, and thou my eldest childe, take this sword to die the strongest death. Who on the one side having so undaunted a perswader, and on the other their enemies ready to cut their throats in furious manner, ranne all to that which came next to his hand. And so all goared and panting were throwne into the Sea. *Theoxena*, proud she had so gloriouslie provided for her childrens safety, lovingly embracing her husband, saide thus unto him; Oh my deare heart, let us follow these boyes, and together with them enjoy one selfe same grave, and so close claspe-together, they flung themselves into the maine: So that the ship was brought to shoare againe, but emptie of her Maisters. Tyrants to act two things together, that is, to kill and cause their rage to be felt, have employed the utmost of their skill, to devise



devise lingring deaths. They wil have their enemies die, yet not so soone, but that they may have leisure to feele their vengeance. Wherin they are in great perplexity: for if the tormēts be over-violēt, they are short; if lingring, not grievous enough. In this thy imploy their wits and devises. Many examples wherof we see in antiquitie; and I wot not, whether wittingly we retaine some spice of that barbarisme. *Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, seemeth to mee meere crueltie.* Our justice cannot hope, that he whom the terror of death cannot dismay, be he to be hanged or beheaded, can in any sort be troubled with the imagination of a languishing fire, of a wheele, or of burning pincers. And I wot not, whether in that meane time we bring him to despair: For, what plight can the soule of a man be in, that is broken upon a wheele, or after the old fashion, nailed upon a Crosse, & xxiiij howres together expects his death? *Iosephus* reporteth, that whilst the *Romane* warres continued in *Iurie*, passing by a place where certain Iewes had been crucified three dayes before, he knew thre of his friends amongst them, & having gotten leave to remove them, two of them died, but the third lived long after. *Chalcondylus* a man of credite, in the memories he left of matters happened in his time and thereabouts, maketh report of an extreame torment, the Emperer *Mechmed* was often wont to put in practise, which was by one onely blow of a Cimitary or broad Persian Sword, to have men cut in two parts, by the waste of the body, about the Diaphragma, which is a membrane lying overthwart the lower part of the breast, separating the heart and lights from the stomacke, which caused them to dye two deaths at once: and affirmeth that both parts were seen full of life, to move and stirre long time after, as if they had been in lingring torment. I do not thinke, they felt any great torture in that moving. *The gastliest torments to looke upon are not alwaies the greatest to be endured:* And I finde that much more fiercely horrible, which other Historians write, and which he used against certain Lords of *Epirus*, whom faire and leasurely he caused to be dead all over, disposed by so malicious a dispensatiō, that their lives continued fiftene daies in that languor & anguish. And these two others; *Crasus* having caused a Gentleman to be apprehended, greatly favoured by *Pantaleon* his brother; led him in a fullers or cloth-workers shoppe, where with Cardes and Teazels belonging to that trade, he made him to be carded, scraped, and teazed so long untill he died of it. *George Seckell* Ring-leader of the Countty men of *Polina*, who under the title of a *Croysada*, wrought so many mischiefes, having beene defeated in a battell by the *Vayvoda* of *Transilvania*, and taken Prisoner, was for three dayes together tyed naked to a wooden-horse, exposed to all manner of tortures, any man might devise against him; during which time divers other prisoners were kept fasting. At last, he yet living, saw *Lucat* his deare brother, and for whose safety he sued and entreated, forced to drinke his blood, drawing all the envie and hatred of his misdeedes upon himselfe. And twentie of his most favoured Captaines were compelled to feed upon his flesh, which with their teeth they must teare off, and swallow their morsels. The rest of his body and entrailles, he being dead, were boiled in a pan, and given for food to other of his followers.

## CHAP. 28.

*All things have their season.*

Those who compare *Cato* the Censor, to *Cato* the yonger that killed himselfe, compare two notable natures, and in forme neare one unto another. The first exploited his, sundrie waies, and excelleth in military exploits, and vtilitie of his publike vacations. But the yongers vertue (besides that it were blasphemy, in vigor to compare any unto him) was much more sincere and unspotted. For, who will discharge the Censors of envie and ambition, that durst counter-checke the honor of *Scipio*, in goodnes and all other parts of excellencie, farre greater and better than him or any other man living in his age? Amongst other things reported of him, this is one, that in his eldest yeares he gave himselfe, with so earnest a longing to learn the Greek tong, as if it had been to quench a long burning thirst. A thing in mine opiniō not very honorable in him: It is properly that which we cal doting



or to become a child againe. All things have their season, yea the good and all. And I may say my *Pater noster* out of season. As *T. Quintius Flaminius* was accused, forasmuch as being Generall of an Army, even in the houre of the conflict, he was seene to withdraw himselfe apart, ammusling himselfe to pray God, although he gained the battell.

*Imponit finem sapiens & rebus honestis.*

*Juv. sat. 6, 344.*

A wise-man will use moderation,

Even in things of commendation.

*Eudemondas* seeing *Xenocrates* very diligently apply himself in his Schoole-lectures, said, when wil this man know something, since he is yet learning? And *Philopomen*, to those who highly extolled King *Ptolomey*, because he daily hardened his body to the exercise of arms: It is not (said he) a matter commendable in a King of his age, in them to exercise himselfe, he should now really and substantially imploy them. Wise men say, that young-men should make their preparations, and old men enjoy them. And the greatest vice they note in us, is, that our desires do unceasingly grow yonger and yonger. We are ever beginning a new to live. Our studies and our desires should sometimes have reaching of age. We have a foote in the grave, and our appetites and pursuities are but new-borne.

*Hor. car. lib. 2.  
ed. 18. 17.*

*Tu secunda marmora*

*Locas sub ipsum funus, & sepulcri*

*Immemor, struis domos*

You, when you should be going to your grave,

Put Marble out to worke; build houses brave,

Unmindfull of the buriall you must have.

The longest of my designs doth not extend to a whole yeare; now I only apply myselfe to make an end: I shake off all my new hopes and enterprises: I bid my last farewell to all the places I leave, and daily dispossesse myselfe of what I have. *Olim iam nec peris quicquam mihi, nec acquiritur. Plus superest matris quam vis.* It is a good while since I neither loose nor get any thing; I have more to beare my charges, then way to goe.

*Sen. epist. 77. p.*

*Virg. En. l. 4.*

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*Vixi, & quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi.*

I have liv'd, and the race have past,

Wherein my fortune had me plac't.

To conclude, it is all the case I finde in my age, and that it suppresseth many cares and desires in me, wherewith life is much disquieted. The care of the worlds course, the care of riches, of greatnesse, of knowledge, of health and of my selfe. This man learneth to speake, when he should rather learne to hold his peace for ever. A man may alwaies continue his studie, but not schooling. O fond-foolish for an old man to be ever an *Abcedarian*.

*Catul. eleg. 1.*

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*Diversos diversa inuuant, non omnibus annis*

*Omnia conveniunt.*

Diverse delights to diverse, nor to all

Do all things at all yeares convenient fall.

If we must needs study, let us study something sortable to our condition, that we may answer, as he did, who being demanded what his studies would lead him in his decrepity, answered; that he might the better, & with more ease leave this world. Such a studie was yong *Cato*, in foreseeing his approaching end, who lighting upon *Plato*'s discourse of the soules immortality. Nor, as it may be supposed, that long before he had not stored himselfe with all sorts of munition for such a dislodging. Of assurance, of constancy & instruction, he had more then *Plato* hath in all his writings: His Science, and his courage, were in this respect above all Philosophy. Hee undertooke this occupation, not for the service of his death, but as one, who did not so much as interrupt his sleep, in a deliberation of such consequence, who ever without choise or change continued his wonted studies, and all other accustomed actions of his life. The same night, wherein the Pretorship was refused him, he passed over in play. That wherein he must die, he spent in reading. The losse of life or office was all one to him.



## CHAP. 29.

## Of Vertue.

I finde by experience, that there is great difference betweene the sodaine fits and fantasies of the soule, and a resolute disposition and constant habitude: And I see, there is nothing but we may attaine unto, yea, as some say, to exceede Divinitie it selfe; forsomuch as it is more to become impassible of himselfe, then to be so by his originall condition: And that one may joyne a resolution and assurance of God to mans imbecillitie. But it is by fits. And in the lives of those Heroes or noble worthies of former ages, are often found wonderfull parts, and which seeme greatly to exceed our naturall forces: but they are pranks or parts consonant to truth: & it may hardly be believed, mans soule may so be tainted & fed with those so high-raised conditions, that unto it they may become as ordinary and naturall. It hapneth unto our selves, who are but abortive broods of men, sometimes to rowze our soule farre beyond her ordinary pitch, as stirred up by the discourtes, or provoked by the examples of others. But it is a kinde of passion, which urgeth, mooveth, agitateth and in some sorte ravisheth her from out her selfe: for, that gust overblowne, and storme past, wee see, it wil unawares unbend and lose it selfe, if not to the lowest pitch, at least to be no more the same she was, so that upon every slight occasion, for a bird lost, or for a glasse broken, wee suffer our selves to be mooved and distempered very neere as one of the vulgar sort. *Except order, moderation and constancie, I imagine all things may bee done by an indifferent and descriptive man.* Therefore say wisemen, that directly to judge of a man, his common actions must specially be controuled, and he must every day be surpris'd in his work-day clothes. *Pyrrho*, who framed so pleasant a Science of ignorance, assaied (as all other true Philosophers) to fashion his life answerable to his doctrine. And forasmuch as he maintained the weaknesse of mans judgement, to be so extreame, as it could take nor resolution, nor inclination: and would perpetually suspend it, ballancing, beholding and receiving all things, as indifferent: It is reported of him, that he ever kept himselfe after one fashion, looke and countenance: If he had begunne a discourse, he would end it, though the party to whom he spake, were gone: And if he went any where, he would not goe an inche out of his path what let or obstackle soever came in his way; being kept from falls, fro cartes or other accidents by his friends. For, to feare or shunne any thing, had beene to shooke his propositions, which remooved all election and certainty from his very senses. He sometimes suffered himselfe to be cut and cauterized, with such constancy, as he was never seen so much as to shrug, twitch, move or winke with his eyes. It is something to bring the minde to these imagination, but more to joine the effects unto it, yet is it not impossible. But to joine them with such preteverance and constancy, as to establish it for an ordinary course; verily in these enterprises so farre from common use, it is almost incredible to be done. The reason is this, that he was sometimes found in his house, bitterly scolding with his sister, for which being reprov'd, as he that wronged his indifferencie: What? said he? *must this scely woman also serve as a witnesse to my rules?* Another time, being found to defend himselfe from a dog: *It is* (replied he) *very hard, altogether to dispoile and shake off man:* And man must endeavour and enforce himselfe to resist and confront all things, first by effects, but if the worst befall, by reason and by discourse. It is now about seven or eight yeares since, that a country man, yet living, not above two leagues from this place, having long before beene much vexed & troubled in minde, for his wives jealousy, one day comming home from his worke, and she after her accustomed manner welcomming and entertaining him with brawling and scowling, as one unable to endure her any longer, fell into such a moodie rage, that sodainely with a Sickle, which he held in his hand, he cleane cut off those parts that were the cause of her jealousy, and flung them in her face. And it is reported, that a yong gentleman of France, amorous and lustie, having by his perseverance at last mollified the heart of his faire mistresse, desperate, because comming to the point of his so long sued-for businesse, he found himselfe unable and unprepared, and that



Tib. L. ad Pri-  
ap. v. 4.

non viriliter  
Iners femle penis extulerat caput.

as soone as he came home, he deprived himselfe of it: and sent it as a cruel and bloody sacrifice for the expiation of his offence. Had he done it by discourte or for religions sake, as the priestes of *Cybele* were wont to do, what might we not say of so haughty an enterprize? Not long since at *Bragerac*, five leagues distance from my house, up the river of *Dordaigne*, a woman, having the evening before beene grievously tormented, and sore beaten by hir husband, froward and skittish by complexion, determined, though it should cost hir the price of hir life, by one meane or other, to escape his rudenesse, and rising the next morning, went as she was accustomed to visite her neighbours, to whom in some sort she recommended the state of hir affaires, then taking a sister of hers by the hand, ledde hir along untill she came upon the bridge that crosseth the River, and having bid her hartily farewell, as in the way of sport without shewing any maner of change or alteration, headlong threw herselfe down into the River, where she perished. And which is more to be noted in hir, is, that this hir determinatiou ripened a whole night in hir head. But the Indian Wives, may not here be forgotten as worthy the noting: Whose custome is, that husbands have many wives & for hir that is dearest unto hir husband, to kil herselfe after him: Every one in the whole course of hir life, endevoreth to obtaine this priviledge and advantage over all her fellow-wives: And in the good offices and duties they shew their husbands, respect no other recompence than to be preferred to accompany them in death.

Propert. lib. 3. el.  
12. 17.

*Vbi mortifero jacta est fax ultima lecto,  
— Uxorum suspiris, stat pia turba comis:  
Et certamen habent Lethi, quæ viva sequatur  
— Coniugium, pudor est non licuisse mori:  
Ardent vittrices, & flamma pectora præbent,  
— Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.*

When for his death-bed last flame is appli'd  
With loose haire many kind wives stand beside,  
And strive for death, which alive may be next  
Hir wedlocke, who may not, is sham'd and vex't  
They that overcome, are burn'd, to flames give way,  
Their bodies burnt on their burnt husbands lay.

A late Writer affirmeth, that himselfe hath seene this custome highly reputed in the new discovered East Indiaes, where not only the wives are buried with their husbands, but also such slaves as he hath enjoyed; which is done after this manner. The husband being deceased, the widdow may, if she will (but few do it) request two or three Monthes space to dispose of hir busines. The day come, adorned as a sumptuous bride, she mounteth on horsebacke, and with a cheereful countenance, telleth every body she is going to lie with her bridegroom, holding in her left hand a looking-glasse, & an arrow in the right. Thus having a while rid up & downe in great pomp & magnificence, accompanied with her friends and kinsmen, and much concourse of people, in feast & jollitie, she is brought unto a public place, purposely appointed for such spectacles. Which is a large open place, in the midst whereof is a pit or grave full of wood, & neere unto it an upraised scaffold, with foure or five steppes to ascend, upon which she is brought, and served with a stately and sumptuous banquet, which ended, she beginneth to dance and sing, and when she thinks good, commandeth the fire to be kindled. That done, she commeth down againe, and taking the nearest of hir husbands kindred by the hand, they goe together to the next river, where shee strippes hir selfe all naked, and distributeth hir jewels and cloathes among hir friends, then plungeth herselfe in the Water, as if she meant to wash away hir sins; then comming out she enwrappeth her selfe in a yellow piece of linnen cloth, about the length of fourteene yards; And giving her hand againe unto hir husbands Kinsman, they returne unto the Mount, where she speakes unto the people, to whom (if she have any) she recommendeth hir Children. Betweene the Pitte and Mount, there is commonly a Curtaine drawne, lest the sight of that burning furnace might dismay them: Which many, to shew the greater courage, will not have it drawne. Her speech ended, a Woman presenteth her with a Vessel full of Oyl, therewith to annoint her head and body, which done, she casteth the rest into the fire, and there-



therewithall sodainly flings herselfe into it : Which is no sooner done, but the people cast great store of Faggots and Billets upon hir, lest she should languish over-long: and all their joy is converted into grie'e and sorrow. If they be persons of meane quality, the dead mans body is carried to the place where they intend to bury him, & there he is placed sitting; his Widdow kneeling before him with her armes close about his middle, & so keepeth herself, whilst a wall is erected vp about them both, which raised to the height of her shoulders, some of her kindred taking her by the head behind, wrings hir neck about; & having giue the last gaspe, the wall is immediately made up close over their heads, wherein they remain buried. In the same Country, there was something like to this in their Gymnosophists, or wise-men, who not by menaces or compulsions of others, nor by the violence of a sodaine humour, but by the expresse and voluntary profession of their rule, their maner was according as they attained unto a certaine age, or saw themselves threatned by some sicknesse, to cause a pile of wood to be erected, & upon it a rich bedde; and having cheerefully feasted their friends and acquaintance, with such a resolution laid themselves downe in that bed, that fire set unto it, they were never seene to stirre nor hand nor foot; and thus died one of them, named *Calanus*, in the presence of all the army of *Alexander the Great*. And who had not so made himselfe away, was neither esteemed holy nor absolutely happy among them; sending his soule purged and purified by fire, after it had consumed whatsoever was mortal and terrestriall in it. This constant premeditation of al the life, is that which makes the wonder. Amongst our other disputation, that of *Fatum*, hath much entermixed it selfe: and to joyne future things, and our wil it selfe unto a certaine unavoydable necessity, we yet stand upon that argument of former times: since God foreseeeth al things must thus happen as undoubtedly he doeth: They must then necessarily happen so. To which our Clarks and Masters answer, that to see any thing come to passe, as we doe, and likewise God (for he being present in full essence, rather seeth than foreseeeth) is not to force the same to happen: yea we see, because things come to passe, but things happen not because we see. The hapning makes the science or knowledge, and not knowledge the happening. What we see come to passe, happeneth; but it might come to passe otherwise. And God in the eternall register of the causes of happenings, which he hath in his prescience, hath also those, which are ealed casual; & the voluntary, which depend of the liberty, he hath given unto our free will, & knoweth we shall faile, because our will shall have beene to faile. I have seene divers encourage their troupes with this fatall necessitie: For, if our houre be tied unto a certaine point neither the musket-shottes of our enemies, nor our courage, nor our flight and cowardize, can either advance or recoyle the same.

This may well be said, but seeke you who shall effect it : And if it be so, that a strong and lively faith, doth likewise draw action after it: truly this faith (wherewith we so much fill our mouthes) is marvelous light in our times: except the cōtempt it hath of works, make her disdain their company. So it is, that to the same purpose, the Lord of *Jainville*, as credible a witness as any other, tells us of the Bedoins, a nation entermixed with the Saracine, with whom our King *Saint Lewes* had to deale in the holy land, who so confidently believed in their religion, the dayes of every one to be prefixed and numbred from all eternitie, by an inevitable preordinance, that they went al bare and naked to the warres, except a Turkish Glaive in their hand, and their body covered but with a white linnen-cloth: And for the bitterest curse, if they chanced to fall out one with another, they had ever in their mouth : *Cursed be thou, as he that armeth himselfe for feare of death*. Here is another maner of triall or a belief or faith thē ours, In this rank may likewise be placed that which those two religious men of *Florence*, not long since gave unto their cōtrymen. Being in some controvertie betweene themselves about certaine points of learning; they accorded to go both into the fire, in the presence of al the people, & in the open market place, each one for the verifying of his opinion; & all preparations were ready made, and execution to be performed; but that by an unexpected accidēt it was interrupted. A yong Turkish Lord, having achieved a notable piece of service in armes, & with his own person, in full view of the two battels between *Ammurath* & *Huniades* ready to be joyned together, being demanded by *Ammurath* his Prince, who (being so yong & unexperienced, for it was the first warre or service he had seene before) had replenished him with so generous and undanted vigor of courage, answered, that a Hare had beene his soveraigne maister and onely teacher of valour : and



thus began his speech. *Being one day a hunting, I found a Hare sitting in her forme, and although I had a brace of excellent good gray-hounds with me in a slip or leash. I thought it good, because I would be sure of my game to use my bow; for she was a very faire marke. I beganne to shoote my arrowes at her, which I did to the number of fortie (for in my quiver were just so many) yet could I never hurt her, no not so much as start her: After all this, I let slip my gray hounds, who could doe no more then I had done: by which I learnt, that she had beene sheltered and defended by her destinie; and that no glaives nor arrowes never hit, but by the permission of our fatalitie, which it teacheth us to avoide or advance.* This storie may serve to make us perceive by the way, how flexible our reason is to all sorts of objects. A notable man, great in yeares, in name, in dignity and in learning, vaunted himselfe unto me, that he was induced to a certaine most important change of his religion, by a strange & fantastical incitation: and in all things so ill concluding that I deemed the same stronger & more forcible, being taken contrary. He termed it a miracle, and so did I, but in a different sense. Their historians say, that perswasion having popularly beene scattered amongst the Turkes, of the fatal and inflexible prescription of their dayes, doth apparantly aide to warrant & embolden them in dangers. And I know a great Prince, who happily thrives by it, be it he believe it, or take it for an excuse to hazard himselfe extraordinarily; provided fortune be not soone wearie to favour and backe him. There hath not happened in our memorie a more admirable effect of resolution, than of those two villaines that conspired the death of the Prince of Orange: It is strange how, the last, who performed the same, could be induced or encouraged to undergo such an enterprize, wherein his fellow (though he had resolutely attempted it, and had all might be required for such an action) had so ill successe, and miscarried. And in those steps, and with the same weapons, to go & undertake a Lord, armed with so late an instruction of distrust; mighty in friends and followers; puissant of bodily strength: in his owne hall; amidst his servants and guards; and in a City wholly at his devotion. It must of force be saide, that in performing it, he employed a well directed and resolute hand, and a dreadlesse courage, mooved by a vigorous passion. A Poynard is more sure to wound a man, which for so much as it requireth more motion and vigor of the arme, than a pistol, its stroke is more subject to be hindred or avoyded. That the first ranne not to an assured death, I make no great doubt, for the hopes wherewith he might be entertained could not harbour in a well seiled and resolute minde; and the conduct of his exploit, sheweth, he wanted no more that, then courage. The motions of so forcible a perswasion may be divers; for, our fantasie disposeth of her self & of us as she pleaseth. The execution committed neere Orleans had no coherence with this, wherein was more hazard, then vigor; the blow was not mortall, had not fortune made it so: and the enterprize to shoote on horse-backe and far-off, and to one who mooved still according to the motion of his horse, was the attempt of a man that rather loved to misse of his effect, then faile to save himselfe. What followed did manifestly shew it. For, he was so amazed & drunken with the thought of so haughty an execution, as he lost all his senses, both to worke his escape, and direct his tongue in his answers. What needed he have done more, then recover his friends by crossing of a river? It is a meane, wherein I have cast my selfe in farre lesse dangers, and which I thinke of small hazard, how broad soever, alwaies provided your horse find an easie entrance, and on the further side you foresee an easie and shallow landing, according to the course of the streame of the water. The second, when the horrible sentence was pronounced against him, answered stoutly, *I was prepared for it, and I shall amaze you with my patience.* The Assassines, a nation depending of Phénicia, are esteemed among the Mahometists of a soveraigne devotion and puritie of maners; they hold, that the readiest and shortest way to gaine Paradise, is to kill some one of a contrary religion: therefore hath it often beene scene, that one or two in their bare doublets have undertakē to assalut mighty enemies, with the price of an assur'd death, & without any care of their owne danger. And thus was our Earle Raymond of Tripoli murdered or assassinated (this word is borrowed from their name) in the middelt of his Citie, during the time of our warres in the holy land: And likewise Conrade Marquis of Montferrat his murderors being brought to their torture, were scene to swel with pride, that they had performed so worthy an exploit.



## CHAP. 30.

## Of a monstrous Child.

THIS discourse shall passe single, for I leave it to Physicians to treat of. I saw two dayes since a child, whom two men and a nurse (which named themselves to be his father, his Vnckle, and his Aunt) carried about with intent to get some money with the sight of him, by reason of his strangenes. In all the rest, he was as other children are, he stood upon his feete, went and pratted in a maner as all others of his age: He would never take nourishment, but by his nurses breast, and what in my presence was offered to be put in his mouth, he chewed a little, and put it all out againe. His puling differed somewhat from others: He was just fourteene moneths olde. Vnder his paps he was fastned and joyned to an other child, but had no head, and who had the conduite of his backe stopped, the rest whole. One of his armes was shorter then the other, and was by accident broken at their birth. They were joyned face to face, & as if a little child would embrace another somewhat bigger. The joyning & space whereat they were closed together, was but foure inches broad, or thereabouts, in such sort that if you thrust up the imperfect child, you might see under the others navill. And the seame was betweene the paps and his navill. The navill of the imperfect one could not be seene, but all the rest of his belly might. Thus, what of the imperfect one was not joyned, as armes, buttockes, thighes and legges, did hang and shake upon the other, whose length reached to the middle-leg of the other perfect. His Nurse told me, he made water by both privities. The members of the little one were nourished, living, and in the same state as the others, except only, they were lesse & thinner. This double body, & these different members, having reference to one onely head, might serve for a favorable prognostication to our King, to maintaine the factions & differing parties of this our kingdome under an unitie of the lawes. But least the successe should prove it contrary, it is not amisse to let him runne his course: For in things already past their need no divination. *Vi quum facta sunt, tum ad conjecturam aliqua interpretatione revocantur: So as when they are done, they then by some construction should be revoked to conjecture:* As it is reported of Epimenides, who ever divined backward. I come now from seeing of a shepheard at Medoc, of thirtie yeares of age, or thereabouts, who had no signe at all of genitorie parts: But where they should be, are three little holes, by which his water doth continually trill from him. This poore man hath a beard, and desireth still to be fumbling of women. *Those which we call monsters are not so with God, who in the immensitie of his worke seeth the infinitie of formes therein contained. And it may be thought, that any figure doth amaze us, hath relation unto some other figure of the same kinde, although unknown unto man. From out his all seeing wisdom proceedeth nothing but good, common, regular and orderly; but we neither see the sorting, nor conceive the relation.* *Cic. divin. lib. 2.* *Quod crebrò videt, non miratur, etiam si, cur fiat, nescit. Quod autem non vidit, id, si evenierit, ostentum esse censet. That which he often seeth, he doth not wonder at, though he know not why it is done; But if that happen, which he never saw before, he thinkes it some portentuous wonder. Wee call that against nature, which cometh against custome. There is nothing, whatsoever it be, that is not according to hir. Let therefore this universall and naturall reason, chase from us the error, and expell the astonishment, which noveltie breedeth, and strangenes causeth in us.*

## CHAP. 31.

## Of anger and choler.

PLutarke is every where admirable, but especially where he judgeth of humane actions. The notable things he reporteth, may be perceived in the comparison of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*,  
M m, 2



*Numa*, speaking of the great simplicity we commit, in leaving y<sup>e</sup>ng children under the government and charge of their fathers & parents. Most of our policies, or Common-wealths, saith *Aristotle* (as the Cyclopes were wont) commit the conduct of their wives, and charge of their children, to all men, according to their foolish humor or indiscreete fantazies. And wel-nigh, none but the Lacedemonian & Cretensian, have resigned the discipline of children to the lawes, *Who seeth not, that in an estate all things depend of nurture and education?* And all the while, without discretion, it is wholly left to the parents mercy, how foolish and wicked soever they be. Amongst other things, how often (walking through our streetes) have I desired to have a play or comedie made in revenge of young boyes, which I sawe thumpr, misused, and well nigh murdered by some haire-brained, moodie, and through choler-raging Fathers and Mothers, from out whose eyes a man might see sparkles of rage to startle,

Iuv. sat. 6. 348.

*rabie jecur incendente feruntur**Præcipites, ut saxa jugis abrupta, quibus mons**Subtrahitur, clivoque latus pendente recedis:*

They headlong runne with rage, which doth enflame their livers

Like stones that broken fall from mountaine tops in shivers,

The hill withdrawes, and they are rould

From hanging cliffe which leaves their hold

(And according to *Hypocrates*, the most dangerous infirmities, are those which disfigure the face) and with a loud thundring voice often to follow children that came but lately frō nurse; Which after prove lame, maimed, blockish and dul-pated with blowes: And yet our lawes makes no accompt of it, as if these spraines, and unjoyntings of limbs, or these maimes were no members of our Common-wealth.

*Gratum est quod patria civem populoque dedisti,**Si facis ut patria sit idoneus, utilis agris,**Utilis & bellorum & pacis rebus agendis.*

Iuv. sat. 14. 70.

That you roth' countrie give a man, 'tis acceptable;

If for the countrie fit you make him, for fields able.

Of peace and warre for all achievements profitable.

There is no passion so much transports the sinceritie of judgement, as doth anger. No man would make conscience to punish that Iudge by death, who in rage or choler had condemned an offender. And why should fathers be allowed to beate, or schoolemasters be suffered to whip children, or to punish them being angry? It is no longer correction, but revenge. Punishment is unto children as physicke; & would any man endure a physicion, that were angrie & wroth against his patient? Our selves (did we well) during the time of our anger, should never lay hands on our servants. So long as our pulse panted, and we feele any concitation, so long remie we the partie: And things will seeme farre otherwise unto us, if we once come to our senses againe, and shall better bethinke vs. Then is it passion that commandes. It is passion that speaketh and not we. Athwart it, faults seeme much greater unto us, as bodies doe athwart a foggy mist. Who so is hungry, useth meat, but who so will use chastisement, should never hunger nor thirst after it. Moreover, corrections given with discretion and moderation, are more gently received, and with more good to him that receiveth them. Otherwise hee shall never thinke to have beene justly condemned, by a man who is transported by rage and choler, and for his justification alleadgeth the extraordinary motions of his maister, the inflammation of his face, his unwonted oaths, his chafing, his unquietnesse and his rash precipitation.

*Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine venæ:**Lumina Gorgoneo favinis igne micant.*Ovid. art. Am.  
lib. 3. 33.

The face with anger swelles, the veines grow blacke with blood,

The eyes more fiercely shine then *Gorgons* fierie moode,

*Suetonius* writeth, that *Caius Rabirius*, having by *Cæsar* been cōdemned, nothing did him so much good toward the people (to whom he appealed) to make him obtain his suite, as the sharpnes and over boldnes which *Cæsar* had declared in that judgement. Saying is one thing, and doing another. A man must consider the Sermon apart and the preacher severall. Thote have made themselves good sport, who in our dayes have gone about to checke the veritie of our Church



Church, by the ministers vice: She fetcheth hir testimonie from eliewhere. It is a foolish manner of arguing, and which would soone reduce all things to a confusion. *An honest man may sometimes have false opinions, and a wicked man may preach truth: Yea such a one as beleeveth it not. Verely, it is a pleasing harmonie, when doing and saying goe together.* And I will not deny, but saying, when deeds follow, is of more efficacie and authoritie: As said *Eudamidas*, when he heard a Philosopher discourse of warre: *These speeches are good, but he that speaks them, is not to be beleevd,* For his eares were never accustomed to heare the clang of trumpets, nor rattling of drums. And *Cleomenes* hearing a Rhetorician speake of valour, burst out into an extreame laughter: Whereat the other being offended, he said unto him: *I would doe as much if it were a Swallow should speake of it, but were he an Eagle, I should gladly heare him.* Me seemeth I perceive in ancient mens writings, that he who speaks what he thinketh, toucheth nearer the quick, thē he who counterfaits. Heare *Cicero* speak of the love of libertie; thē listen to *Brutus*, their very wordes will tell you and sound in your eare, the latter was a man readie to purchase it with the price of his life. Let *Cicero*, that father of eloquence treat of the contempt of death, and let *Seneca* discourse of the same; the first drawes it on languishing, and you shall plainly perceive, he would faine resolve you of a thing, whereof he is not yet resolved himselfe. He giveth you no heart, for himselfe hath none: Whereas the other doth rowze, animate and inflame you. I never looke upon an Author, be they such as write of vertue and of actions, but I curiously endeavor to finde out what he was himselfe. For, the *Ephori* of *Sparta*, hearing a dissolute liver propose a very beneficiall advise unto the people, commaunded him to hold his peace, and desired an honest man to assume the invention of it unto himselfe and to propound it. *Plutarke* compositions, if they be well savored, doe plainly manifest the same unto us: And I am perswaded I know him inwardly: Yet would I be glad, we had some memories of his owne life: And by the way I am talne into this discourse, by reason of the thanks I owe unto *Anlus Gellius*, in that he hath left us written this storie of his manners, which fitteth my subject of anger. A slave of his, who was a lewd and vicious man, but yet whose eares were somewhat fedde with Philosophicall documents, having for some faulrs by him committed, by the commandement of *Plutarke* his master, been stripped naked, whilst another servāt of his whipped him, grombled in the beginning, that he was whipped without reason, & had done nothing: But in the end, mainly crying out, he fell to raling and wronging his master, upbraiding him that he was not a true Philosopher, as he vanted himselfe to be, and how he had often heard him say, that, *it was an unseemely thing in a man to be angry.* And that he had made a booke of it: And now all plunged in rage, & engulfed in choler to cause him so cruelly to be beaten, was cleane contrarie to his owne writing. To whom *Plutarke* with an unaltered, and milde-setled countenance, said thus unto him. What? Thou raskall, whereby dost thou judge I am now angrie? Doth my countenance, doth my voice, doth my coulour, or doth my speech give thee any testimony, that I am either moved or cholericke? Me seemeth, mine eyes are not staringly wilde, nor my face troubled, nor my voice frightful or distempered: Doe I waxe red? Doe I foame at the mouth? Doth any word escape me I may repent hereafter? Doe I startle and quake? Doe I rage and ruffle with anger? For, to tel thee true, these are the right signes of choler and tokens of anger. Then turning to the party that whipped him, continue still thy worke, quoth he, whilst this fellow and I dispute of the matter. This is the report of *Gellius*. *Archstas Tarentinus* returning from a war, where he had beene Captaine generall, found his house all out of order, husbandrie all spoiled, and by the ill government of his Bailife, his ground all waste and unmanured; & having called for him, said thus; *Away bad man for if I were not angrie, I would have thee whipt for this.* *Plato* likewise, being vexed & angrie with one of his slaves, commaunded *Spensippus* to punish him, excusing himselfe, that now being angrie he would not lay hands upon him. *Charilus* the Lacedemonian, to one *Ilelot* who behaved himself over insolently and audaciously towards him; *By the Gods* (saith he) *If I were not now angrie, I would presently make thee die.* It is a passion which pleaseth and flattereth it selfe. How many times being moved by any faile suggestion, if at that instant we be presented with any lawfull defence or true excuse, doe we fall into rage against truth and innocencie it selfe? Touching this purpose, I have retained a wonderfull example of antiquitie. *Piso*, in divers other respects a man of notable vertue, being angrie, and chafing with one of his Souldiers, who returning from forage or boot-haling,



could not give him an accompt where he had left a fellow-Souldier of his, and thereupon concluding he had killed or made him away, forthwith condemned him to be hanged. And being upon the gallows ready to dye; behold his companion, who had stragled abroad, comming home, whereat all the army rejoyced very much, and after many embracings and signes of joy between the two souldiers, the hangmā brought both unto *Piso*; al the company hoping, it wold be a great pleasure unto him; but it fel out cleane contrary; for through shame & spire his wrath still burning was redoubled, and with a slie devise his passion instantly presented to his mind, he made three guiltie, forsomuch as one of them was found innocent; and caused them all three to bee dispatched. The first Souldier because he was already condemned; the second, which had stragled abroad; by reason he was the cause of his fellowes death; and the hangman, for that he had not fulfilled his Generalls commaundement. Those who have to deale with froward and skittish women have no doubt scene what rage they wil fal into, if when they are most angrie and chafing, a man be silent and patient, and disdaine to foster their anger and wrath. *Celsus* the Orator was by nature exceeding fretfull and cholerike. To one who was with him at supper, a man of a milde and gentle conversation, and who because he would not move him, seemed to approve what ever he said, and yeeld to him in every thing; as unable to endure his peevishnes should so passe without some nourishment, burst out into a rage, and said unto him: *For the love of God deny me something, that we may be two.* So, women are never angrie, but to the end a man should againe be angrie with them, therein imitating the lawes of Love. *Phocion* to a man who troubled his discourse with brawling and skolding at him, in most injurious manner, did nothing else but hold his peace, and give him what leasure he would to vent his choller; which done, without taking any notice of it, began his discourse againe where he had left it off. *There is no reply so sharpe as such silent contempt.* Of the most cholerike and testie man of *France* (which is ever an imperfection, but more excusable in a military man; for it must needes be granted, there are in that profession some men who cannot well avoyde it) I ever say, he is the patientest man I knowe to bridle his choler; it mooveth and transporteth him with such furie and violence.

*Virg. Aen. lib.*  
462.

*— magno veluti cum flammia sonore  
Virgea suggeritur costis undantis abeni,  
Exultantque aestu latices, furit intus aqua;  
Fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,  
Nec jam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ad auras,  
As when a fagot flame with hurring sounds  
Vnder the ribbes of boyling cauldron lies,  
The water swelles with heat beyond the bounds,  
Whence steeming streames raging and foming rise;  
Water out-runns it selfe, blacke vapors flye to skies.*

that he must cruelly enforce himselfe to moderate the same. And for my part, I know noe passion I were able to smother with such temper and abide with such resolution. I would not set wisdom at so high a rate. I respect not so much what he doth, as how much it costs him not to doe worse. Another boasted in my presence, of his behaviours order and mildnesse, which in truth is singular: I tolde him, that indeed it was much, namely in men of so eminent quality, as himselfe was, on whom all eyes are fixed, alwaies to shew himselfe in a good temper: but that the chiefest point consisted in providing inwardly & for himselfe; and that in mine opinion, it was no discreet part inwardly to fret: which, to maintaine that marke and formall outward apparance, I feared hee did. *Choler is incorporated by concealing and smothering the same, as Diogenes said to Demosthenes, who fearing to be scene in a Taverne, withdrew himselfe into the same: The more thou recoylest back, the further thou goest into it. I would rather perswade a man, though somewhat out of season, to give his boy a wherret on the eare, then to dissemble this wise, sterne or severe countenance, to vex and fret his minde. And I would rather make shew of my passions, then smother them to my cost: which being vented and exprest, become more languishing and weake: Better it is to let its pointe worke outwardly, then bend it against our selves. Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt: & tunc perniciosissima, quum simulata sanitate subsidunt.* All vices are then lesse perilous when they lie open to bee scene, but then most pernicious, when they lurke under counterfeited soundnesse

*Sen. epist. 56.*



*foundnesse*. I ever warne thole of my household, who by their offices-authoritie may sometimes have occasion to be angry, first to husband their anger; then not employ it upon every slight cause; for that empeacheth the effect and worth of it. Rash and ordinary brawling is converted to a custome, and that's the reason each man contemnes it: That which you employ against a servant for any theiving, is not perceived, because it is the same he hath sundry times teene you use against him, if he have not washt a glasse well or misplaced a stoole. Secondly, that they be not angry in vaine, but ever have regard their chiding come to his eares with whom they are offended: for, commonly some will brawle before he come in their presence, and chide a good while after he is gone,

*& serum petulans amentia certat.*

Madnesse makes with it selfe a fray,  
Which fondly doth the wanton play.

*Claud. in En.*  
1.48.

and wreake their anger against his shadow, and make the storme fall where no man is either chastised or interessed, but with the rumour of their voice, & sometimes with such as cannot doe withall. I likewise blame those who being angry, will brave and mutinie when the partie with whom they are offended is not by. These *Rodomantados* must be employed on such as feare them.

*Mugitus veluti cum prima in praelia taurus  
Terrificos ciet, atque irasci in cornua tentat,  
Arboris obnixus trunco, vento (que laceffit  
Illibus, & sparsa ad pugnam praeludit arena.*

*Vir. Aen. l. 12.*  
103.

As when a furious Bull to his first combat mooves  
His terror-breeding lowes, his horne to anger prooves,  
Striving against a trees trunk, and the winde with strokes,  
His preface made to fight with scattered sand, provokes.

When I chance to be angry, it is in the earnestest manner that may be, but yet as briefly and as secretly, as is possible. I lose my selfe in hastinesse and violence, but not in troubles. So that, let me spend all manner of injurious words at randome and without all heed, and never respect to place my points pertinently, and where they may doe most hurt: For commonly I employ nothing but my tongue. My boyes scape better cheape in great matters, then in smal trifles. Slight occasions surprise me, and the mischief is, that after you are once false into the pit, it is no matter who thrusts you in, you never cease til you come to the bottom. The fall presseth, hasteneth, mooveth and furthereth it selfe. In great occasions I am pleased, that they are so just, that every body respects a reasonable anger to insue. I glorify my selfe to deceive their expectation. Against these I bandy and prepare my selfe; they make me summon up my wits, and threaten to carry me very farre, if I would follow them. I easily keepe my selfe from falling into them, and if I stay for them, I am strong enough to reject the impulsion of this passion, what violent cause soever it hath. But if it seize upon and once preoccupate me, what vaine cause soever it hath, it doth cleane transport me: I condition thus with those that may contest with me, when you perceive me to be first angry, be it right or wrorg, let me hold-on my course, I will do the like to you, when ever it shal come to my lot. The rage is not engendred but by the concurrencie of cholers, which are easily produced one of another, & are not borne at one instant. Let us allow every man his course so shal we ever be in peace. Oh profitable prescription, but of an hard execution! I shal some time seeme to be angry for the order and direction of my house, without any just emotion; According as my age yeeldeth my humours more sharpe and peevish, so do I endeavour to oppose my selfe against them, and if I can I will hereafter enforce my selfe to be leise forward and not so teasty, as I shall have more excuse and inclination to bee so; although I have heretofore bene in their number that are least. A word more to conclude this Chapter: *Aristotle* saith, *Choler* doth sometimes serve as armes unto *Vertue* and *Valour*. It is very likely: notwithstanding such as gainsay him, answer pleasantly, it is a weapon of a new fashion and strange vse: For we moove other weapons, but this mooveth vs: our hand doth not guide it, but it directeth our hand; it holdeth us, and we hold not it.



## CHAP. 32.

*A defence of Seneca and Plutarke.*

**T**He familiarity I have with these two men, and the ayd they afford me in my olde age; and my Booke meerey framed of their spoiles, bindeth me to wed and maintaine their honour. As for *Seneca*, amongst a thousand petty Pamphlets, those of the pretended reformed religion have published, for the defence of their cause, which now and then proceede from a good hand, and which, pitty it is, it should not be employed in more serious and better subjects: I have heretofore scene one, who to prolong and fill up the similitude, he would finde betweene the government of our unfortunate late King *Charles* the ninth and that of *Nero*, compareth the whilom Lord Cardinall of *Lorene* unto *Seneca*; their fortunes to have beene both chiefe men in the government of their Princes, and therewithall their manners, their conditions and their demeanours: wherein (in mine opinion) he doth the said Lord Cardinall great honour: for, although I be one of those that highly respect his spirit, his worth, his eloquence, his zeale toward his religion and the service of his King; and his good fortune to have beene borne in an age, wherein hee was so new, so rare, and therewithall so necessary for the common-wealth, to have a Clergie man of such dignitie and nobility, sufficient and capable of so weighty a charge: yet to confesse the truth, I esteeme not his capacitie such, nor his vertue so exquisitely unspotted, nor so entire or constant, as that of *Seneca*. Now this Booke whereof I speake, to come to his intention, maketh a most injurious description of *Seneca*, having borrowed his reproaches from *Dion* the historian, to whose testimony I give no credit at all: For besides, he is inconstant, as one who after he hath called *Seneca* exceeding wise, and shortly after termed him a mortal enemy to *Neroes* vices, in other places makes him coverous, given to usurie, ambitious, base-minded, voluptuous, and under false pretences, and fained shewes, a counterfet Philosopher; his vertue appeareth so lively, and wisdom so vigorous in his writings; and the defence of these imputations is so manifest, as wel of his riches, as of his excessive expences, that I beleieve no witness to the contrary. Moreover, there is great reason we should rather give credit to *Roman* Historians in such things, then to *Græcians* and strangers, whereas *Tacitus* and others speake very honourably of his life and death, & in all other circumstance declare him to have beene a most excellent and rarely vertuous man. I wil alleadge no other reproach against *Dions* judgement, then this, which is unavoydable: that is, his understanding of the *Roman* affaires, is so weake and ill advised, as he dareth defend and maintaine *Iulius Cæsars* cause against *Pompey*, and blusheth not to justifie *Antonius* against *Cicero*. But let us come to *Plutarke*; *John Bodine* is a good moderne Author, and endowed with much more judgement then the common-rabble of Scriblers and blur-papers which now adayes stuffe Stationers shops, and who deserveth to be judged, considered and had in more then ordinary esteeme. Nevertheless I finde him somewhat malapert and bolde in that passage of his *Metode of Historie*, when he accuseth *Plutarke*, not only of ignorance (wherein I would have let him say his pleasure, for that is not within my elemēt) but also that he often writeth things, altogether incredible and meerey fabulous (these are his very words) If he had simply said things otherwise then they are, it had been no great reprehension: for, what we have not scene, we receive from others and upon trust: And I see him sometime, wittingly and in good earnest report one and same story diversly: As, the judgements of three best capitaines that ever were, spokē by *Hanibal*, is otherwise in *Flaminius* his life, & otherwise in *Pyrrhus*. But to taxe him, to have taken incredible, & impossible things for ready payment, is to accuse the more judicious author of the World, of want of judgement. And see here his example: As (saith he) when he reports that a Childe of *Lacedemon* suffered all his belly and gutts to be torne out by a Cubbe or young Foxe, which he had stolne, and kept close under his garment, rather then he would discover his theft. First, I finde this example ill chosen: Forasmuch as it is very heard to limit the powers of the soules-faculties, whereas of cor-  
porall



poral forces, we have more law to limite and know them: And therefore, had I been to write of such a subject, I would rather have made choyce of an example of this second kind. And some there be little credible. As amongst others, that which he reports of *Pyrrhus*, who being fore wounded, gave so great a blow with a sword unto one of his enemies, arm'd at all assayes, & with all pieces, as he cleft him from the crowne of the head down to the groine, so that the body fell in two pieces. In which example I finde no great wonder, nor do I admit of his excuse, wherewith he cloaketh *Plutarke*: to have added this word (as it is said): to forewarne us, & restraîne our beliefe. For, if it be not in things received, by authoritie and reverence of antiquity or religion, neither would himselfe have received, nor propoted to us to believe things in themselves incredible: And that (as it is said) hee doth not here sette downe this phrase to that purpose, may easily be perceived, by what himselfe in other places telleth us upon the subject of the Lacedemonian Childrens patience, of examples happened in his time, much harder to be perswaded: As that which *Cicero* hath also witnessed before him, because, (as he saith) he had been there himselfe: That evē in their times there were Children found prepared to endure al maner of patience, whereof they made trial before *Dianaes* Altar, and which suffered themselves to bee whipped, till the blood trilled downe al parts of their body, not onely without crying, but also without sobbing: and some who voluntarily suffered themselves to bee scourged to death. And what *Plutarke* also reporteth, and a hundreth other witnesses averre, that assisting at a sacrifice, a burning coale happened to fall into the sleeve of a Lacedemonian childe, as he was bulie at incensing, suffered his arme to burne so long, untill the smel of his burnt flesh came to al the by-standers: There was nothing according to their custome, so much called their reputation in questiō, and for which they endured more blame and shame, than to be surpris'd stealing. I am so well instructed of those mens greatnes of courage, that this report, doth not only not seeme incredible to me, as to *Bodine*, but I do not so much as deeme it rare, or suppose it strange: The Spartane story is full of thousands of much more rare and cruell examples; then according to this rate, it containeth nothing but miracle. Concerning this point of stealing, *Marcellinus* reporteth, that whilest hee lived, there could never be found any kinde of torment that might in any sort compell the Egyptians surpris'd fisching (which was much used amongst them) to confesse and tell but their names. A Spanish Peasant being laide upō the racke, about the complices of the murder of the Pretor *Lucius Piso*, in the midst of his tormētts cried out, his friends should not stir, but with al security assist him, & that it was not in the power of any griefe or paine to wrest one word of confessiō from him: & the first day nothing else could possibly be drawn frō him: The next morrow as he was led toward the rack, to be tormented a new, he by strong violence freed himselfe from out his keepers hands, and so furiously ranne with his head against a wall, that he burst his braines out, and presently fel down dead. *Epicharis*, having glutted & wearied the moody cruelty of *Neroes* Satellites or officers, & stoutly endured their fire, their beatings, & their engins a whole day long, without any one voyce, or word of revealing hir cōspiracy, & the next day after, being againe brought to the torture, with hir limbs bruized and broken, cōvayed the lace or string of hir gowne over one of the pillers of the Chaire wherein she sate, with a sliding knot in it into which sodainly thrusting her head, she strangled her selfe with the weight of hir body: Having the courage to dye so, and steale from the first tormētts, seemeth she not purposely to have lent her life to the trial of hir patience of the precedent day, only to mocke that Tyrant, & encourage others to attempt the like enterprize against him: And he that shall enquire of our Argolettiors or Free-booters, what experiences they have had in these our late civil wars, shal no doubt find effects & examples of patience, of obstinacy & stif neckednes in these our miserable dayes, & amidst the effeminate, and puling worldlings far beyond the Egyptian, and well worthie to be compared to those alreadie reported of Spartan vertue. I know, there have been found seely boores, who have rather endure to have their feet broiled upon a Greedyron, their fingers ends crusht and wrung with the lock of a Pistoll, their eyes all bloody to be thrust out of their heads with wringing and wresting of a cord about their foreheads, before they would so much as be ransomed. I have seene and spoken with one who had beene left al naked in a ditch for dead, his necke all bruised and swolne, with a halter about it, wherewith he had beene dragged a whole night at a horses taile through thick & thin, with a roo, thrust in his body, given him with daggers, not to kill him outright, but



but to grieve and terrifie him, and who had patiently endured all that, and lost both speech and sense, fully resolved (as himselfe told me) rather to die a thousand deaths (as verily, if you apprehend what he suffered, he past more then one full death) then promise any ransom; yet was he one of the wealthiest husbandmen in al his country. How many have bin seene, who have patiently endured to be burnt and roasted for unknown & wilful opinions, which they had borrowed of others: My selfe have knowne a hundred and a hundred women (for, the saying is, Gaskoine heads have some prerogative in that) whom you might sooner have made to bite a red-hot piece of iron, then recant an opinion, they had conceived in anger. They will be exasperated and grow more fell against blowes and compulsion. And he who first invented the tale of that woman, which by no threats or stripes, would leave to call her husband pricke-lowse, and being cast into a pond and duckt under water, lifted up her hands, and joyning her two thumbs-nailes in a fist to kill lice above her head, seemed to call him lousie stil, devised a fable, whereof in truth we dayly see the express image in divers womens obstinacie and wilfulnesse. And yet *obstinacy is the sister of constancy* at least in vigor and stedfastnesse.

A man must not judge that which is possible, and that which is not, according to that which is credible and incredible to our sense and understanding, as I have already laid elsewhere. And it is a great fault, wherein the greater number of men doe dayly fall (I speake not this of *Bodine*) to make a difficulty in believing that of others, which themselves neither can nor would doe. Every man perswades himselfe, that the chiefe forme of humane nature is in himselfe; according to her, must all others be directed. The proceedings that have no reference to hers, are false and fained. Is any thing proposed unto him of another mans faculties or actions? The first thing he calls to the judgement of his consultation, is his owne examples; according as it goeth in him, so goeth the worlds order. Oh dangerous sottishnesse, and intolerable foppery! I consider some men a farre-off, beyond and above my selfe, namely amongst those ancient ones; and though I manifestly acknowledge mine owne insufficiencie to follow or come neere them by a thousand paces, I cease not to keepe them still in view, and to judge of those wardes and tprings that raise them so high; the seedes whereof I somewhat perceive in my selfe: as likewise I doe of the mindes extreame basenes which amazeth me nothing at all, and I misbelieve no more. I see the turne those give to wind up themselves, and I admire their greatnesse, & those starts which I perceive to be so wondrous faire, I embrace them: and it with my strength I reach not unto them, at least my judgement doth most willingly apply it selfe unto them. The other example he alledgeth of things incredible, and altogether fabulous, reported by *Plutarke*, is, that *Agessilaus* was fined by the Ephories, because he had drawne the hearts and good wills of al his fellow-citizens unto himselfe alone. I know not what marke of falchood, or shew of impossibilitie he findes in it; but so it is, that *Plutarke* speaks there of things which in al likelyhood were better knowne to him, then to us: And as it was not strange in *Greece*, to see men punished and exiled, onely because they were too popular, and pleased the common people over much. Witnesse the *Cistracisme* amongst the Athenians, and the *Petalisme* among the Siracusans. There is another accusation in the same place, which for *Plutarke*s sake doth somewhat touch me, where he saith, that he hath very well and in good truth sorded the Romanes with the Romanes, and the Gracians amongst themselves, but not the Romanes with the Gracians, witnesse (saith he) *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, *Cato* and *Aristides*, *Sylla* and *Lysander*, *Marcellus* and *Pelopidas*, *Pompey* and *Agessilaus*, deeming thereby that he hath favoured the Gracians, in giving them so unequall companions. It is a just reproving of that, which is most excellent and commendable in *Plutarke*: For, in his comparisons (which is the most admirable part of his worke, and wherein in mine opinion he so much pleased himselfe) the faithfulnessse and sinceritie of his judgement equalleth their depth and weight. He is a Philosopher that teacheth us vertue. But let us see, whether we can warrant him from this reproch of prevarication and false-hood. That which I imagine hath given occasion or ground to this judgement is, that great and farre-spreading lustre of the Romane names, which still are tingling in our eares, and never out of our mindes, Wee doe not thinke *Demosthenes* may equall the glory of a Consul, of a Proconsul and a Questor of this great common wealch of *Rome*. But he that shall impartially consider the truth of the matter, and men in themselves, which *Plutarke* did chiefly aime at, and more to balance their custome, their  
naturall



naturall dispositions and their sufficiency, then their fortunes: I am of a cleane opposite opinion to *Bodine*, and thinke that *Cicero* and old *Cato* are much behind or short of their parallels. For this purpose, I would rather have chosen the example of yong *Cato* compared to *Phocion*: for in that paine might well be found a more likely disparity for the Romanes advantage. As for *Marcellus*, *Sylla* and *Pompey*, I see very well, how their exploits of warre, be more swolne, glorious and pompous, then the Gracians, whom *Plutarke* compareth unto them; but the most vertuous, and fairest actions, no more in warre, then elsewhere, are not alwaies the most famous. I often see the names of some Captaines smothered under the brightnesse of other names of lesser desert, witnesse *Labienus*, *Ventidius*, *Telesinus* and divers others. And to take him in that sense, were I to complaine for the Gracians, might not I say, that *Camillus* is much lesse comparable unto *Themistocles*, the *Gracchi* to *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, and *Numa* to *Lycurgus*? But it is follie at one glance to judge of things with so many and divers faces. When *Plutarke* compares them, he doth not for all that equall them. Who could more eloquently, and with more conscience note their differences? Doth he compare the victories, the exploits of armes, the power of the armies conducted by *Pompey* & his triumphs unto those of *Agésilas*? I do not believe (saith he) that *Xenophon* himself (were he living) though it were granted him to write his pleasure for the advantage of *Agésilas*, durst ever dare to admit any comparison betweene them: Seemeth he to equall *Lysander* to *Sylla*? There is no comparison (saith he) neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battels betweene them: for, *Lysander* onely obtained two sea-battels &c: This is no derogation from the Romanes. If hee have but simply presented them unto the Gracians, what ever disparity may bee betweene them, he hath not in any sort wronged them. And *Plutarke* doth not directly counterpoise them. In some there is none preferred before others; He compareth the parts and the circumstances one after another, and severally judgeth of them. It therefore any would goe about to convince him of favour, he should narrowly sift out some particular judgement; or in generall and plaine termes say, hee hath missed in sorting such a Gracian to such a *Romane*, forasmuch as there are other more sortable and correspondent, and might better be compared, as having more reference one unto another.

## CHAP. 33.

## The Historie of Spurina.

Philosophy thinketh, she hath not ill employed hir meanes, having yeelded the soveraign rule of our mind, and the authoritie to restrain our appetites, unto reason. Amongst which, those who judge there is none more violent, than those which love begetteth, have this for their opinion, that they holde both of body and soule; and man is wholly possessed with them: so that health it selfe depended of them, & physick is sometimes constrained to serve them in stead of a Pandership. But contrariwise, a man might also say, that the cōmixture of the body doth bring abatement and weaknesse unto them; because such desires are subject to satiety and capable of materiall remedies. Many who have endeavored to free and exempt their mindes from the continuall alarumes, which this appetite did assail them with, have used incisions, yea and cut-off the mooving, turbulent and unruly parts. Others have alayed the force and fervency of thē by frequent applications of cold things, as snow and vinegar. The haire-cloths which our forefathers used to weare for this purpose, whereof some made shirts, & some waste bands or girdles, to torment their reines. A Prince told me not long since, that being very yong, and waiting in the Court of King *Francis* the first, upon a solemn feastival day, whē all the Court endeavored to be in their best clothes, a humor possessed him to put-on a shirt of haire-cloth, which he yet keepeth, and had beene his fathers; but what devotion soever possessed him, he could not possibly endure untill night to put it off againe, & was sick a long time after, protesting he thought no youthly heat could be so violent, but the use of this receipt would coole and alay; of which he perhaps never assayed



allayed the strongest: For, experience sheweth us, that such emotion doth often maintaine it selfe under base, rude and slovenly cloathes: and haire cloathes doe not ever make those poore that weare them. *Zenocrates* proceeded more rigorously; for, his Disciples to make triall of his continencie, having conveyed that beauteous & famous curtizan *Lais* naked into his bed, saving the weapons of her beauty, wanton allurements, & amorous or love-procuring potions, feeling that maugre all Philosophicall discourses, and strict rules, his skittish body beganne to mutinie, he caused those members to be burned, which had listened to that rebellion. Whereas the passions that are in the minde, as ambition, covetousnesse and others, trouble reason much more: for, it can have no ayde but from it's owne meanes; nor are those appetites capable of satiety, but rather sharpened by enjoying, and augmented by possession. The example alone of *Julius Caesar* may suffice to shew us the disparitie of these appetites, for never was man more given to amorous delights. The curious & exact care he had of his body, is an authentickall witnesse of it, forsomuch as he used the most lascivious meanes that then were in use: as, to have the haire of his body smeered and perfumed allover, with an extreame and labored curiositie; being of himselfe a goodly personage, white, of a tall and comely stature, of a cheerefull & seemely countenance, his face full and round, & his eies browne lively, if at least *Suetonius* may be believed: For, the statues which nowadaies are to be seene of him in *Rome*, answer not altogether this portraiture we speake of. Besides his wives, which he chaged foure times, without reckoning the bies, or Amours in his youth with *Nicomedes* King of *Bythinia*, he had the Maiden-head of that so farre, and highly-renowned Queene of *Egypt* *Cleopatra*; witnesse yong *Cesarion* whom he begotte of hir. He also made love unto *Eunoe* Queene of *Mauritania*, and at *Rome* to *Posthumia*, wife unto *Servius Sulpitius*; to *Lolio* wife to *Gabinus*; to *Tertulla*, of *Crassus*; yea unto *Muttia* wife to great *Pompy*, which as historians say, was the cause hir Husband was divorced from her. Which thing *Plutarke* confesseth not to have knowne. And the *Curions* both father and sonne twitted *Pompey* in the teeth, at what time he took *Casars* Daughter to wife, that he made himselfe Sonne in law to one, who had made him Cuckold, and himself was wont to call *Egyptus*. Besides all this number, he entertained *Servilia* the sister of *Cato*, and mother to *Marcus Brutus*: whence (as divers hold) proceeded that great affection, he ever bare to *Marcus Brutus*: for his mother bare him at such a time as it was not unlikely he might be borne of him. Thus, (as me seemeth) have I good reason to deeme him a man extreemly addicted to all amorous licenciousnesse, and of a wanton-lascivious complexion. But the other passion of ambition, wherewith he was infinitely infected, and much tainted, when he came once to withstand the same, it made him presently to give ground. And touching this point, when I call *Mahomet* to remembrance (I meane him that subdued *Constantinople*, and who brought the final exterminatiō of the name of *Græcians*) I know not where these two passions are more equal ballanced: equally an indefatigable lecher, and a never-tired soldier: but when in his life they seeme to strive & concur one with another, the mutinous heate, doth ever gourmandize the amorous flame. And the latter, although out of naturall season did never attain to a full & absolutely authority, but when he perceived himself to be so aged that he was utterly unable longer to undergoe the burthen of War. That which is alledged, as an example on the contrary side of *Ladislaus* King of *Naples*, is very wel worth the noting, who though he were an excellent, couragious and ambitious Captaine, proposed unto himselfe, as the principall scope of his ambition, the execution of his sensuality, and enjoying of some rare and unmatched beauty. So was his death: Having by a continuall tedious siege brought the City of *Florence* to so narrow a pinch, that the inhabitants were ready to yeeld him the victory, he yeelded the same to the, upon condition they would deliver into his hands a wench of excellent beauty that was in the city, of whom he had heard great commendations; which they were enforced to graunt him, and so by a private injury to warrant the publike ruine of the City; She was the Daughter of a notable rare Phisician and whilest he lived chiefe of his profession: Who seeing himselfe engaged in so stuprous a necessitie, resolved upon an haughty enterprize; Whilest all were busie adorning his daughter, and besetting her with costly jewels, that she might the more delight and please this new Kingly lover, he also gave her an exquisitely-wrought, & sweetly-perfumed handkercher, to use in their first approaches and embracements a thing commonly in use amongst the Women of that Country. This Handkercher strongly empoysoned according to the cunning



cunning skill of his Art, comming to wipe both their enflamed secret parts and open pores, did so readily convey and disperse it's poyson, that having sodainly changed the heate into colde, they immediately decessed one in anothers armes. But I will now returne to *Caesar*. His pleasures could never make him lose one minure of an houre, nor turne one step from the occasions, that might any way further his advancement. This passion did so sovereignly oversway all others, and possessed his mind with so uncontrouled an authority, that thee caried him whither she list. Truly I am grieved, when in other things I consider this mans greatnesse, and the wondrous parts that were in him; so great sufficiencie in all maner of knowledge and learning, as there is almost no science wherein he hath not written. Hee was so good an Orator, that diverse have preferred his eloquence before *Ciceroes*. And himselfe (in mine opinion) in that facultie thought himselfe nothing short of him. And his two *Anti-Catoes*, were especially written to over-balance the eloquence which *Cicero* had employed in his *Cato*. And for all other matters, was ever minde so vigilant, so active, and so patient of labour as his? And doubtlesse, it was also embellished with sundry rare toedes of vertue. I meane lively, naturall and not counterfeits. He was exceeding sober, and so homely in his feeding, that *Oppian* reporteth: how upon a time, through a certaine Cookes negligence, his meat being dressed with a kind of medicinable Oyle, in stead of Olive-oyle, & so brought to the boorde, although he found it, yet he fed hartily of it, only because he would not shame his Hoste. Another time he caused his Baker to be whipped, because he had served him with other, than common household bread, *Cato* himselfe was wont to say of him, that he was the first sober man, had addrest himselfe to the ruine of his country. And whereas the same *Cato* called him, one day drunkard, it hapned in this maner, Being both together in the Senate house, where *Catelines* conspiracie was much spoken of, wherein *Caesar* was greatly suspected to have a hand; a note was by a friend of his brought, and in very secret sort delivered him, which *Cato* perceiving, supposing it might be something, that the Conspirators advertized him of, instantly summoned him to shew it, which *Caesar* to avoid a greater suspicion, refused not: It was by chance an ambrous letter, which *Servilia Catoes* sister writ to him; *Cato* having read it, threw it at him, saying, hold it againe thou drunkard. I say, it was rather a word of disdain and anger, than an expres reproch of this vice; as oftē we nickname those that anger us, with the first nick-names of reproaches, that come into our mouth, though meerely impertinent to those with whom we fall out. Considering, that the vice wherewith *Cato* charged him, hath neare coherencie unto that, wherein he had surpris'd *Caesar*: for *Venus* and *Bacchus* (as the vulgar Proverbe saith) agree well together; but with me *Venus* is much more blith and game some, being accompanied with sobriety.

The examples of his mildenes and clemencie, toward such as had offnded him, are infinite: I meane, besides those he shewed during the civill warres, which (as by his own writings may plainly appeare) he used to blandish and allure his enemies, to make them feare his future domination and victories the lesse. But if any shall say, those examples are not of validitie to witnes his genuine and natural affabilitie, we may lawfully answer, that at least they shew us a wonderfull confidence, and greatnes of courage to have been in him. It hath often befallen him, to send whole armies backe again to his enemies, after he had vanquished them, without dayning to binde them so much, as with an oath, if not to favour, at least not to beare armes against him. He hath three or foure times taken some of *Pompeyes* chiefe Captaines prisoners, and as often set them at libertie againe. *Pompey* declared all such as would not follow and accompany him in his wars, to be his enemies; and he caused those to be proclaimed as friends, who either would not stirre at all, or not effectually arme themselves against him. To such of his Captaines as fled from him, to procure other conditions he sent them their weapons, their horses and all other furniture. The Citties he had taken, by maine force, he freed to follow what faction they would, giving them no other garrison, then the memorie of his clemencie & mildnes. In the day of his great battail of *Pharsalia*, he expressly inhibited, that unles they were driven to unavoydable extremitie, no man should lay hands upon any Romane citizen. In my judgement these are very hazardous partes, and it is no wonder, if in the civill warres tumultuous broiles, we have now on foote, those that fight for the ancient lawes and state of their country, as he did, doe not follow and imitate the example. They are extraordinary meanes, and which onely belongs to *Caesars* fortune, and to his admirable fore-sight, successfully to direct, and happily to conduct them.

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When I consider the incomparable greatnesse and unvaluable worth of his minde, I excuse Victorie, in that shee could not well give him over, in this most unjust and unnatural cause. But to returne to his clemencie; we have diverse genuine and lively examples, even in the time of his al swaying government, when all things were reduced into his hands, and hee needed no longer to dissemble. *Caius Memmius*, had written certaine detraacting and railing orations against him, which he at full and most sharply had answered, neverthelesse hee shortly after helped to make him Consul. *Caius Calvus*, who had composed diverse most injurious Epigrams against him, having employed sundrie of his friendes to bee reconciled to him againe, *Cesar* descended to write first unto him. And our good *Camillus*, who under the name of *Mamurra* had so rudely and bitterly railed against him, at last comming to excuse himselfe, *Cesar* that very night made him to suppe at his owne table. Having beene advertised how some were overlavish in rayling against him, all he did was but in a publike oration to declare how he was advertised of it. His enemies, he feared lesse then he hated them. Certaine conspiracies and conventicles were made against his life, which being discovered unto him, he was contented by an edict to publish, how he was throughly informed of the, and never prosecuted the Authors. Touching the respect he ever bare unto his friendes; *Caius Oppius* travelling with him, and falling very sick, having but one chamber, he resigned the same unto him, and himselfe was contented to lie all night abroad and upon the bare ground. Concerning his justice, he caused a servant of his whom he exceedingly loved, to be executed, for so much as he had laine with the wife of a Roman Knight, although no man sued or complained of him. Never was man, that shewed more moderation in his victorie, or more resolution in his adverse fortune. But all these noble inclinations, rich gifts, worthy qualiries, were altered, smothered & eclipsed by this furious passion of ambition; by which he suffered himselfe to be so farre misled, that it may be well affirmed, she onely ruled the Sterne of all his actions. Of a liberall man, she made him a common theefe, that so he might the better supply his profusion and prodigalitie; and made him utter that vile and most injurious speech; that if the wickedst and most pernicious men of the world, had for his service and furtherance beene faithfull unto him, he would to the utmost of his power have cherished and preferred them, as well as if they had beene the honestest. It so befel, and as it were made him drunke with so extreame vanitie, that in the presence of all his fellow-citizens he durst vaunt himselfe, to have made that great and farre-spread Roman Common-wealth, a shapelesse and bodilesse name; and pronounce, that his Sentences or Answeres should thence forward serve as Lawes: And sitting, to receive the whole bodie of the Senate comming toward him: and suffer himselfe to be adored: and in his presence divine honours to be done him. To conclude, this only vice (in mine opinion) lost, and overthrew in him the fairest naturall and richest ingenuitie that ever was; and hath made his memorie abhominable to all honest mindes, in so much as by the ruine of his countrey, and subversion of the mightiest state and most flourishing Common-wealth, that ever the world shall see, he went about to procure his glorie. A man might contrariwise finde diverse examples of greate persons, whom pleasure hath made to forget the conduct of their owne affaires, as *Marcus Antonius*, and others: but where love and ambition should be in one equall balance and with like forces mate one another, I will never doubt but *Cesar* would gaine the prize and gale of the victorie. But to come into my path againe. It is much, by discourse of reason, to bridle our appetites, or by violence to force our members to containe themselves within the bonds of dutie. But to whippe us for the interest of our neighbours, not only to shake off this sweete pleasing passion, which tickleth us with selfe-joying pleasure we apprehend and feele to see our selves gratefull to others, and of all men beloved and loved unto: but also to hate and scorne those graces, which of it are the cause; and to condemne our beauty, because some others will be set on fire with it, I have seene few examples like to this, *Spurius* a yong Gentleman of *Thuscanie*.

Virg. Aen. l. 10.

234.

*Quais gemma micat flavum que dividit aurum,  
Aut collo decus aut capiti, vel quale per artem,  
Inclusum buxo aut Eriæ terebintho,  
Lucet ebur.*

As when a precious stone cleare rayes doth spread,  
Set in pure golde, adorning necke or head:



Or as faire Iv'ry shines in boxe enclos'd,

Or workemanly with Mountaine gumme dispos'd,

being endow'd with so alluringly excessive and singular beautie, that the chafteft eyes could not poffibly gainftand or continently refift the fparkling glances thereof, not contented to leave fo great a flame fuccourleffe, or burning fever remedileffe, which he in all perfons, and every where enkindled, entred into fo furious defpite againft himfelfe, and thofe rich gifts, nature had fo prodigally conferred upon him (as if they muft beare the blame of others fautes) that with gashes, and skars, he wittingly mangled, & voluntarily cut that perfect proportion and abfolute feature, which nature had fo curioufly obferved in his unmatched face; whereof to fpeake my opinion, fuch outrages are enemies to my rules. I rather admire, then honour fuch actions. His intent was commendable, and his purpofe confeiencious, but in my feeming fomewhat wanting of wifedome. What? if his deformitie or uglinneffe was afterward an instrument to induce others to fall into the finne of contempt and vice of hatred, or fault of envy for the glory of fo rare commendation; or of flander, interpreting his humour to be a franticke ambition; Is there any forme, whence vice (if fo it please) may not wrefte an occafion, in fome manner to exercife it felfe? It had beene more juft and therewithall more glorious, of fo rare gifts of God, to have made a fubject of exemplar vertue and orderly methode. Thofe which fequefter themfelves from publike offices, and from this infinite number of thornie and fo many-faced rules, which in civill life, binde a man of exaet honefty and exquisite integritie: in mine opinion reape a goodly commoditie, what peculiar sharpenneffe foever they enjoyne themfelves. *It is a kinde of death, to avoide the paine of well-doing, or trouble of well living.* They may have another prife, but the prife of uneafines me thinks they never had. Nor that in difficulty, there be any thing that is amid the waves of the worldly multitude, beyond keeping himfelfe upright and untainted, answering loyally and truly difcharging al members and feveral parts of his charge. It is happily more eafie for one, in honeft fort to neglect and paffe over all the fexe, then duely and wholly to maintaine himfelfe in his wives company. And a man may more incurioufly fall into povertie, then into plenteoufneffe; being juftly difpenced. Cufome, according to reafon, doth leade to more sharpenneffe then abftinence hath. *Moderation is a vertue much more toylefome, then fufferance.* The chafte and well living of yong Scipio, hath a thoufand feveral fashions; that of Diogenes but one. This doth by fo much more exceed all ordinary lives in innocencie and unspottedneffe, as thofe which are moft exquisite and accomplished, exceed in profit and out-goe it in force.

#### CHAP. 34.

##### *Observations concerning the meanes to warre after the maner of Julius Cæfar.*

**I**T is reported of divers chiefe Generals in warre, that they have particularly affected fome peculiar book or other; as, *Alexander the great* highly eſteem'd *Homer*; *Scipio Affricanus*, *Xenophon*; *Marcus Brutus*, *Polybius*; *Charles the fifth*, *Philip de Comines*: And it is lately averred, that in fome places, and with fome men, *Machiavell* is much accompted of: But our late Marshall *Strozzi*, who had made eſpeciall choiſe to love *Cæſar*; without doubt, I thinke of all other choſe beſt: for truly he ought to be the Breviary of all true Souldiers, as being the abſolute and perfect chiefe patterne of Military profeſſion. And God hee knowes with what grace, and with what decorum, hee hath embellished this rich ſubject, with ſo pure a kinde of ſpeech, ſo pleaſing and ſo abſolutely perfect, that to my taſte, there are no writings in the world, which in this ſubject may be compared to his. I will heere register certaine particular and rare parts concerning his maner of War, which yet remaine in my memory. His Armie beeing ſomewhat afrighted, upon the report that ranne of the great forces, which *K. Iuba* brought againſt him, inſtead of abating the opinion his ſouldiers had cõceived of it, & to diminifh the meanes or forces of his enemy, having cauſed the



to be assembled altogether, then by to assure and encourage them, he tooke a cleane contrary course, to that which in like cases we are accustomed to do: for he had them trouble themselves no more to finde out the number of the forces, which his enemies brought against him, for himselfe had already true knowledge and certaine intelligence of them, and told them a number farre exceeding both the truth and report of them: following what *Cyrus* commandeth in *Xenophon*. Forasmuch as the deceit is not of like interest, for a man to finde his enemies in effect weaker then he hoped, then stronger indeed, having once conceived an opinion of their weaknesse. He enured all his Souldiers simply to obey, without controlling, gaine-saying, or speaking of their capitaines desseignes, which he never communicated unto them, but upon the last point of execution: and was pleased, if by chance they had any inkling of them, so to deceive them, presently to change his opinion: And having prefixt a place to quarter in at night, he hath often beene seene to march further, & lengthen his journey, namely if the weather were foule, or if it rained. The Swizzers in the beginning of his warres in *Gaulle*, having sent toward him to give them free passage through the *Romane* countries, and he being resolved by force to empeach them, did notwithstanding shew them very good looks, and tooke certaine dayes respite to give them an answer, during which time he might have leasure to assemble his Armie together. These poore people knew not how wel he could husband time: For he often repeated, that *the skill to embrace occasions in the nicke, is the chiefe part of an absolute Capitaine*: And truly the diligence he used in all his exploits, is incredible; and the like was never heard of. If he were not over consciencious in that under colour of some treatie, parle or accord, to take any advantage of his enemies: he was as little scrupulous, in that he required no other vertue in his Souldiers but valour; and except mutinie and disobedience, he punished not greatly other vices. After his victories, he often gave them the reins to all licentiousnesse, for a while dispensing them from all rules of military discipline; saying moreover, his Souldiers were so well instructed, that though they were in their gayest clothes, pranked up, muskt and perfumed, they would notwithstanding runne furiously to any combate. And in truth he loved to see them richly armed, and made them weare gilt, graven and silvered armours, that their care to keepe them cleane and bright, might make them more fierce, and readie to defend themselves. Speaking to them, he ever called them by the name of Fellow-souldiers; a name used at this day by some Capitaines, which his Successour *Augustus* afterward reformed, esteeming he had done it for the necessitie of his affaires, & to flatter the hearts of those which followed him but voluntarily;

*Lucan. l. 5. 289.*

— *Rheni mihi Caesar in undis;*

*Dux erat, hic sociis, facinus quos inquinat, aequat.*

When *Caesar* past the *Rheine* he was my Generall,

My Fellow heere: sinne, whom it stains, makes fellowes all.

but that this custome was over-lowelie for the dignitie of an Emperor, and chiefe Generall of an armie, and brought up the fashion againe to cal them only Souldiers. To this curtesie, *Caesar* did notwithstanding intermixe a great severity, to suppress & keep them humble. His ninth Legion having mutined neere unto *Placentia*, he presently cashiered the same with great ignominie unto it, notwithstanding that *Pompey* were yet on foot and strong; and would not receive it into favour, but with humble petition and entreatie. Hee did more appease them by authoritie and audacitie, then by mildenesse and affabilitie. Where he speaketh of his passage over the River of *Rheine*, towards *Germanie*, he saith, that deeming it unworthy the honour of the *Romane* people, his army should passe over in shippes, he caused a bridge to be built, that so it might passe over drie-foot. There he erected that admirable bridge, whereof he so particularly describeth the frame: For he never more willingly dilates himself in describing any of his exploits, then where he endeuoreth to represent unto us the subtiltie of his inventions, in such kindes of manuall workes. I have also noted this in his booke, that he much accompteth of his exhortations he made to his Souldiers before any fight, for where he would shew to have beene either surpris'd or urged, he ever alledgeth this, that he had not so much leasure as to make an oration to his Souldiers or armie: Before that great battell against those of *Tournay*: *Caesar* (saith he) having disposed of the rest, ranne so dainly whither fortune carried him, to exhort his men: and meeting with the tenth Legion he had not leasure to say any thing else unto them, but that *they should remember*



remember their former wonted vertue, they should nothing be danted, they should stoutly resist the encounter of their adversaries; and forasmuch as the enemy was come within an arrow shot unto him, he gave the signall of the battell; and sodainely going elsewhere, to encourage others, he found them already together by the eares; See here what himself saith of it in that place. Verely his tongue hath in diuerse places much bestead, and done him notable service and even whilst he liued, his military eloquence was so highly regarded, that many of his Armie were seene to copie and keepe his orations; by which meanes diuerse volumes were filled with them, and continued many ages after his death; his speech had particular graces, so that his familiar friends, and namely *Augustus*, hearing that rehearsed, which had beene collected of his, knew by the Phrases and words, what was his or not. The first time that with any publike charge he issued out of *Rome*, he came in eight dayes to the river of *Rhone*, having ever one or two Secretaries before him, who continually writ what he ended, and one behinde him that carried his sword. And surely, if one did nothing but runne up and downe, he could very hardly attaine to that promptitude, wherewith ever being victorious, having left *Gaul*, & following *Pompey* to *Brundisium*, in eightene dayes he subdued all *Italie*; returned from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, & thence went even to the heart of *Spaine*, where he past many extreame difficulties, in the warres betweene *Asfranius* and *Petereius*, and at the long siege of *Marseille*: from whence he returned into *Macedon*, overthrew the Romane Armie at *Pharsalia*; thence pursuing *Pompey* he passed into *Egypt*, which he subdued; from *Egypt* he came unto *Syria*, and into the countrie of *Pontus*, where hee fought with *Pharnaces*; thence into *Affrica*, where he defeated *Scipio* and *Inba*, and thence through *Italie* he returned into *Spaine*, where he overthrew *Pompey*'s children.

*Ociore calis flammis & tigride facta.*

*Ac veluti montis saxum de vertice preceps*

*Cum ruit avulsam vento, seu turbidus imber*

*Proluit, aut annis soluit sublapsa vetustus,*

*Fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actus,*

*Exultatque solo, silvas, armenta, virosque,*

*Involvens secum.*

Swifter then breed-yong Tiger, or heav'ns flash,

And as from mountaines top a headlong stone,

Rent-off by winde, or by stormes troublous dash

Washt-off, or loos'd by age of yeares are gone,

Crosse-carried with great force that hill-like masse

Bounds on the earth, and rowles with it in one

Woods, heards, and men, and all that neere-it was.

*Lucan. l. 4. 505.*

*Virg. An. li. 12.*

684.

Speaking of the siege of *Avaricum*, he saith, that it was his custome, both day and night, ever to be neere and about such workemen as he had set a worke. In all enterprises of consequence he was ever the first skout-man, or survayer of any place: And his armie never approached place, which he had not viewd or survayed himselfe. And if wee may believe *Suetonius*, at what time he attempted to passe over into *England*, he was the first man that sounded the passage. He was wont to say, that he esteemed that victory much more which was conducted by advise, and managed by counsell, then by maine strength and force. In the warre against *Petereius* and *Asfranius*, Fortune presenting an apparant occasion of advantage unto him, he saith, that he refused it, hoping with a little more time, but with lesse hazard, to see the overthrow of his enemy. Where he also plaid a notable part, to command all his Armie to swimme over a river, without any necessitie,

*— raptisque ruens in praelia miles,*

*Quod fugiens timuisset iter, mox uia receptis*

*Membris fovens armis, gelidosque à gurgite cursu*

*Restituunt artus.*

The Souldier rids that way in hast to fight,

Which yet he would have fearde in haste of flight;

His limbs with water wet and cold before,

With armes he covers, running doth restore,

I finde him somewhat more warie and considerate in his enterprises, then *Alexander*; for the

*Lucan. l. 4. 151.*



the latter seemeth to seeke out, and by maine force to runne into dangers, as an impetuous or raging torrent, which without heede, discretion, or choise, shockes and checkmates what ere it meeteth withall.

Hor. car. lib. 4.  
ed. 14. 25.

*Sic tauriformis voluitur Ausidus,  
Qui Regna Daunus perfluit Appuli,  
Dum sauit, horrendamque cultis  
Diluvium meditatur agris:  
So Bull-fac'd Ausidus still rowling growes,  
Which through Apulias ancient kingdome flowes,  
When he doth rage in threatning meditation  
To bring on faire fields fearefull inundation.*

And to say truth, his hap was to be most employed in the spring-time, and first heate of his age: whereas *Caesar* was well stricken in yeares, when he beganne to follow armes. *Alexander* was of a more cholerike, sanguine and violent constitution, which humour hee stirred up with wine, whereof *Caesar* was very abstinent. But where occasions of necessitie were offered, and where the subject required it, there was never man that so little regarded his person. As for me, me seemeth I reade in diverse of his exploits, a certaine resolution rather to lose himselfe, then to abide the brunt or shame to be overthrowne. In that great battell, which he fought against those of *Turnay*, seeing the vangard of his army somewhat enclining to route, even as he was, without shield or target, he ranne headlong to the front of his enemies: Which many other times happened unto him. Hearing once how his men were besieged, he past disguised through the midst and thickest of his enemies campe, so to encourage and awe them with his presence. Having crossed the way to *Dyrhachium*, with very few forces, and perceiving the rest of his army (the Conduet whereof hee had left unto *Antonius*,) to be somewhat slow in comming, he undertooke all alone, to repasse the Sea, notwithstanding a violent and raging Tempest; and secretly stole himselfe away to fetch the rest of his forces: All the havens on that side, yea and all the Sea being possessed by *Pompey*, And concerning the enterprises he underwent with armed hand, there are divers of them, which in respect of the hazard, exceede all discourse of military reason: for, with how weake meanes undertooke he to subdue the Kingdome of *Egypte*, and afterward to front the forces of *Scipio* and *Iuba*, which were tenne parts greater than his? Mee thinkes such men have had a kinde of more than humane confidence of their fortune: And himselfe was wont to say, that *Haughty enterprises were to be executed and not consulted upon*. After the battell of *Pharsalia*, having sent his Armie before into *Asia* and himselfe with onely one ship passing through the straight of *Hellepont*, he met on the Seas with *Lucius Cassius*, attended on with ten tall shippes of Warre; he was so farre from shunning him, that he durst not only stay for him, but with all haste make toward and summon him, to yeeld himselfe to his mercie; which he did. Having undertaken that furious siege of *Alexia*, wherein were fourescore thousand men of defence, and all France up in armes, with a resolution to runne upon him and raise the siege, and having an armie on foote of one hundred and nine thousand horse, and two hundred fortie thousand foote, What a fond hardy and outrageous confidence was it in him, that he would never give over his attempt and resolve in two so great difficulties together? Which he notwithstanding underwent: And after he had obtained so notable a battell of those which were without, he soone reduced those that were besieged in the Towne to his mercy. The very like happened to *Lucullus* at the siege of *Tigranocerta*, against King *Tigranes*, but with an unlike condition, seeing his enemies demillenesse, with whom *Lucullus* was to deale. I will heere note two rare and extraordinary events, touching the siege of *Alexia*; the one, that the French men being all assembled together with a purpose to meet with *Caesar*, having diligently survaied and exactly numbred all their forces, resolved in their counsell, to cutte-off a great part of this huge multitude for feare they might breed a confusion. This example is new, to feare to be over many; yet if it be well taken, it is very likely, that *The bodie of an armie ought to have a well proportioned greatnesse, and ordered to indifferent bounds*. Whether it be for the difficulty to teed the same or to lead it in order and keepe it in awe, And we may easily verifie by examples, that *These numerous and infinite Armies have seldome brought any notable thing to passe*: According to *Cyrus* his saying in *Xenophon*. *It is not the multitude of men, but the number of good men that causeth an advantage*



*vantage*: The rest rather breeding confusion and trouble, than helpe or availe. And *Bajazet* tooke the chiefeft foundation of his resolution, against the advise of all his Captaines, to joyne fight with *Tamburlane*, onely because the innumerable number of men, which his enimie brought into the field, gave him an assured hope of route and confusion. *Scanderbeg*, a sufficient and most expert Iudge in such a case, was wont to say, that tenne or twelve thousand trusty and resolute fighting men, ought to suffice any sufficient Chieftaine of warre, to warrant his reputation in any kinde of military exploire. The other point, which seemeth to be repugnant both unto custome and reason of Warre, is, that *Vercingetorix*, who was appointed chiefe Generall of all the forces of the revolted *Gaules*, undertooke to immure and shutte himselfe into *Alexia*. For, *He that hath the commaundement of a whole Countrie, ought never to engage himselfe, except in cases of extremitie*, and where all his rest and last refuge goeth on it, and hath no other hope left him, but the defence of such a place. Otherwise he ought to keepe himselfe free, that so he may have meanes to provide in all parts of his Government. But to returne to *Cesar*, he became in time somewhat more slow, hedd, and considerate, as witnesseth his familiar friend *Oppius*; deeming, he should not so easily hazard the honour of so many Victories, which one onely disaster, or mis-encounter, might make him lose. It is that the Italians are wont to say, when they will or blame or reproach any man with this overdaring, or rash fond-hardinesse, which is often scene in yoong men, calling them, *Bisognosi d'onore*, as much to say as needy of honour: And that being yet hungry, greedy and voyd of reputation, they have reason to seeke after it, whatsoever it may cost them; Which they should never doe, that have already acquired the same. There may be some just moderation in this desire of glory, and some satiety in this appetite, as well as in others; Diverse doe so practize it. He was farre from that religion of the ancient Romans, who in their Warres would never prevaile but with meere and genuine vertue: But rather joynd more conscience unto it, than now-a-daies we should doe; And would never allow of all meanes, were he never so certaine to get the victory. In his Warres against *Ariovistus*, whilest he was in parly with him, some tumult or insurrection happened between the two armies, which beganne by the fault or negligence of some of *Ariovistus* ho. men. In which hurle-burle *Cesar* found himselfe to have a great advantage over his enemies, which notwithstanding he would not embrace, for feare he might be taxed or suspected to have proceeded falsly, or contented to any trechery. At what time soever he went to fight, he was accustomed to weare a very rich garment, and of a sheene and garish colour, that so he might the better be marked. When his Souldiers were neereft unto their enemies he restrained and kept them very short. When the ancient Gracians would accuse or taxe any man of extreme insufficiencie, they used this common Proverbe; *That he could neither reade nor swimme*: And himselfe was of this opinion, that the arte of swimming was most necessary and beneficiall in War, and a Souldier might reape diverse commodities by it: If he were in haste, and to make speed, he would ordinarily swimme over al the Rivers he met withal: and loved greatly to travell on foote: as *Alexander* the great was wont. In *Egypte* being on a time forced (to save himselfe) to leap into a little whirry or Bote, and to many of his people following him, that he was in danger to sink, he rather chose to fling himself into the Sea, which he did; and swimming came into his fleete, that was more than two hundred paces from him, holding his writing-Tables in his left hand out of the water, and with his teeth drawing his Coate of Armes after him, that his enemies might not enjoy it, and this did he being well stricken in yeares. No Generall of Warre had ever so much credit with his Souldiers. In the beginning of his civill warres, his Centeniers offered him every one, at their owne charges to pay and find him a man at Armes, and his foote-men to serve him for nothing and those that were best able, to defray the poore and needy.

Our late Admirall of France Lord *Chastillon*, in our late civill warres shewed such an example: For, the French-men of his army, at their proper cost, and charges helped to pay such strangers as followed him. Few examples of so loving and earnest affection may be found amongst those that follow the old manner of warre, and strictly hold themselves under the ancient pollicie of their lawes. *Passion hath more sway over us, then reason*: Yet hath it chanced in the war against *Hannibal*, that imitating the example of the Romane peoples liberalitie in the Citie, the Souldiers and Captaines refused their pay, and in *Marcellus* his campe, those were called *mercenary*, that tooke any pay. Having had some defeat



neere unto *Dyrrachium*, his souldiers came voluntarily before him, and offered themselves to be punished; so that he was more troubled to comfort, then to chide them. One onely of his *Cohortes* (whereof ten went to a Legion) held fight above foure howres, with foure of *Pompeies* whole Legions, vntil it was well-nigh all defeated with the multitude and force of arrowes: And in his trenches were afterward found one hundred and thirtie thousand shafts. A Souldier of his, named *Sceua*, who commanded one of the entrances, did so invincibly defend and keepe himselfe, that he had one of his eyes thrust out, and one shoulder and one thigh thrust through, and his shield flawed and pearced in two hundred and thirtie severall places. It hath befallen to many of his Souldiers, being taken prisoners, to chuse rather to die then promise to follow any other faction, or receive any other entertainment. *Granius Petronius* taken by *Scipio* in *Affricke*: After *Scipio* had caused all his fellows to be put to death, sent him word that he gave him his life, forsomuch as he was a man of ranke and a *Questor*: *Petronius* answered, that *Casars* Souldiers were wont to give life to others, and not accept it themselves: and therewithall with his owne hands killed himselfe. Infinite examples there are of their fidelitie. That part, which they acted, who were besieged in *Salonna*, a Citie which tooke part with *Cesar* against *Pompey*, must not be forgotten, by reason of a rare accident that there hapned, *Marcus Octavius*, having long time beleagred the Town, they within were reduced to such extremitie and pinching necessitie of all things, that to supply the great want they had of men, most of them being already or hurt or dead; they had set all their slaues at libertie, and for the behoofe of their engines, were compelled to cut off all their womens haire, to make ropes with them; besides a wonderfull lacke of victualls, resolving notwithstanding never to yeeld themselves: After they had a long time lingered the siege, and that *Octavius* was thereby become more carelesse, and lesse heeding or attentive to his enterprise; they one day about high noone (having first ranged their wives and children upon the walles, to set the better face upon the matter) rushed out in such a furie upon the besiegers, that having put to rout and defeated the first, the second, and third *corps de garde*; then the fourth and the rest: and having forced them to quit their trenches, chased them even to their shippes: and *Octavius* with much adoe saved himselfe in *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* was. I remember not at this time, to have read of any other example, where the beleagred doe in grosse beate the beleaggers, and get the maine y and possession of the field: nor that a sallie hath drawne a meere and absolute victory of a battell into consequence.

## CHAP. 35.

## Of three good women.

They are not to be had by dozens, as each one knowes, namely in rights and duties of mariage; For, it is a bargain full of so many thornie circumstances, that it is hard the will of a woman should long keepe her selfe whole and perfect therein. And although men have somewhat a better condition in the same, yet have they much to doe. The touchstone and perfect triall of a good mariage, respects the time that the societie continueth; whether it have constantly beene milde loyall and commodious. In our age, they more commonly reserve to enstall their good offices, and set forth the vehemence of their affections toward their lost husbands: And then seeke they at least to yeeld some testimonie of their good wil. O late testimonie and out of season, whereby they rather shew, they never love the but when they are dead. Our life is full of combustion and scolding, but our disease full of love and of curtesie. As fathers conceale affection toward their children; so they to maintaine an honest respect, cloake their love toward their husbands. This mystery answereth not my taste. They may long enough scratch and dishevell themselves: let me enquire of a chamber-maide or of a secretarie, how they were, how they did, and how they have lived together: I can never forget this good saying, *Lactantius* *maxim*, *quamini* *dolent*, They keepe



a howling with most ostentation, who are lesse sorrowfull at heart. Their lowring and puling is hatefull to the living, and vaine to the dead. Wee shall easily dispence with them to laugh at us when we are dead, upon condition they smile upon us while wee live. Is not this the way to revive a man with spite; that he who hath spitte in my face when I was living, shal come and claw my feet when I am dead? If there be any honour for a woman to weepe for hir husband, it belongs to hir that hath smiled upon him when she had him. Such as have wept when they lived, let them laugh when they are dead, as well outwardly as inwardly. Moreover, regard not those blubbred eyes, nor that pittie-moving voice; but view that demeanor, that colour and cheerefull good plight of those cheekes, under their great vailles; thence it is she speaks plaine French. There are few whose health doth not daily grow better and better; a quality that cannot lie. This ceremonious countenance looketh not so much backward, as for ward: It is rather a purchase then a payment. In mine infancie an honest and most faire Ladie (who yet liveth, the widdowe of a Prince) had somewhat more of I wot not what in her attires, then the lawes of widdowhood would well permit. To such as blamed hir for it: It is (said shee) because I intend no more new acquaintances, & have no mind at all to marry againe. Because I will not altogether dissent from our custome, I have heere made choise of three women, who have also imployed the utmost endeavor of their goodnes and affection, about their husbands deaths. Yet are they examples somewhat different and to urging that they hardly draw life into consequence. *Plume* the yonger, had dwelling neere to a house of his in *Italie*, a neighbour wonderfully tormented with certaine ulcers, which much troubled him in his secret parts. His wife perceiving him to droope and languish away, entreated him she might lawfully search and neerely view the quality of his disease, and she would more freely then any other tell him what he was to hope for: Which having obtained, and curiously considered the same, she found it impossible ever to be cured, and all he might expect was but to lead a long, dolorous, and languishing life; and therefore for his more safetie and soveraigne remedie, perswaded him to kill himselfe. And finding him somewhat nice and backward to effect so rude an enterprise: Thinke not my deare friend (quoth shee) but that the sorrowes and griefes, I see thee teele, touch me as neere and more, if more may be, as thy selfe, and that to be rid of them, I will applie the same remedie to my selfe, which I prescribe to thee. I will accompany thee in thy cure as I have done in thy sicknesse: remove all feare, and assure thy selfe, we shall have pleasure in this passage, which shall deliver us from all torments, for we will happily goe together: That said, and having cheared up hir husbands courage, she determined they should both headlong throw themselves into the sea from out a window of their house, that overlooked the same: and to maintaine this loyall, vehement and never to be severed affection to the end, wherewith shee had during his life embraced him, she would also have him die in her armes; and fearing they might faile her, and through the fall, or feare or apprehension her hold-fast might be loosed, shee caused herselfe to be fast bound unto him by the middle: And thus for the ease of her husbands life she was contented to forgoe her owne. She was but of meane place and low fortune: and amidst such condition of people, it is not so strange to see some parts of rare vertue and exemplar goodnesse.

*extrema per illos*  
*Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit*  
 Iustice departing from the earth did take  
 Of them her leaue, through them last passage make.

*Virg. Georg. li.*  
 2. 473.

The other two are noble and Rich; where examples of vertue are rarely lodged. *Arria* wife unto *Cecinna Patus*, a man that had been Consul was mother of another *Arria*, wife to *Thrasea Patus* whose vertue was so highly renowned during the time of *Nero*; & by meane of his sonne-in-law, grandmother to *Fannia*. For, the resemblance of these mens and womens names and fortunes hath made diverse to mistake them. This first *Arria*, her husband *Cecinna Patus* having beene taken prisoner by the Souldiers of *Claudius* the Emperour, after the overthrow of *Scribonianus*, whose faction he had followed, entreated those who led him prisoner to *Rome*, to take her into their ship, where for the service of her husband shee should be of lesse charge & incommoditie to the, then a number of other persons, which they must necessarily have, and that she alone might supply & stead him in his chamber, in his kitchen and all other offices; which they utterly refused, and so hoised sailes, but shee leaping



leaping into a fishers boate, that she immediately hired, followed him aloofe from the further shore of *Sclaviona*. Being come to *Rome*, one day, in the Emperours presence, *Livia* the widdow of *Scribonianus*, by reason of the neerensse and society of their fortunes, familiarly accosted her, but she rudely, with these words, thrust her away. What (quoth shee) shall I speake to thee, or shall I listen what thou saiest? Thou, in whose lappe *Scribonianus* thy husband was slaine, and thou yet livest? and thou breathest? These words with divers other signes, made her kinsfolkes and friends perceive that she purposed to make herselfe away, as impatient to abide her husbands fortune. And *Thrasea* her son in law, taking hold of her speeches, beseeching her that she would not so vnheedily spoile her selfe, he thus bespake her. What? If I were in *Cecinnaes* Fortune or the like, would you have my wife your daughter to do so? What else? make you a question of it? (answered she) Yes marry would I, had she lived so long and in so good-agreeing sort with thee, as I have done with my husband. These and such like answers, encreased the care they had of her; and made them more heedfull to watch, and neerely to look unto her. One day, after she had uttered these words to her keepers; you may looke long enough to me, well may you make me die worse, but you shall never be able to keepe me from dying: and therewith furiously flinging her selfe out of a chaire (wherein she sate) with all the strength she had, she fiercely ranne her head against the next wall; with which blow having sore hurt her selfe, and falling into a dead swoone, after they had with much ado brought her to her selfe againe: Did I not tell you (quoth she) that if you kept me from one easie death, I would choose another, how hard and difficult soever? The end of so admirable a vertue was this. Her husband *Patus* wanting the courage to doe himselfe to death, unto which the Emperors cruelty reserved him; one day, having first employed discourses and exhortations, besitting the counsell she gave him to make himselfe away, shee tooke a Dagger that her husband wore, and holding it outright in her hand, for the period of her exhortation: Doe thus *Patus* (said she) and at that instant, stabbing her selfe mortally to the heart, and presently pulling the dagger out againe she reached the same unto her husband, and so yeilded up the ghost, uttering this noble, generous and immortall speech, *Pate non dolet*, she had not the leasure to pronounce other than these three wordes, in substance materiall and worthy her selfe, *Holde Patus, it hath done me no hurt.*

*Mart. li. i. epig.*  
14.1.

*Cast a suo gladio cum traderet Arria Pate,  
Quem de visceribus traxerat ipsa suis;  
Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit.  
Sed quod tu facies, id mihi Pate dolet.*

Chast *Arria* when she gave her *Patus* that sharpe sword,  
which from her bowells she had drawne forth bleeding new  
The wound I gave and have, if you will trust my word,  
Griev's not, said she, but that which shall be made by you.

It is much more lively in his owne naturall, and of a richer Sense; for both her husbands wound and death, and her owne hurts, she was so farre from grieving to have beene the counsellor and motive of them, that shee rejoyced to have performed so haughty and courageous an act, onely for the behoofe of her deere husband, and at the last gaspe of her life, she only regarded him; and to remove all feare from him, to follow her in death, which *Patus* beholding, he immediately wounded himselfe with the same dagger, ashamed (as I suppose) to have had need of so deare an instruction, & precious a teaching. *Pompea Paulina*, an high and noble-borne yong Romane Ladie, had wedded *Seneca*, being very aged. *Nero* (his faire disciple) having sent his Satellites or officers toward him, to denounce the decree of his death to him: which in those dayes was done after this manner. Whē the Roman Emperors had condemned any man of quality to death, they were wont to send their officers unto him, to chuse what death he pleated, and to take it within such & such a time, which according to the temper of their choller, they prescribed unto him, sometimes shorter, & some times longer, giving him that time to dispose of his affaires, which also by reason of some short warning they divers times tooke from him: And if the condemned partie seemed in any sort to strive against their will, they would often send men of purpose to execute him, either cutting the veins of his armes and legs, or compelling him to take and swallow poison. But men of honor stayed not that enforcement, but to that effect used their own Phisicians

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ons or Surgeons. *Seneca*, with a reposed and undanted countenance listned attentively to their charge, and presently demanded for paper and inke to make his last wil and testamēt, which the Captaine refusing him, he turned towards his friends, and thus bespake them. Sith (my loving friends) I cannot bequeath you any other thing in remembrance or acknowledgement of what I owe you, I leave you at least the richest & best portion I have, that is, the image of my manners and my life, which I beseech you to keepe in memory; which doing, you may acquire the glory and purchase the name of truly sincere and absolutely true friends. And therewithall sometimes appealing the sharpenes of the sorow he saw them endure for his sake, with mild and gentle speeches, sometime raising his voice to chide them; Where are (said he) those memorable precepts of Philolophy? What is become of those provisions, which for so many yeares together we have laid up against the brunts and accidents of Fortune? Was *Neroes* innated cruelly unknowne unto us? What might we expect or hope for at his hands, who had murdered his mother and massacred his Brother, but that he would also do his Tutor and Governor to death that hath fostred and brought him vp? Having vttered these words to al the by-standers, he turned him to his wife, as she was ready to sinke downe, and with the burthen of her griefe to faint in heart and strength; he colled and embraced her about the necke, and heartily entreated her, for the love of him, somewhat more patiently to beare this accident; and that his houre was come, wherein he must shew no longer by discourse and disputation, but in earnest effect, declare the truth he had reaped by his studie; & that undoubtedly he embraced death, not only without griefe but with exceeding joy. Wherefore my deere deere heart, do not dishonor it by thy teares, lest thou seeme to love thy selfe more than my reputation. Asswage thy sorrowes, and comfort thy selfe in the knowledge thou hast had of me and of my actions; leading the rest of thy life by the honest occupations to which thou art addicted, To whom *Paulina*, having somewhat rouzed hir drooping spirit, and by a thrice noble affection awakened the magnanimitie of her high-fetled courage, answered thus: No *Seneca*, thinke not that in this necessitie I will leave you without my company.

I would not have you imagin that the vertuous examples of your life have not also taught me to die: And whē shal I be able to do it or better, or more honestly, or more to mine own liking, then with your selfe? And be resolved I wil go with you and be partaker of your torture. *Seneca* taking so generous a resolve, and glorious a determination of his wife in good part, and to free himselfe from the feare he had to leave her after his death, to his enemies mercie and cruelty: Oh my deare *Paulina*, I had (quoth he) perswaded thee what I thought was convenient, to leade thy life more happily, and doost thou then rather choose the honour of a glorious death? Assuredly I will not envy thee: Be the constancie and resolution answerable to our common end, but be the beaurie and glory greater on thy side. That said, the veines of both their armes were cut, to the end they might bleed to death; but because *Senecaes* were somewhat shrunken up through age and abstinence, & his bloud could have no speedy course, he commaunded the veines of his thighes to be launced: And fearing lest the torments he felt, might in some sort entender his wife heart, as also to deliver himselfe from the affliction, which greatly yearned him to see her in so pittious plight: after he had most lovingly takē leave of her, he besought her to be pleated she might be carried into the next chamber, which was accordingly performed. But all those incisions being unable to make him die, he willed *Statius Annecus* his Physition to give him some poysoned potion, which wrought but small effect in him, for through the weaknesse and coldnesse of his members, it could not come unto his heart. And therefore they caused a warme bath to be prepared, wherein they layd him, then perceiving his end to approach, so long as he had breath, he continued his excellent discourses, concerning the subject of the estate wherein he found himselfe, which his Secretaries, so long as they could heare his voice, collected very diligently, whose last words continued long time after in high esteem & honor amongst the better sort of men, as Oracles; but they were afterward lost, and great pittie it is they never came unto our handes. But when he once beganne to feele the last pangs of death, taking some of the water, wherein he lay bathing, all bloody, he therewith washed his head, saying, I vow this water unto *Iupiter* the Deliverer. *Nero* being advertised of all this, fearing lest *Paulinaes* death (who was one of the best liked Ladies in *Rome*, and to whom he bare no particular grudge) might cause him some reproach, sent in all poste



haste to have her incisions closed up againe, and if possibly it could be, to save her life which hir servants by unwrithing her, performed, she being more then halfe dead and voyd of any sence. And that afterward, contrary to her intent, she lived, it was very honourable, and as befitted her vertue, shewing by the pale hew & wanne colour of her face, how much of her life she had wasted by her incisions. Loe heere my three true stories, which in my conceit are as pleasant and as tragicall, as any we devise at our pleasures, to please the vulgar sort withall: and I wonder, that those who invent so many fabulous tales, do not rather make choise of infinite excellent, and quaint stories, that are found in bookes, wherein they should have lesse trouble to write them, and might doublelesse proove more pleasing to the hearer, and profitable to the Reader. And whosoever would undertake to frame a complete and well-joynted bodie of them, neede neither employe nor adde any thing of his owne unto it except the ligaments, as the soldring of another metall, and by this meanes might compact sundry events of all kindes, disposing and diversifying them, according as the beauty and lustre of the worke should require: And very neere, as *Ovid* hath sown and contrived his *Metamorphosis*, with that strange number of diverse fables. In the last couple this is also worthy consideration, that *Paulina* offereth willingly to leave her life for her husbands sake, & that her husband had also other times quit death for the love of her. There is no great counterpoize in this exchange for us: but according to his Stoike humour, I suppose he perswaded himselfe to have done as much for hir, prolonging his life for hir avails, as if he had died for hir. In one of his letters, he writeth to *Lucilius*, after he hath given him to understand how an ague having surpris'd him in *Rome*, contrary to his wives opinion, who would needs have stay'd him, he sodainly tooke his Coach, to goe unto a house of his into the country; and how he told her that the ague he had was no bodily fever, but of the place; and followeth thus: *At last she let me goe, earnestly recommending my health unto me, Now I who know, how her life lodgeth in mine, begin to provide for my self, that consequently I may provide for her: The priviledge my age hath bestowed on me, making me more constant, and more resolute in many things, I lose it; when ever I call to minde, that in this aged corps there harboureth a young woman, to whom I bring some profit. Since I cannot induce her to love me more courageously, she induceth me to love my selfe more carefully; for something must be lent to honest affections, and sometimes, although occasions urge us to the contrary, life must be revoked againe, yea with torment. The soule must be held fast with ones teeth, since the lawe to live an honest man, is not to live as long as they please, but so long as they ought. He who esteemeth not his wife or a friend so much, as that he will not lengthen his life for them, and wil obstinately die, that man is over-wise, and too effeminate: The soule must command that unto her selfe, when the utilitie of our friends requireth it: we must sometimes lend our selves unto our friends, and when we would die for us, we ought for their sakes to interrupt our desaigne. It is a testimony of high courage to returne to life for the respect of others as diverse notable men have done: and to preserve age is a part of singular integritie (the chiefeest commoditie whereof, is the carelesse of her continuance, and a more courageous and disdainfull use of life) if a man perceine such an office to be pleasing, acceptable and profitable to any well-affected friend. And who doeth it, receiveth thereby a gratefull meede and pleasing recompence: for what can bee sweeter, than to be so deare unto his wife, that in respect of her a man become more deere unto himselfe; So my *Paulina*, hath not onely charged me with her feare, but also with mine. It hath not beene sufficient for me to consider, how resolutely I might dye, but I have also considered how irresolutely she might endure it, I have enforced my selfe to live: And to live is sometime magnanimitie: Reade heere his owne wordes, as excellent as is his use.*

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### CHAP. 36.

#### *Of the worthiest and most excellent men.*

**I**F a man should demaund of mee, which of all men that ever came to my knowledge, I would make choise of, me seemeth, I finde three, who have beene excellent above all others. The one is, *Homer*, not that *Aristotle* or *Varro*, (for example sake) were not peradventure



venture as wise and as sufficient as he: Nor that *Virgil*, (and possibly in his owne arte) be not comparable unto him. I leave that to their judgements that know them both. I who know but one of them, according to my skill may onely say this, that I cannot be perswaded, the Muses themselves did ever go beyond the Roman.

*Tale facis carmen docta testudine, quale*

*— Cynthis impositis temperat articulis.*

He on his learned Lute such verse doth play,  
As *Phabus* should thereto his fingers lay.

*Propert. li. 2. el.*  
34. 79.

In which Iudgement, this must notwithstanding not be forgotten, that *Virgil* doth especially derive his sufficiencie from *Homer*, and he is his guide and Schoolemaster, and that but one only glance or sentence of the *Iliads*, hath given both body & matter to that great and divine Poem of the *Aeneid*. My meaning is not to account so: I entermix divers other circumstances, which yeld this man most admirable unto me, and as it were beyond humane condition. And truly I am often amazed, that he who hath produced, and by his authority brought so many Deities in credit with the World, hath not obtained to be reputed a God himselfe. Being blind and indigent, having lived before ever the Sciences were redacted into strict rules and certaine observations, he had so perfect knowledge of them, that all those which since his time have labored to establish pollicies or Common-wealths, to manage warres, and to write either of Religion or Philosophy, in what Sect soever or of all Artes, have made use of him, as of an absolutely-perfect Master in the knowledge of all things; and of his Bookes, as of a Seminary, a Spring-garden or Store-houfe of all kinds of sufficiency and learning.

*Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,*

*Plenus ac melius Chrysippo, ac Crantore dicit.*

What is faire, What is foule; What profit may, What not,  
Better than *Crantor* or *Chrysippus*, *Homer* wrot.

*Hor. li. epist. 23.*

And as another saith:

*— à quo cen fonte perrenni*

*Vatum Pierijs labra rigantur aquis.*

By whom, as by an ever-flowing-filling spring,  
With Muses liquor poets lippes are bath'd to sing.

*Ovid. Am. li. 3.*  
el. 8. 25.

And another:

*Adde Heliconiadum comites, quorum unus Homerus*

*Astra potius.*

Muses companions adde to these, of all  
One onely *Homer* hath in heav'n his stall.

*Lucr. li. 3. 1081.*

And another:

*— cuiusque ex ore profuso*

*Omnis posteritas latites in carmina duxit;*

*Annemque intennes, auscult deducere rivis;*

*Unius fecunda bonis.*

From whose large mouth for verse all that since live

Drew water, and grew bolder to derive

Into thinne shallow rivers his deepe floods;

Richly luxuriate in one mans good.

*Manil. ast. li. 2. 8.*

It is against natures course, that he hath made the most excellent production, that may befor, the ordinary birth of things is imperfect: They are augmented by encrease, and corroborated by growth. He hath reduced the infancy of poesie, and divers other Sciences to be ripe, perfect and compleate. By which reason he may be termed the first and last of poets, following the noble testimony, antiquity hath left us of him, that having had no man before him, whom he might imitate, so hath hee had none after him, could imitate him. His wordes (according to *Aristotle*) are the onely words that have motion and action: they are the onely substantiall Wordes. *Alexander* the Great, having lighted upon a rich casket amongst *Darius* his spoiles, appoynted the same to be safely kept for himselfe, to keepe his *Homer* in saying, he was the best adviser, and faithfullest counselor he had in his military affaires. By the same reason said *Cliomenes*, sonne to *Anaxandrides*, that hee was the Lacedemonian



demonians Poet; for he was an excellent good teacher or Master of Warre-like discip line This singular praise and particular commendation hath also beene given him by *Plutarke* where he saith, that he is the only author in the world, who yet never distasted Reader, or gluttoned man, ever shewing himself other, and different to the Readers; and ever flourishing with a new grace. That Wagge *Alcibiades*, demanding one of *Homers* bookes of one who professed letters, because he had it not, gave him a whirrit on the eare; as if a man should finde one of our Priests, without a Breviarie. *Xenophanes* one day made his moane to *Hieron* the Tyrant of *Siracusa*, that he was so poore as he had not wherewithall to finde two servants: How commeth that to passe? (answered *Hieron*.) *Homer*, who was much poorer than thou art, dead as he is, findeth more then tenne thousand. What left *Panatus* unsaide, when he named *Plato* the *Homer of Philosophers*? Besides what glory may be compared to his? There is nothing, liveth so in mens mouthes as his name and his workes; nothing so knowne and received as *Troy*, as *Helen* and her Warres, which peradventure never were. Our Children are yet called by the names he invented three thousand yeeers since & more. Who knoweth not *Heclor*? Who hath not heard of *Achilles*? Not onely some particular races, but most nations seeke to derive themselves from his inventions. *Machomet*, the second of that name, Emperour of Turkes, writing to Pope *Pius* the second: I wonder (saith he) how the Italians will bandie against me, seeing we have our common off-spring from the Troians; and I as well as they have an interest to revenge the blood of *Heclor* upon the Græcians, whom they favour against me. Is it not a worthie Comedie, whereof Kings, Common-wealths, Principalities, and Emperours, have for many ages together played their parts, and to which this great Vniversitie serveth as a Theatre? seven cities of *Greece* strived amongst themselves about the places of his birth. So much honour his very obscuritie procured him.

*Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athena.*

Rhodes, Salamis, Colophon, Chios, Argos, Smyrna, with *Athens*,

*A. Gel. not.*

*Att. l. 3. c. 11.*

The other is *Alexander* the great. For, who shall consider his age, wherein hee beganne his enterprises; the small meanes he had to ground so glorious a desseigne upon, the authoritie he attained unto in his infancy, amongst the greatest Commaunders, and most experienced Captaines in the world, by whom he was followed: the extraordinary favour, wherewith fortune embraced him, and seconded so many of his haughty-dangerous exploites, which I may in a manner call rash or fond-hardie.

*Impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti  
Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.*

*Lucan. l. 1. 148.*

While he shot at the high't, all that might stay  
He for't, and joyde with ruine to make way.

That eminent greatnesse, to have at the age of thirtie yeares passed victorious through all the habitable earth, and but with halfe the life of a man to have attained the utmost endeavour of humane nature; so that you cannot imagine his continuance lawfull, and the lasting of his increase in fortune, and progres in verute even unto a just terme of age, but you must suppose something above man, to have caused so many Royal branches to issue from out the loines of his Souldiers, leaving the world after his death to be shared between foure successors, onely Captaines of his Armie, whose succeeders, have so long time since continued, and descendents maintained that large possession. So infinite, rare and excellent vertues that were in him, as justice, temperance, liberalitie, integritie in words, love toward his, and humanitie toward the conquered. For in truth, his maners seeme to admit no just cause of reproach: indeed some of his particular, rare and extraordinary actions, may in some sort be taxed. For it is impossible to conduct so great, and direct so violent motions with the strict rules of justice. Such men ought to be judged in grosse, by the mistis end of their actions. The ruine of *Thebes*; the murder of *Menander*, and of *Ephesiions* physition; the massacre of so many Persian prisoners at once: of a troupe of Indian Souldiers, not without some prejudice unto his word and promise: and of the *Cossians* and their little children, are escapes somewhat hard to be excused. For, concerning *Clitus*, the fault was expiated beyond it's merit; and that action, as much as any other, witnesseth the integritie and cheerefulness of his complexion, and that it was a complexion in it selfe excellently formed to goodnesse; And it was wittily said of one; that he had vertues by nature, and vices by accident. Concer-

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ning the point, that he was somewhat to lavish a boaster, and over impatient to heare himselfe ill spoken of; and touching those mangers, armes, and bits, which he caused to be scattered in *India*, respecting his age and the prosperitie of his fortune they are in my conceit pardonable in him. He that shall also consider his many military vertues, as diligence, foresight, patience, discipline, policie, magnanimitie, resolution & good fortune; wherein though *Hariballs* authority had not taught it vs, he hath bene the first and chiefe of men: the rare beauties, matchlesse features, and incomparable conditions of his person, beyond all comparison, and wonder breeding; his carriage; demeanor, and venerable behaviour, in a face so young, so vermeill, and heart enflaming:

*Qualis ubi Oceani persusus Lucifer unda,  
Quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignes.  
Extulit os sacrum caelo, tenobrasque resolvit.  
As when the day starre was in Ocean streames;  
Which Venus most of all the starres esteemes,  
Shewes sacred light, shakes darkenesse off with beames.*

*Virg. Æn. l. 3.  
589.*

The excellencie of his wit, knowledge and capacity; the continuance and greatnesse of his glory, unpotted, untainted, pure and free from all blame or envie; in so much as long after his death, it was religiously beleev'd of many, that the medalls or brooches representing his person brought good lucke unto such as wore or had them about them. And that more Kings and Princes have written his gestes and actions, then any other historians, of what quality soever, have registred the geste, or collected the actions of any other King or Prince that ever was: And that even at this day, the Mahometists, who contemne all other histories, by speciall priviledge, allow, receive, and onely honour his. All which premises duely considered together, hee shall confesse, I have had good reason to preferre him before *Cesar* himselfe who alone might have made me doubt of my choise. And it must needs bee granted, that in his exploits there was more of his owne; but more of fortunes in *Alexanders* atchievements. They have both had many things mutually alike, and *Cesar* happily some greater. They were two quicke and devouring fires, or two swift and surrounding streames able to ravage the world by sundry wayes.

*Et velut immissi diversis partibus ignes  
Arentem in silvam, & virgulta sonantia lauro:  
Aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis  
Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, & in aquora currunt,  
Quisque suum populatus iter.*

*Lib. 12. 521.*

*As when on divers sides fire is applied  
To crackling bay-shrubs, or to woods Sunne dried,  
Or as when foaming streames from mountainous hies  
With downe-fall swift resound, and to sea flie;  
Each-one doth havecke-out his way thereby.*

But grant *Cesars* ambition were more moderate, it is so unhappy, in that it met with this vile subject of the subversion of his cuntry, and universall empairing of the world; that all parts impartially collected and put together in the balance, I must necessarily bend to *Alexanders* side. The third, and in my judgement, most excellent man, is *Epaminondas*. Of glorie he hath not so much as some, and is farre shorte of divelise (which well considered is no substantiall part of the thing) in resolution and true valour, not of that which is set on by ambition, but of that, which wisdom and reason may settle in a well disposed minde, hee had as much as may be imagined or wished for. He hath in mine opinion, made as great triall of his vertues, as ever did *Alexander* or *Cesar*; for although his exploits of warre be not so frequent, and so high raised, yet being thoroughly considered, they are as weightie, as resolute, as constant, yea and as authentick a testimony of hardnes and military sufficiencie, as any mans else. The Græcians, without any contradiction offered him the honour, to entitle him the chiefe and first man among themselves: and to be the first and chiefe man of Greece, is without all question to bee chiefe and first man of the world. Touching his knowledge and worth, this ancient judgement doth yet remaine amongst us, that never was man who knew so much, nor never man that spake lesse then he. For he was by Sect a Pythagorian, and what he spake, no man ever spake better: An excellent and most perswasive Orator was hee.



And concerning his maners and conscience therein he farre outwent all that ever medled with managing affaires: For in this one part, which ought especially to be noted, and which alone declareth what we are, and which only I counterpoise to all others together, he giveth place to no Philosopher; no not to *Socrates* himselfe. In whom innocencie is a quality, proper, chiefe, constant, uniforme and incorruptible. In comparison of which, it seemeth in *Alexander* subalternall, uncertaine, variable, effeminate and accidentall. Antiquitie judged that precisely to sift out, and curiously to prye into all other famous Captaines, there is in every one severally some speciall quality, which makes him renowned and famous; In this man alone, it is a vertue and sufficiencie, every where compleate and alike; which in all offices of humane life, leaveth nothing more to be wished-for. Be it in publicke or priuate; in peaceable negotiations or warlike occupations; be it to live or die, greatly or gloriously, I know no forme or fortune of man, that I admire or regard, with so much honour, with so much love. True it is, I finde this obstinacie in povertie, somewhat scrupulous; and to have his best friends portrayed it. And this onely action (high notwithstanding and very worthy admiration) I finde or deeme somewhat sharpe, so as I would not wish, nor desire the imitation thereof in me, according to the forme it was in him. *Scipio Aemilianus* alone (would any charge him with as fierce, and nobly-minded an end, and with as deepe and universall knowledge of Sciences) might be placed in the other scale of the ballance against him. Oh what a displeasure hath swift-gliding Time done me, even in the nick, to deprive our eyes of the chiefe pair of lives, directly the noblest that ever were in *Plutarke*, of these two truly worthy personages: by the universall consent of the world, the one chiefe of Gracians, the other principall of Romanes. What a matter, what a workeman! For a man that was no Saint, but as we say, a gallant honest man, of civil maners and common customes; of a temperate haughtinesse; the richest life I know (as the vulgar saying is) to have lived amongst the living, and fraughted with the richest qualities, and most to be desired parts (all things impartially considered) in my humour, is that of *Alcibiades*. But touching *Epaminondas*, for a patterne of excessive goodnes, I wil here insert certaine of his opinions. The sweetest contentment he had in all his life, he witnesseth to have beene, the pleasure he gave his father and mother, of his victory upō *Leuctra*: he staketh much in preferring their pleasure, before his content, so just and full of so glorious an action. Hee thought it unlawfull, yea were it to recover the libertie of his countrey, for any one to kill a man, except he knew a just cause. And therefore was he so backward in the enterprise of *Pelopidas* his companion, for the deliverance of *Thebes*. He was also of opinion, that in a battell a man should avoid to encounter his friend, being on the contrary part; and if he met him, to spare him. And his humanitie or gentlenes, even towards his very enemies, having made him to be suspected of the Boeotians, for so much as after he had miraculously forced the Lacedemonians to open him a passage, which at the entrance of *Moraea* neere *Corinth*, they had undertaken to make good, he was contented, without further pursuing them in furie, to have marched over their bellies; was the cause he was deposed of his office of Captaine Generall. Most honourable for such a cause; and for the shame it was to them, soone after to be forced by necessitie to advance him to his first place: and to acknowledge how their glorie, and confesse that their safetie did onely depend on him: victory following him as his shadow, whither soever he went; and as the prosperity of his countrie was borne by & with him, so it died with and by him.

## CHAP. 37.

*Of the resemblance betweene children and fathers.*

THIS huddling up of so much trash, or packing of so many severall peeces, is done so strangely, as I never lay hands on it, but when an over lazie idlenesse urgeth me: and no where, but in mine owne house. So have it beene compact at sundry pauses, and contrived at severall intervalls, as occasions have sometime for many months together, here and there



there in other places, detained me. Besides, I never correct my first imaginations by the second, it may happen, I now and then alter some word, rather to diversifie, then take any thing away. My purpose is, to represent the progresse of my humours, that every part be seene or member distinguished, as it was produced. I would to God I had begunne sooner, and knew the tracke of my changes, and course of my variations. A boy whom I employed to write for me, supposed he had gotten a rich bootie, when he stole some parts, which he best liked. But one thing comforts me that he shall gaine no more, then I lost by them. I am growne elder by seaven or eight yeares since I beganne them; nor hath it beene without some new purchase. I have by the liberality of yeares acquainted my selfe with the stone-chollike. Their commerce and long conversation, is not easily past-over without some such-like fruite. I would be glad, that of many other presents, they have ever in store, to bestow upon such as waite upon them long, they had made choise of some one, that had beene more acceptable unto me: for they could never possesse me with any, that, even from my infancy, I hated more. Of all accidents incident to age, it was that I feared most. My selfe have many times thought, I went on too farre, and that to hold out so long a journey, I must of necessitie, in the end, stumble upon some such displeasing chance. I perceived plainly, and protested sufficiently, it was high time to depart, and that according to the rule of skillfull chirurgions, who when they must cut off some member, life must be seared to the quicke, and cut to the sound flesh. *That nature is wont to make him pay intolerable usurie, who doth not yeeld or pay the same in due time.* I was so farre from being readie to make lawfull tender of it, that in eightene months, or thereabouts, I have continued in so yrekesome and unpleasing plight, I have already learn'd to apply my selfe unto it; and am now entering into covenant with this chollicall kinde of life; for therein I finde matter, wherewith to comfort me, and to hope better. *So much are men enured in their miserable estate, that no condition is so poore, but they will accept: so they may continue in the same.* Heare *Maccenas*.

*Debslem facis o manu;*

*Debslem pede, coxa,*

*Lubricos quate dentes;*

*Visa dum supere est, bene est.*

Make me be weake of hand,

Scarce on my legges to stand;

Shake my loose teeth with paine;

'Tis well so life remaine.

*Sen. epist. 101. f.*

And *Tamburlane* cloked the fantastick cruelty, he exercised upon Lazars or Leprousemen, with a foolish kinde of humanitie, putting all he could finde or heare-of, to death, (as he said,) to ridde them from so painefull and miserable a life, as they lived. For, there was none so wretched amongst them, that would not rather have beene three times a Leper, than not to be at all. And *Antisthenes* the Stoick, being very sicke, and crying out: *Oh who shall deliver me from my tormenting evils?* *Diogenes*, who was come to visite him, forthwith presenting him a knife; *Mary*, this, said he, and that very speedily, if thou please: I meane not of my life, replied hee, but of my sicknesse. The sufferances which simply touch us in minde, doe much lesse afflict me, then most men: Partly by judgement; For the World deemeth diverse things horrible, or avoydable with the losse of life, which to me are in a manner indifferent: Partly, by a stupid and insensible complexion, I have in accidents, that hit me not point-blanke: Which complexion I esteeme one of the better partes of my naturall condition. But the truly-essentiall and corporall sufferances, those I taste very sensibly: Yet is it, having other times fore-apprehended them with a delicate and weake sight, and by the enjoying of this long health and happy rest, which God hath lent me, the better part of my age, some what empaired: I had by imagination conceived them so intolerable, that in good truth, I was more afraide, than since I have found hurt in them: Whereupon, I daily augment this opinion: That most of our soules faculties (as we employ them) doe more trouble than stead the quiet repose of life. I am continually grappling with the worst of all diseases, the most grievous, the most mortall, the most remediable and the most violent. I have already had triall of five or sixe long and painefull fites of it. Neverthelife, eyther I flatter my selfe, or in this plight there is yet something, that would faine keep life and soule together, namely in him, whose minde is free from feare of death, & from the threats,



conclusions and consequences, which physicke is ever buzzing into our heads. But the effect of paine it selfe, hath not so sharpe a smarting, or so pricking a sharpenesse, that a setled man should enter into rage or fall into dispaire. This commoditie at least I have by the chollicke, that what I could never bring to passe in my selfe, which was, altogether to recoile, and throughly to acquaint my selfe with death, shee shall archieve, shee shall accomplishe: for by how much more shee shall importune and vrge me, by so much lesse shall death bee fearefull vnto mee, I had already gotten, not to be beholding to life, but onely in regard of life, and for lives sake: Shee shall also untie this intelligence, and loose this combination. And God graunt, if in the end her sharpenesse shall happen to surmount my strength, shee cast me not into the other extremitie, no lesse vicious, no lesse bad, that is, to love and desire, to die.

Mart. l. 10. epig.  
47. ult.

*Summum nec metuas diem, nec opes,*

Nor feare thy latest doome,

Nor wish it ere it come,

They are two passions to be feared, but one hath her remedy neerer than the other. Otherwise, I have ever found that precept ceremonious, which so precisely appoints a man to set a good countenance, a setled resolution, and disdainfull carriage, upon the sufferance of evils. Why doth Philosophy, which onely respecteth liveliness and regardeth effects, ammuze it selfe about these externall apparances? Let her leave this care to Mimikes, to Histrions, and to Rhetoricke Masters, who make so great accompt of our gestures. Let her hardly remit this vocall litheresse unto evil, if it be neither cordiall, nor stomacall. And let her lend her voluntary plaints to the kinde of sighes, sobs, palpatations, and paleness, which nature hath exempted from our puissance. Alwayes provided, the courage be without feare, and words sans dispaire; let her be so contented. *What matter is it if wee bend our armes, so we writhe not our thoughts?* She frameth us for our selves, not for others: to be, not to seeme. Let her applie her selfe to governe our understanding, which she hath undertaken to instruct. Let her in the pangs or fits of the chollicke, still maintaine the soule capable to acknowledge her selfe and follow her accustomed course, resisting sorrow and enduring grieve, and not shamefully to prostrate her selfe at his feete: Mooved and chafed with the combate, not basely suppressed nor faintly overthrowne: Capable of entertainment and other occupations, unto a certaine limit. In so extreme accidents, it is cruelty, to require so composed a warde at our hands. *If we have a good game, it skills not, though we have an ill countenance.* If the body be any whit eased by complaining, let him doe it: If stirring or agitation please him, let him turne, rowle and coste himselfe as long as he list: If with raising his voyce, or sending it forth with more violence, he think his grieve any thing alayed or vented (as some Physitians affirme it somewhat easeth women great with childe, and is a meane of easie or speedy delivery) feare he not to do it, or if he may but entertaine his torment, let him mainly cry out. Let us not commaund our voyce to depart; but if she will, let us not hinder it. *Epicurus* doth not only pardon his wife-man to crie out, when he is grieved or vexed, but perswadeth him to it. *Pugiles etiam quum feriant, in jectandis castibus ingemiscunt, quia profundenda voce omne corpus intenditur, venitque plaga vehementior.* Men when they fight with sand-bags or such heavy Weapons, in fetching their blow and driving it, will give a groane wishall, because by stretching their voyce all their body is also strayned, and the stroke cometh with more vehemence. We are vexed and troubled enough with the evil, without troubling and vexing our selves with these superfluous rules. This I say to excuse those, which are ordinarily seene to rage in the fits, and storme in the assaults of this sicknesse: for, as for me, I have hitherto past it over with somewhat a better countenance, and am content to groane without braying and exclaiming. And yet I trouble not my selfe, to maintaine this exterior decencie; for, I make small reckoning of such an advantage; In that I lend my sicknesse what it requireth: But either my paine is not so excessive, or I beare it with more constancy than the vulgar sorte. Indeepe I must confesse, when the sharpe fits or throwes assaile me, I complaine, and vexe my selfe, but yet I never fall into despaire, as that fellow:

Cic. Tus. qu. l. 2

Cic. ibid.

*Eiulatu, questu, gemitu, fremicibus*

*Resonando multum flebiles voces refert,*

With howling, growning and complaint of fates,

Most lamentable cries he imitates.



I feele my selfe in the greatest heate of my sicknesse ; and I ever found my selfe capable and in tune, to speake, to thinke and to answer, as soundly as at any other time, but not so constantly, because my paine doth much trouble and distract me. When I am thought to bee at the lowest, and that such as are about me spare me, I often make a triall of my forces, and propose them such discourses as are furthest from my state. There is nothing impossible for mee, and me thinkes I can doe all things upon a sodaine fitte, so it continue not long. Oh why have not I the gift of that dreamer, mentioned by *Cicero*, who dreaming that hee was closely embracing a yong wench; found himselfe ridde of the stone in his sheetes! Mine doe strangely dis-wench me. In the intermission or respites of this outrageous paine, when as my Vrerers (through which the Vrine passeth from the reines to the bladder) languish without gnawing me, I sodainely returne into my ordinary forme: for so much as my mind taketh no other allarume, but the sensible and corporall. All which I certainly owe unto the care I have had to prepare my selfe by reason and discourse of such accidents:

———*laborem*

*Nulla mihi nova nunc facies inopinaque surgit,  
Omnia precepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi.*  
No new or unexpected forme is cast,  
Of travels in my brest: all I forecast,  
In my minde with my selfe I all forepast.

*Virg. Æn. l. 6.  
103.*

I am handled somewhat roughly for a Prentise, and with a violent and rude change; being at one instant false from a very pleasing, calme, and most happy condition of life, unto the most dolorous, yrkesome and painefull, that can possibly be imagined: For, besides that in it selfe it is a disease greatly to be feared, its beginnings or approaches are in mee sharper or more difficult, than it is wont to trouble others withall. The pangs and fittes thereof doe so often assaile mee, that in a manner I have no more feeling of perfect health. Notwithstanding I hitherto keepe my spirit so seared, as if I can but joyne constancy unto it, I finde my selfe to be in a much better state of life, than a thousand others, who have neither ague nor other infirmitie, but such as for want of discourse they give themselves. There is a certaine fashion of subtile humilitie, which proceedeth of presumption: As this: That in many things we acknowledge our ignorance, and are so curteous to avowe, that in Natures workes, there are some qualities and conditions, which to us are imperceptible, & whereof our sufficiencie cannot discover the meanes, nor finde out the causes. By this honest and conscientious declaration, we hope to gaine, that we shall also be beleevd in those, we shall say to understand, Wee neede not goe to cull out miracles, and chuse strange difficulties: me seemeth, that amongst those things we ordinarily see, there are such incomprehensible rarities, as they exceed all difficulty of miracles. What monster is it, that this teare or drop of seed, wherof we are ingendred brings with it, and in it the impressiōs, not only of the corporall forme, but even of the very thoughts and inclinations of our fathers? Where doth this droppe of water containe or lodge this infinite number of formes? And how beare they these resemblances, of so rash, and unruly a progresse, that the childe childe shall be answerable to his grandfather, & the nephew to his uncle? In the family of *Lepidus* the Roman, there have bene three, not successively, but some between, that were borne with one same eye covered with a cartilage or gristle. There was a race in *Thebes*, which from their mothers wombe, bare the forme of a burr, or yron of a lance; and such as had it not, were judged as mis-begotten & deemed unlawfull. *Aristotle* reporteth of a certaine Nation, with whom all women were common, where children were allotted their fathers, only by their resemblances. It may be supposed, that I am indebted to my father for this stonic quality; for he died exceedingly tormented with a great stone in his bladder. He never felt himself troubled with the disease, but at the age of sixtie seaven yeares, before which time he had never felt any likelihood, or motion of it, nor in his reines, nor in his sides, nor elsewhere: and untill then had lived in very prosperous health, & little subject to infirmities, and continued seven yeares and more with that disease training a very dolorous lives-end. I was borne five and twenty yeares before his sicknes, and during the course of his healthy state his third child. Where was al this while the propensiō or inclinatio to this defect, hatched? And when he was so farre from such a disease, that light part of his substance wherewith he composed me, how could it for her part, beare so great an impression of it? And how so closely



closely covered, that fortie five yeares after, I have begunne to have a feeling of it? And hitherto alone, among so many brethren and sisters, and all of one mother. He that shal resolve me of this progresse, I will believe him as many other miracles as he shall please to tell mee: alwayes provided (as commonly they doe) hee goe not about to pay me, with a doctrine much more difficult & fantastical, then is the thing it selfe (let Physicians somewhat excuse my libertie:) for by the same intulion and fatall insinuation, I have received the hate and contempt of their doctrine. The Antipathie, which is betwene me and their arte, is to me hereditarie. My father lived three score and fourteene yeares: My grandfather three score and nine; my great grandfather very neere fourescore, and never tasted or tooke any kinde of Physicke. And whatsoever was not in ordinary use amongst them, was deemed a drug. *Physicke is grounded upon experience and examples.* So is mine opinion. Is not this a manifest kinde of experience and very advantageous? I know not whether in all their registers, they are able to finde me three more, borne, bred, brought up, and deceased, under one rooffe, in one same chimnie, that by theire owne direction and regiment have lived so long. Wherein they must needs grant me, that if it be not reason, at least it is Fortune that is on my side. Whereas among Physicians fortune is of more consequence, then reason. Low-brought, and weake as I am now, let them nor take me at an advantage, nor let them not threaten me: for that were insulting arrogance. And to say truth, I have by my familiar examples gained enough upon the although they would take hold and stay there. Humane things have not so much constancie: It is now two hundred yeares, wanting but eightene, that this Essay continueth with us: For, the first was borne in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred & two, Some reason there is why this experience should now beginne to faile us. Let them not upbraide me with those infirmities, which now have seized upon me: Is it not sufficient to have lived seaven and fortie yeares in good & perfect health for my part? Suppose it be the end of my carriere, yet it is of the longest. Mine ancestors by some secret instinct and naturall inclination have ever loathed almaner of Physicke: for the very sight of drugs bred a kinde of horror in my father. The Lord of *Gaviac* mine uncle by the fathers side, a man of the church, sickish even from his birth, and who notwithstanding made his weake life to hold untill sixtie seaven yeares, falling once into a dangerous and vehement continuall feaver, it was by the physicians concluded, that unlesse he would aide himselfe (for they often terme that aide, which indeede is impeachment) he was but a dead man. The good soule, afrighted as he was, at that horrible sentence, answered thus, why then I am a dead man: But shortly after God made their prognostications to proove vaine. The Lord of *Bussagnet* last of the brethren (for they were foure) and by much the last, he alone submitted himselfe to that arte, as I imagine by reason of the frequency he had in other Sciences, for he was a Counsellor in the Court of Parliament, which prospered so ill with him, that though he were in shew of a very strong complexion, he died long before the others, except one, the Lord of Saint *Michaell*. It may well be, I have received of them that natural dyspathie unto physicke. Yet if there had been no other consideration but this, I would have endeavoured to force it. For, all these conditions, which without reason are borne in us, are vicious. It is a kinde of maladie a man must fight withall. It may be I had such a propension, but I have settled and strengthened the same by discourses, which in me have confirmed the opinion I have of it. For, I have also the consideration to refuse Physicke by reason of the sharpenesse of its taste. It would not easily agree with my humour, who thinke *health worthy to be purchased, with the price of all canteries and incisions, how painefull soever.* And following *Epicurus*, mee seemeth that *all manner of voluptuousnesse should be avoided, if greater griefes follow them:* And griefes to be sought after, that have greater voluptuousnesse ensuing them. Health is a very precious jewell, and the onely thing, that in pursuite of it deserveth, a man should not onely employ, time, labour, sweate and goods, but also life to get it; forasmuch as without it, life becommeth injurious unto us. Voluptuousnes, Science and vertue, without it, tarnish and vanish away. And to the most constant and exact discourses, that philosophy will imprint in our minds to the contrary, wee need not oppose any thing against it but the image of *Plato*, being visited with the falling sicknesse, or an Apoplexie; and in this presupposition challenge him to all the richest faculties of his minde to helpe him.

All meanes that may bring vs unto health, cannot be esteemed of men either sharpe or deare



deare. But I have some other apparances, which strangely make me to distrust al this ware. I doe not say but there may be some arte of it: It is certaine, that amongst so many of Nature's workes, there are some things proper for the preservation of our health. I know there are some simples, which in operation are moistning and some drying. My selfe have found by experience, that radish rootes are windie, and senie-leaves breede loosenes in the belly. I have the knowledg of divers such experiments, as I know that Mutton nourisheth, that Wine warmeth me. And *Solon* was wont to say, *that eating was as all other Drugges are, a medicine against the disease of hunger.* I disallow not the use we draw from the world, nor doubt I of nature's power and fruitfulnessse, and of her application to our neede. I see, that the Pickrell-fish, and the Swallowes live well by her lawes: I greatly distrust the inventions of our wit, of our arte and of our Science: in favour of which we have forsaken Nature, and abandoned her rules; wherein we can neither observe limitation, nor keepe moderation. As we terme Iustice, the composition of the first lawes that came unto our hands, and their practise and dispensation very often most wicked and inconvenient. And as those which mocke and condemne it, intend nevertheless to wrong this noble vertue; but onely to condemne the abuse and profanation of so sacred a title: So likewise in physicke, I know her glorious name, her proposition, and her promise, so profitable to mankind: but what it desseigneth amongst us, I neither honour nor respect. First, experience makes me feare it, for of all I know, *I see no kinde of men (so soone sicke, nor so late cured, as those who are under the jurisdiction of Physicke.* Their very health is distempered and corrupted by the constraint of their prescriptions. Physitions are not contented to have the government over sickneses, but they make Health to be sicke, lest a man should at any time escape their authority. Of a constant and perfect health, doe they not frame an argument of some future dangerous sicknesse? I have often beene sicke, and without any their helpe, I have found my sicknesse (though I never medled with the bitterness of their prescriptions) as easie to be tolerated and as short, as any mans else, and yet I have felt diverse. My health is free and sound, without any rules or discipline) except of my owne custome and pleasure. I finde no difference in places, al are alike to me to dwell in: for being sicke, I neede no other commodities, then those I must have when I am in health. I am nothing passionated, though I be without Physition, without Apothecary, or without physical helpe; whereat I see some as much troubled in minde, as they are with their disease. What? *doth the best Physition of them all make us perceive any happinesse or continuance in his life, as may witnesse some manifest effect of his skil and learning?* There is no Nation, but hath continued many ages without physicke: yea the first ages, which is as much to say, the best and most happy: and the tenth part of the world hath as yet no use of it. Infinite nations know it not; where they live both more healthie and much longer then we doe: yea and amongst us, the common sort live happily without it. The Romanes had beene sixe hundred yeares before ever they received it: by meanes or interposition of *Cato* the Cenfor, they banisht it their Citie, who declared how easly man might live without it, having lived himselfe foure score & five yeeres, & his wife untill she was extremely old, not without physicke, but indeed without any Physition: For, *whatsoever is by experience found healthy for our body and health, may be termed physicke.* He entertained (as *Plutarke* saith) his familie in health, by the use (as farre as I remember) of Hares milke: As the Arcadians (saith *Plinie*) cure all maladies with Cowes milke. And the Lybians (saith *Herodotus*) doe generally enjoy a perfect health, by observing this custome, which is, so soone as their children are about foure yeeres old, to cautherize and teare the veines of their head and temples, whereby they cut off the way to all rumes and defluxions. And the countrie-people where I dwell, use nothing against all diseases, but some of the strongest wine they can get, with store of saffron and spice in it, and all with one like fortune. And to say true, of all this diversitie of rules and confusion of prescriptions, what other end or effect workes it, but to evacuate the belly? which a thousand home-simples will doe as well. And I know not whether it be as profitable (as they say) and whether our nature require therelidents of her excrements, untill a certaine measure, as wine doth his lees for his preservation. You see often men very healthy by some strange accidents, to fall into violent vomites, and fluxies, and voyd great store of excrements, without any precedent need, or succeeding benefite: yea with some empairing and prejudice. I heare of *Plato* not long since, that of three motions, which belong to us, the last and worst, is that of purgations, and that

no



no man, except he be a foole, ought to undertake it, unlesse it be in great extremity. T  
 evill is troubled & stirred up by contrary oppositions. It is the forme of life, that gently must  
 diminish, consume and bring it to an end. Since the violent twinges of the dring and ma-  
 ladie are ever to our losse, since the quarrell is cleared in us, and the drug a trustlesse helpe;  
 by it's own nature and enemy to our health, and but by trouble hath no access in our state.  
 Let's give them leave to go on. *That order which provideth for Fleas and Moles, doth also pro-  
 vide for men, who have the same patience to suffer themselves to be governed, that Fleas and Moles  
 have.* We may fairely cry bo-bo boe; it may well make us hoarse, but it will nothing ad-  
 vance it. It is a proud and impetuous order. Our feare and our dispaire, in lieu of envi-  
 ting the same unto it, doth distaste and delay it out of our helpe: he oweth his course to evill  
 as well as to sicknesse. To suffer himselfe to be corrupted in favour of one, to the prejudice  
 of the others rights, he will not doe it, so should they fall into disorder. Let us goe on in the  
 name of God; let us follow; He leadeth on such as follow him: those that follow him not,  
 he halerh on, both with their rage and physicke together. Cause a purgation to be prepared  
 for your braine; it will bee better employed unto it, then to your flatterie. A Lacedemo-  
 nian being asked, what had made him live so long in health, answered, *The ignorance of phy-  
 sicke.* And Adrian the Emperour, as he was dying, ceased not to cry out, that the number of  
*Physitions had killed him.* A bad wrestler became a Physition. Courage, said, Diogenes to  
 him, *thou hast reason to doe so, for now shalt thou helpe to put them into the ground, who have beere-  
 tofore ayded to lay thee on it.* But according to Nicocles, they have this happe, *That the Sunne  
 doth manifest their successe, and the earth doth cover their fault.* And besides, they have a ve-  
 ry advantageous fashion among themselves, to make use of all manner of events; for, what-  
 soever either Fortune or Nature, or any other strange cause (whereof the number is infinite)  
 produceth in us, or good or healthfull, it is the priviledge of Physicke to ascribe it unto her-  
 selfe. All the fortunate succelles that come to the patient, which is under their government,  
 it is from nature he hath them. The occasions that have cured me, and which heale a thou-  
 sand others, who never send or call for Physitions to helpe them, they usurpe them in their  
 subjects. And touching ill accidents, either they utterly disavow them, in impuring the  
 blame of them to the patient, by some vaine reasons, whereof they never misse to finde a  
 great number; as he lay with his armes out of the bed, he hath heard the noyse of a coach:

———*rhodanum transitu arto*

*120. sat. 3. 236.*

*Vicorum inflexu.*

Coaches could hardly passe,  
 The lane so crooked was.

His Window was left open all night: Hee hath laine upon the left side, or troubled his  
 head with some heavie thought. In some, a word, a dreame, or a looke, is of them deemed  
 a sufficient excuse, to free themselves from all imputation: Or if they please, they will also  
 make use of this emparing, and thereby make up their businesse, and as a meane which can  
 never faile them, when by their applications the disease is growne desperate, to pay us  
 with the assurance, that if their remedies had not beene, it would have beere much worse.  
 He, whom but from a cold they have brought to a quotidian Ague, without them should  
 have had a continuall fever. *They must needes thrive in their businesse, since all is redound to  
 their profit.* Truly they have reason to require of the patient an application of favourable  
 confidence in them: which must necessarily be in good earnest, and yeelding to apply it self  
 unto imaginations, over-hardly to be believed, *Plato* said very well and to the purpose, that  
*freely to lie belonged onely to Physitions,* since our health dependeth on their vannie and false-  
 hood of promites. *Aesope* an author of exceeding rare excellence, and whose graces few  
 discover, is very pleasant in representing this kinde of tyrannicall authority unto us, which  
 they usurpe upon poore soules, weakened by sicknes, and overwhelmed through feare:  
 for he reporteth, how a sicke man being demaunded by his Physition, what operation he  
 felt by the Physicke he had given him. I have sweate much, answered he, that is good, repli-  
 ed the Physition. Another time he asked him againe how he had done since: I have had a  
 great cold and quivered much, said he: that is very well, quoth the Physition againe. The  
 third time he demaunded of him, how he felt himselfe: he answered, I swell and puffe up  
 as it were with the dropsie: That's not amisse, said the physition. A familiar friend of his  
 comming afterward to visite him, and to know how hee did? Verily (said he he) my friend I  
 die



die with being too well. There was a more equall Law in *Egypt*, by which for the first three dayes the Physition tooke the patient in hand, upon the patients perill and fortune; but the three dayes expired, it was at his owne. For, *What reason is there, that Esculapius their patron must have bene stricken with Thunder, forsomuch as he recovered Hippolitus from death to life?*

*Nam pater omnipotens aliquem indignatus ab umbris;*

*Mortalem infernis, ad lumina surgere vita*

*Ipsa repertorem medicina talis, & artis*

*Fulmine Phœbigenam stygias detruxit ad undas.*

*Love scorning that from shades infernall night;*

*A mortall man should rise to lifes new light,*

*Apolloes sonne to hell he thunder-threw,*

*Who such an arte found out, such med'cine knew,*

*Virg. Æn. l. 7.*

770.

and his followers must be absolved, that send so many soules from life to death? A physition boasted unto *Nicocles*, that his Arte was of exceeding great authority, It is true (quoth *Nicocles*) for, it may kill so many people without feare of punishment by Law. As for the rest, had I bene of their counsell, I would surely have made my discipline more sacred & mysterious. They had begunne very well, but the end hath not answered the beginning. It was a good ground, to have made Gods and Doemons Authors of their Science, to have assumed a peculiar language and writing to themselves. Howbeit philosophy supposeth it to be folly to perswade a man to his profit, by wayes not understood: *Ut si quis medicus imperet ut sumat: As if a Physition should bid a man take.*

*Terrigenam, herbigradam, domiportam, sanguine cassam;*

*One earth-borne, goe-by-grasse, house-bearing, slimie, bloodlesse?*

*Cic. divin. lib. 2.*

It was a good rule in their arte, and which accompanieth all fanaticall, vaine, and super-naturall artes, that the patients believe must by good hope and assurance preoccupate their effect and operation. Which rule they hold so farre forth, that the most ignorant and bungling horse-leach is fitter for a man that hath confidence in him, than the skilfullest and learnedst physition. The very choyce of most of their Drugges, is somewhat mysterious and divine. *The left foote of a Tortoyze; The scale of a Lizard; The dongue of an Elephant; The liver of a Mole; Blood drawne from under the right wing of a white Pigeon; And for us who are troubled with the stone-cholike (so disdainfully abuse they our misery) Some Rattes pounded to small powder; and such other foolish trash, which rather seeme to be magike-spells or charmes, than effects of any solide science.* I omit to speake of *The odde number of their pilles; The destination of certaine dayes and feastes of the yeare; The distinction of houres to gather the simples of their ingredients; And the same reubarbative and severely-grave looke of theirs, and of their port and countenance; Which Plinie himselfe mocketh at.* But, as I was about to say, they have failed, forsomuch as they have not added this to their faire beginning, to make their assemblies more religious, and their consultations more secret. No profane man should have access unto them, no more than to the secret ceremonies of *Esculapius*. By which meanes it commeth to passe, that their irresolution, the weakenesse of their arguments, divinations and grounds, the sharpenesse of their contestations full of hatred, of jealousie and particular considerations, being apparant to all men; a man must needes be starke blinde, if he who falleth into their hands, see not himselfe greatly endangered. *Who ever saw Physition use his fellowes receipt, without diminishing or adding somewhat unto it; Whereby they greatly betraye their Arte; And make us perceive, they rather respect their reputation, and consequently their profit, than the well-fare or interests of their patients.* He is the wisest amongst their Doctors, who hath long since prescribed them that one alone should meddle to cure a sicke man; for, if it prosper not with him, and he do no good, the reproch will not be great to the Arte of physicke, through the fault of one man alone; and on the other side, if it thrive well with him, the Glorie shal be the greater. Whereas if they be many, every hand while they discover their mysterie, because *They oftner happen to doe ill than well.* They should have bene content with the perpetuall dis-agreing which is ever found in the opinions of the principall Masters and chiefe Authors of their Science, knowne but by such as are conversant in Bookes, without making apparent shew of the controversies, and inconstancies of their judgement, which they foster and continue amongst themselves. Will wee have an  
example



example of the ancient debate of Physicke? *Hirophilus* placeth the originall cause of sicknesse in the humours: *Erasistratus*, in the blood of the Arteries: *Asclepiades*, in the invisible Atomes that passe into our pores: *Alcmeon* in the abundance or defence of corporall forces: *Diocles*, in the inequality of the bodies elements, and in the quality of the aire, wee breathe: *Strato*, in the abundance, cruditie and corruption of the nourishment wee take: *Hipocrates* doth place it in the spirits. There is a friend of theirs, whom they know better than I, who to this purpose crieth out; that the most important science in use amongst us (as that which hath charge of our health and preservation) is by ill hap, the most uncertaine, the most confused, and most agitated with infinite changes. There is no great danger to mistake the height of the Sunne, or misse-reckon the fraction of some Astronomical iuppuration; but herein, whereon our being & chiefe free-hold doth wholly depend, it is no wisdom to abandon our selves to the mercy of the agitation of so manifold contrary windes. Before the Peloponesian war, there was no great newes of this science. *Hipocrates* brought it into credite. Whatsoever he established, *Chrysippus* overthrew. Afterward *Erasistratus* Grand-Childe to *Aristotle*, re-enverst what ever *Chrysippus* had written of it. After these, start up the Emperikes, who concerning the managing of this Arte, tooke a new course, altogether different from those ancient fathers. And when their credit began to growe stale, *Hirophilus* brought another kinde of physicke into use, which *Asclepiades*, when his turne came, impugned, and in the end subverted. Then came the opinions of *Themison* to bee in great authority, then those of *Musa*, and afterward those of *Vectius Valens*, a famous Physition, by reason of the acquaintance he had with *Messalina*. During the time of *Nero*, the soveraigntie of physick fel to the hands of *Thessalus*, who abolished and condemned whatsoever had been held of it before his time. This mans Doctrine was afterward wholly overthrowne by *Crinus* of *Marseille*, who a new revived and framed, that all men should direct and rule medicinable operations to the *Ephemerides* and motions of the starres, to eate, to drinke, to sleepe at what houre it should please *Luna* and *Mercurie*. His authority was soone after supplanted by *Charinus* a Physition of the same towne of *Marseilles*, who not onely impugned ancient physicke, but also the use of warme and publike bathes, which had beene accustomed to many ages before. Hee caused men to bee bathed in cold Water; yea, were it in the deepe of winter he plunged and dived sick men into the running streame of Rivers. Vntill *Plinies* time no Romane had ever dained to exercise the arte of physicke, but was ever used by strangers and Græcians, as at this daie it is used in *France* by Latinizers. For, as a famous physition saith, we doe not easily admit and allow that physicke, which wee understand, nor those Drugs we gather our selves. If those nations from whom wee have the Wood *Guaiacum*, the *Sassapareille*, and the Wood *Dequine*, have any physition amongst them, how much thinke we by the same commendation of the strangenesse, rarenesse and dearth, they will rejoyce at our coleworts and parslly? For, who dareth contemne things sought and fetcht so farre-off with the hazard of so long and dangerous a peregrinatiō? since these auncient mutations of physicke, there have beene infinite others, that have continued unto our dayes, and most often entire and universall mutations; as are those which *Paracelsus*, *Fioravanti* and *Argenterius* have produced: for (as it is told me) they do not only change a receipt, but also the whole contexture and policie of physickes whole body, acculing such as hitherto have made profession thereof, of ignorance and cousinage. Now I leave to your imagination, in what plight the poore patient findeth himselfe. If we could but be assured, when they mistake themselves, their physick would do us no harme, although not profit us. It were a reasonable composition, for a man to hazard himselfe to get some good, so he endangered not himselfe to lose by it. *Æsop*e reporteth this storie; that one who had bought a Moore-slave, supposing his blacke hew had come unto him by some strange accident, or ill usage of his former Master, with great diligence caused him to be medicined with divers bathes and sundry potions: It fortun'd the Moore did no whit mend or change his swarthy complexion, but lost his former health. How often commeth it to passe, and how many times see we physitions charge one another with their patients death. I remember a popular sicknesse, which some yeares since, greatly troubled the townes about mee, very mortall and dangerous; the rage whereof being over-past, which had carried away an infinite number of persons: One of the most famous physitions in all the country, published a booke, concerning that disease wherein he adviseth himselfe, that they had done amisse to use phlebotomy, & confesseth.



it had beene one of the principall causes of so great an inconvenience: Moreover, their authors hold, that *there is no kinde of Physicke, but hath some hurtfull part in it.* And if those that fit our turne, doe in some sort harme us; what must those doe, which are given us to no purpose, and our of season? As for me, if nothing else belonged thereunto, I deeme it a matter very dangerous, and of great prejudice for him who loathes the taste, or abhorres the smell of a potion, to swallow it at so inconvenient houres, and so much against his heart. And I thinke it much distempereth a sicke man, namely in a season he hath so much neede of rest. Besides, consider but the occasions, on which they ordinarily ground the cause of our sicknesses; they are so light and delicate, as thence I argue, *That a very small error in compounding of their Drugges, may occasion us much detriment.* Now if the mistaking in a Physicion be dangerous, it is very ill for us: for it is hard if he fall not often into it. *He hath neede of many parts, divers considerations and severall circumstances to proportion his desseigne justly. He ought to know the sicke mans complexion, his temper, his humours, his inclinations, his actions, his thoughts and his imaginations. He must be assured of externall circumstances, of the nature of the place, the condition of the aire, the quality of the weather, the situation of the planets, and their influences. In sickness, he ought to be acquainted with the causes, with the signes, with the affections and criticall daies: In drugges he should understand their weight, their vertue and their operation, the countrie, the figure, the age, the dispensation.* In all these parts, he must know how to proportion and referre them one unto another; thereby to beget a perfect Symmetric or due proportion of each part: wherein if he misse never so little, or if amongst so many wheeles and severall motions, the least be out of tune or temper; it is enough to marre all.

God knowes how hard the knowledge of most of these parts is: As for example, how shall he finde out the proper signe of the disease, every malady being capable of an infinite number of signes: How many debates, doubts and controversies have they amongst themselves about the interpretations of Urine? Otherwise whence should that continuall alteration come we see amongst them, about the knowledge of the disease? How should we excuse this fault, wherein they fall so often, to take a Martin for a Fox? In those diseases I have had (so they admitted any difficulty) I could never yet finde three agreeing in one opinion. I more willingly note examples that concerne my selfe. A Gentleman in Paris was not long since cut off the stone by the appointment of Physitions, in whose blader they found no more stone; then in his hand: Where also a Bishop, who was my very good friend, had by his Physitions been earnestly solicited to be cut; and my selfe, because they were of his counsell, upon their swords, aided to perswade him to it; who being deceased and opened, it was found, he had no infirmity but in his reins. They are lesse excusable in this disease, forsomuch as it is in some sort palpable. Whereby I judge the arte of Chirurgery much more certaine; For it seeth and handleth what it doth; and therein is lesse conjecture and divination. Whereas Physitions have no *speculum matricis*, to discover our braine, our lungs, and our liver unto them. *The very promises of Physicke are incredible.* For being to provide for divers and contrary accidents, which often trouble us together, and with a kinde of necessary relation one unto another as the heate of the liver, and the cold of the stomacke, they will perswade us, that with their ingredients, this one shall warme the stomacke, and this other coole the liver: the one hath charge to goe directly to the reynes, yea even to the bladder, without enstalling his operation any where else, and by reason of it's secret propriety, keeping his force and vertue, all that long way, and so full of stops or lets, untill it come to the place, to whose service it is destinated. Another shall drie the braine, and another moisten the lungs. Of all this hotch-pot having composed a mixture or potion, *is it not a kinde of raving, to hope their severall vertues shall divide and separate themselves from out such a confusion or commixture, to run to so divers charges?* I should greatly feare they would loose or change their tickets and trouble their quarters. And who can imagine, that in this liquid confusion, these faculties be not corrupted, confounded and alter one another? What? that the execution of this ordinance depends from another officer, to whose trust and mercy we must once more forsake our lives? As we have doublet and hose-makers to make our cloths, and are so much the better fitted, in as much as each medleth with his owne trade, and such have their occupation more strictly limited, then a Tailor that will make all. And as for our necessary foode, some of our great Lords, for their more commodity and ease have severall cookes, as some only to dresse boyled meates, and some to roste, others to bake, whereas if one Cooke alone would supply



all three in generall he could never doe it so exactly. In like sort for the curing of all diseases, the Egyptians had reason to reject this generall mysterie of Physicians, and to sunder this profession for every malady, allotting each part of the body his distinct workman. For, every particular part was thereby more properly attended, and lesse confusedly governed, and forsomuch as they regarded but the same especially. Our Physicians never remember, that *he who will provide for all, provieth for nothing*; and that the totall and summarie policy of this little world, is unto them undigestible. Whilst they feared to stop the course of a bloody flux, because he should not fall into an ague, they killed me a friend of mine who was more worth then all the rabble of them; yea were they as many more. They ballance their divinations of future things, with present evils, and *because they will not cure the braine in preindication of the stomacke, they offend the stomacke and empaire the braine, and all by their seditious & tumultuary drugs*. Concerning the variety and weaknes of the reasons of this Art, it is more apparent then in any other Art. Aperitive things are good for a man thats troubled with the collicke, because, that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse this slimy matter whereof the gravel and stone is ingendred, and so conuay downeward whatsoever beginneth to harden and petrifie in the reines: Aperitive things are dangerous for a man thats troubled with the collick, because that opening and dilating the passages, they addresse towards the reines, the matter engendring gravell, which by reason of the propensions they have with it, easily seizing on the same, must by consequence stay great store of that which is conuaid unto them. Moreover, if by chance it fortune to meet with a body, somewhat more grosse then it ought to be, to passe all those strait turnings, which to expel the same they must glide thorow; that body being moved by those soluble things, and cast in those strait chanelles, and coming to stop them, it will doublelesse hasten a certaine and most dolorous death. They have a like constancy about the counsels they giue us, touching the regiment of our life. It is good to make water often; for by experience we see, that permitting the same idly to ly still, we giue it leisure to discharge it selfe of her lees and excrements, which may serve to breed the stone in the bladder: It is good to make water but seldome, for the weighty dregs it drawes with it, are not easily caried away, except by violence: as by experience is scene in a torrent that runneth very swift, which sweepeth & clenseth the place through which he passeth, much more then doth a slow-gliding streame. Likewise it is good to have often copulation with women; for that openeth the passages, and conuaideth the gravell away: It is also hurtfull; for it heateth, wearieth, and weakneth the reines. It is good for one to bathe himselfe in warme water; forsomuch as that looseth and moistneth the places where the gravel & stone lurketh: It is also bad; because this application of externall heat helpeth the reines to concoct, to harden and petrifie the matter disposed unto it. To such as are at the bathes, it is more healthfull to eat but little at night, that the water they are to drink the next morning, finding the stomacke empty, and without any obstacle, it may worke the greater operation: on the other side, it is better to eat but a little at dinner, lest a man might hinder the operation of the water, which is not yet perfect, & not to charge the stomacke so suddenly, after this other travell, & leave the office of digesting unto the night, which can better do it then the day; the body & spirit being then in continual motion and action. Loe heere how they in all their discourses juggle, dally, & trifle at our charge, and are never able to bring mee a proposition, but I can presently frame another to the contrary of like force & consequence. Let them then no longer raile against those who in any sickness, suffer themselves gently to be directed by their owne appetite, and by the counsell of nature; & who remit themselves to common fortune. I have by occasion of my travels scene almost all the famous Bathes of Christendome, & some yeers since have begun to use them: For, in generall I deeme bathing to be very good and healthy, & I am perswaded, we incurre no small incommodities in our health, by having neglected & lost this custome, which in former times were generally observed very neere amongst all Nations, and is yet with divers at this time to wash their bodies every day: And I cannot imagine but that we are much the worse with keeping our bodies all over-crusted, and our pores stoppt with grease and filth. And touching the drinking of them, fortune hath first made it to agree very well with my taste: secondly it is naturall and simple; and though vaine, nothing dangerous: whereof this infinity of people of all sorts and complexions, and of all nations that come to them, doth warrant mee. And although I have as yet found no extraordinary good or wondrous effect in them, but rather having  
somewhat



Somewhat curiously examined the matter, I finde all the reports of such operations, which in such places are reported, and of many believed, to be false and fabulous. So easily doth the world deceive it selfe, namely in things it desireth, or same would have come to passe. Yet have I seene but few or none at al, whom these waters have made worse; and no man can without malice denie, but that they stirre up a mans appetite, make easie digestion, & except a man goe to them overweake and faint (which I would have none doe) they will adde a kinde of new mirth unto him. They have not the power to raise men from desperate diseases. They may stay some light accident, or prevent the threats of some alteration. Whosoever goeth to them, and resolveth not to be merie, that so he may enjoy the pleasure of the good company resorts to them, and of the pleasant walks or exercises, which the beauty of those places, where bathes are commonly seated, doth afford and delight men withall; he without doubt loseth the better part and most assured of their effect. And therefore have I hitherto chosen to stay my selfe and make use of those, where I found the pleasure of the scituation most delightfome, most conveniencie of lodging, of victuals and company, as are in France the bathes of Banieres; those of Plombieres, on the frontiers of Germany and Lorraine; those of Baden in Switzerland; those of Luca in Tuscanie; and especially those of Della villa; which I have used most often and at divers seasons of the year. Every nation hath some particular opinion concerning their use, and severall lawes and formes how to use them, and all different: And as I have found by experience the effect in a manner all one. In Germany they never use to drinke of the waters; but bathe themselves for all diseases, and while padling in them, almost from Sunne to Sunne. In Italie if they drinke nine dayes of the water, they wash themselves other thirtie dayes with it. And commonly they drinke it mixt with other drugges, thereby to helpe the operation. Here our Physicians appoint vs when wee have drunke to walke vpon it, that so wee may helpe to digest it: There, so soone as they have drunke, they make them lie a bed, untill they have voyded the same out againe, continually warming their stomack & feete with warme clothes. All the Germanes whilet they lie in the water, doe particularly use cupping glasses, and scarifications: And the Italians use their Doccie, which are certaine spouts running with warme waters, convayed from the bathes spring in leaden pipes, where, for the space of a month, they let it spout upon their heads, upon their stomacke, or upon any other part of the bodie, according as neede requireth, one houre in the forenoone, and as long in the afternoone. There are infinite other differences of customes in every countrey: or to say better, there is almost no resemblances betweene one and other. See how this part of Physicke, by which alone I have suffered my selfe to be carried away, which though it be least artificiall, yet hath she the share of the confusion and uncertainty, seene in all other parts and every where of this arte. Poets may say what they list, and with more emphasis and grace: witnesse these two Epigrammes.

*Alcon hesternum signum Iouis attigit. Ille  
Quamvis marmoreus, vim patitur medicæ.  
Ecce hodie iussus transferri ex ade vetusta,  
Effertur, quamvis sit Deus atque lapis.  
Alcon look't yester-day on carved Iove.  
Iove, though of Marble, feeles the leeches force,  
From his old Church to day made to remoove,  
Though God and Stone, hee's carried like a coarse,*

Lucil.  
Auson. epig. 73.

And the other:

*Lotus nobiscum est hilaris, cenavit & idem,  
Inventus mane est mortuus Androgoras.  
Tam subita mortis causam Faustine requiris?  
In somnis medicum viderat Hermocratem.  
Androgoras in health bath'd over night with us,  
And merry supt, but in the morne starke dead was found,  
Of his so sudden death, the cause shall I discusse.  
Hermocrates the Leech he saw in sleepe unsound.*

Mart. l. 6. epig.  
53.

Vpon which I will tell you two pretty stories. The Baron of *Carpene* in Chalosse and I, have both in common the right of the patronage of a benefice, which is of a very large precinct, situated at the feet of our Mountaines named *Lohontan*. It is with the inhabitants of



that corner, as it is said to be with those of the valley of *Angreugne*. They lead a kind of peculiar life; their attire, and their customes apart and severall. They were directed and governed by certaine particular policies and customes, received by tradition from Father to Child: Whereto, without other Lawes or Compulsion, except the reverence and awe of their custome and use, they awefully tie and bound themselves. This perty state had from all antiquity continued in so happy a condition, that no neighbouring severe judge had ever beene troubled to enquire of their life and affaires, nor was ever Atturney or Petty-fogging Lawyer called for, to give them advise or counsell; nor stranger sought unto to determine their quarrels or decide their contentions; neither were ever beggers seen among them. They alwaies avoyded commerce and shunned alliances with the other World, lest they should alter the purity of their orders and policy; untill such time (as they say) that one amongst them, in their fathers daies, having a minde puffed up with a noble ambition, to bring his name and credit in reputation, devited to make one of his Children Sir *John Lackelaine*, or Master *Peter an Oake*: And having made him learne to write in some neighbour Towne not farre off, at last procured him to be a country Notary, or Petty-fogging Clark. This fellow having gotten some pelfe and become great, began to disdaine their ancient customes, and put the pompe and statelines of our higher regions into their heads. It fortuned that a chiefe Gossip of his had a Goate dishorned, whom he so importunately solicited to sue the Trespasser, and demand law and right at the Iusticers hands, that dwelt thereabouts; And so never ceasing to sow sedition and breed suires amongst his neighbours, he never left till he had confounded and marred all. After this corruption or intrusion of law (they say) there ensued presently another mischiefe of worse consequence, by meanes of a Quacke salver, or Empirike Physition that dwelt amongst them, who would needes be married to one of their daughters, and so endenizen and settle himselfe amongst them.

This gallant began first to teach and instruct them in the names of agewes, rheumes and impostumes; then the scituation of the heart, of the liver and other intrayles: A Science untill then never known or heard of among them. And in stead of garlike, wherewith they had learned to expell, and were wont to cure all diseases, of what qualitie and how dangerous soever they were, he induced and inured them, were it but for a cough or cold, to take strange compositions and potions: And thus beganne to trafficke not only their health, but also their deaths. They sweare, that even from that time, they have apparantly perceived, that the evening Sereine or night-calm bred the head-ach and blaisted them; that to drinke being hot or in a sweat empaired their healths; that Autumne windes were more unwholesome and dangerous, then those of the spring-time: And that since his slobber-sawces, potions and phylicke came first in use; they finde themselves molested and distempered with Legions of unaccustomed maladies and unknowne diseases; and plainly feeble and sensibly perceive a generall weakenesse and declination in their antient vigor; and that their lives are nothing so long, as before they were. Loe here the first of my tales. The other is, that before I was troubled with the stone-chollicke and gravell in the bladder, hearing divers make especiall account of a hee-goates blood, as a heavenly *Manna* sent in these latter ages for the good and preservation of mans life: and hearing men of good understanding speake of it, as of an admirable and much-good-working drugge, and of an infallible operation: I, who have ever thought my selfe subiect to all accidents, that may in any sort fall on man, being yet in perfect health, began to take pleasure to provide my selfe of this myracle, and forthwith gave order (according to the receipt) to have a Buck-goate gotten, and carefully fed in mine owne house. For the blood must be drawne from him in the hottest month of Summer, and he must onely be fed with soluble hearbes, and drinke nothing but White wine. It was my fortune to come to mine owne house the very same day the Goate should be killed; where some of my people came in haste to tell me, that my Cooke found two or three great bowles in his paunch, which in his maw amongst his meat shocked one against another. I was so curious as I would needes have all his garbage brought before me; the thicke and large skinne whercof I caused to be opened, out of which came three great lumps or bodies, as light as any sponge, so framed as they seemed to be hollow, yet outwardly hard and very firme, bemotted with divers dead and wannish colours: The one perfectly as round as any bowle, the other two somewhat lesse, and not



so round, yet seemed to grow towards it. I have found (after I had made diligent inquiry among such as were wont to open such beasts) that it was a seld-seene and unheard of accident. It is very likely they were such stones as ours be, and cozen-germanes to them, which if it be, it is but vaine for such as be troubled with the stone or gravell to hope to be cured, by meanes of a beasts blood, that was drawing neere unto death, and suffered the same disease. For, to aleadge the blood cannot participate of that contagion, and doth no whit thereby alter his accustomed vertue, it may rather be inferred that nothing ingendereth in a body, but by consent and communication of all the parts. The whole masse doth worke, and the whole frame agitate altogether, although one part, according to the diversitie of operations, doth contribute more or lesse than another, whereby it manifestly appeareth, that in all parts of this bucke-goate, there was some grettie or petrificant qualitie. It was not so much for feare of any future chaunce, or in regard of my selfe, that I was so curious of this experiment; as in respect, that as well in mine owne house, as else were in sundry other places, it commeth to passe, that many women do often gather and lay up in store, divers such kindes of slight druggs to help their neighbours, and other people with them, in time of necessitie, applying one same remedie to an hundred severall diseases: yea many times such as they would be very loath to take themselves; with which they often have good lucke, and well thrives it with them. As for me I honour Physitions, not according to the common-receiv'd rule, for necessitie sake (for to this passage another of the Prophets may be aleaged who reprooved King Asa, because he had recourse unto Physitions (but rather for love I beare unto themselves; having seene some, and knowne diverse honest men amongst them, and worthy all love and esteeme. *It is not them I blame, but their Arte;* yet doe I not greatly condemne them for seeking to profit by our foolishnesse (for most men do so) & it is a thing common to all worldlings. *Diverse professions and many vocations, both more and lesse worthe than theirs; subsist and are grounded onely upon publike abuses and popular errours.* I send for them when I am sicke, if they may conveniently be found; and love to be entertained by them, rewarding them as other men doe. I give them authority to enioyne me to keepe my selfe warme, if I love it better so than otherwise. They may chuse, be it either leekes or lettuce, what my broth shall be made withall, and appoint me either white or claret to drinke; and so of other things else, indifferent to my taste, humout or custome. I know well it is nothing to them, for so much as *Sharpenesse and Strangenesse are accidents of physickes proper essence.* *Lycurgus* allowed and appoynted the sicke men of *Sparta* to drinke wine. Why did he so? Because being in health, they hated the use of it. Even as a Gentleman who dwelleth not farre from me, useth wine as a soveraigne remedie against agewes, because being in perfect health, he hateth the taste thereof as death. How many of them see we to be of my humour? That is, to disdaine all Physicke for their owne behoofe, and live a kinde of formall free life, and altogether contrary to that, which they prescribe to others? And what is that, but a manifest abusing of our simplicitie? For, they hold their life as deare, and esteeme their health as precious as wee do ours, and would apply their effects to their skill, if themselves knew not the uncertainty and falsehood of it. It is the feare of paine and death; the impatience of the disease and griefe; and indiscreet desire & headlong thirst of health, that so blindeth them, and us. It is moere faintnes that makes our conceit: and pusillanimitie forceth our credulitie, to be so yeelding and pliable. The greater part of whom doe notwithstanding not beleieve so much, as they endure and suffer of others: For I heare them complaine, and speake of it no otherwise than we doe. Yet in the end are they resolved. What should I doe then? As if impatience were in it selfe a better remedie than patience. Is there any of them, that hath yeilded to this miserable subjection, that doth not likewise yeelde to all maner of impostures? or dooth not subject himselfe to the mercie of whomsoever hath the impudencie to promise him recoverie, and warrant him health?

The Babilonians were wont to carry their sicke people, into the open streetes: the common sort were there physitions: where all such as passed by were by humanitie and civilitie to enquire of their state and maladie, and according to their skill or experience, give them some sound advise and good counsell. We differ not greatly from them: There is no poore Woman so simple, whose mumbling and muttering; whose slobber-flabbers and drenches we doe not employ. And as for mee, were I to buy any medicine, I would rather spend my money in this kinde of Physicke, than in any other: because therein is no danger or hurt



to be feared. What *Homer* and *Plato* said of the *Ægyptians*, that they were all *Physitions* may well be said of all people. There is neither Man nor Woman, that vantage not himselfe to have some receipt or other, and doth not hazard the same upon his neighbour, if he will but give credite unto him.

I was not long since in a company, where I wot not who of my fraternity, brought newes of a kinde of pilles, by true accompt, composed of a hundred and odde severall ingredients; Whereat we laughed very heartily, and made our selves good sport: For, what rocke so hard were able to resist the shooke, or withstand the force of so thicke and numerous a battery? I vnderstand neverthelesse, of such as tooke of them, that the least graine of gravell dained not to stirre at all. I cannot so soone give over writing of this subject, but I must needs say a word or two, concerning the experience they have made of their prescriptions, which they would have us take as a warantice or assurance of the certainty of their drugges and potions. The greatest number, and as I deeme, more than the two thirds of medicinable vertues, consist in the quintessence or secret propriety of simples, whereof wee can have no other instruction but vse and custome. For, *Quintessence is no other thing than equality, whereof wee cannot with our reason finde out the cause.* In such trials, or experiments, those which they affirme to have acquired by the inspiration of some *Dæmon*, I am contented to receive and allow of them (for, touching myracles, I meddle not with them) or be it the experiments drawne from things, which for other respects fall often in vse with us: As if in Wooll, wherewith we wont to cloth our selves, some secret exsiccating or drying quality, have by accident beene found, that cureth kibes or chilblaines in the heeles; & if in reddishes, we eat for nourishment, some opening or aperitive operation have beene discovered. *Galen* reporteth, that a Leprous man chanced to be cured, by meanes of a Cuppe of Wine he had drunke, forsomuch as a Viper was by fortune fallen into the Wine caske. In which example we finde the meane, and a very likely directory to this experience. As also in those, to which *Physitions* affirme, to have beene addressed by the examples of some beasts. But in most of other experiences, to which they say they came by fortune, and had no other guide but hazard, I finde the progresse of this information incredible. I imagine man, heedfully viewing about him the infinite number of things, creatures, plants and metalls. I wot not where to make him beginne his Essay; And suppose he cast his first fantasie upon an Elkes-Horne, to which an easie and gentle credulity must be giuen; he will be as farre to seeke, and as much troubled in his second operation: So, many diseases and severall circumstances are proposed unto him, that before hee come to the certainty of this point, unto which the perfection of his experience should arrive, mans wit shall be to seeke, and not know where to turne himselfe; And before (amiddest this infinity of things) hee finde out what this Horne is: Amongst the numberlesse diseases that are, what an Epileptic is; the sundry and manifold complexions in a melancholy man; So many seasons in Winter: So diverse Nations amongst French-men; So many ages in age; So diverse coelestiall changes and alterations, in the conjunction of *Venus* and *Saturne*; So severall and many partes in a mans body, nay in one of his fingers. To all which being neither guided by argument, nor by conjecture, nor by example, or divine inspiration, but by the onely motion of fortune; it were most necessary, it should be by a perfectly artificiall, well-ordered, and methodicall fortune. Moreover, suppose the disease thorowly cured, how shall he rest assured, but that either the evill was come to his utmost period, or that an effect of the hazard, caused the same health? Or the operation of some other thing, which that day he had either eaten, drunke or touched? or whether it were by the merite of his Grand-mothers prayers? Besides, suppose this experiment to have beene perfect, how many times was it applied and begun a new; And how often was this long and tedious web of fortunes and encounters woven over againe, before a certaine rule might be concluded? And being concluded, by whom is it I pray you? Amongst so many millions of men, you shall scarce meete with three or foure, that will duly observe, and carefully keepe a Register of their experiments; shall it be your, or his happe, to light truely, or hit just with one of them three or foure? What if another man? Nay what if a hundred other men have had and made contrary experiments, & cleane opposite conclusions, and yet have sorted well? We should peradventure discern some shew of light, if all the judgements and consultations of men were knowne unto us. But *That three Witnesses and three Doctors shall sway all mankind, there*



is no reason. It were requisite, humane nature had appointed and made speciall choise of the and that by expresse procuration and letter of attorny they were by her declared our Iudges and deputed our Attornies.

### To my Lady of Duras.

**M**Adame, the last time it pleased you to come and visite me, you found me upon this point. And because it may be, these toyes of mine may happily come to your hands: I would have them witnesse, their author reputeth himselfe highly honoured, for the favours it shall please you to shew them. Wherein you shall discerne the very same demeanor and selfe-countenance, you have seene in his conversaton. And could I have assumed unto my selfe any other fashion, than mine owne accustomed, or more honourable and better forme, I would not have done it: For, al I seeke to reape by my writings, is, they will naturally represent and to the life, pourtray me to your remembrance. The very same conditions and faculties, it pleased your Lady-ship to frequent and receive, with much more honor and curtesie, than they any way deserve, I will place and reduce (but without alteration & change) into a solide body, which may happily continue some dayes and yeares after mee: Where, when soever it shall please you to refresh your memory with them, you may easily finde them, without calling them to remembrance, which they scarcely deserve. I would entreate you to continue the favour of your Friend-ship towards me, by the same qualities, through whose meanes it was produced. I labour not to be beloved more and esteemed better being dead, than alive. The humour of *Tyberius* is ridiculous and common, who endeavoured more to extinguish his glory in future ages, than yeeld himse regardfull and pleasing to men of his times. If I were one of those, to whom the World may be indebted for praise, I would quit it for the one moytie, on condition it would pay me before-hand: And that the same would hasten, and in great heapes environ me about, more thicke than long, and more full than lasting. And let it hardly vanish with my knowledge, & when this sweet alluring sound shall no more tickle mine eares. It were a fond conceit, now I am ready to leave the commerce of men, by new commendations, to goe about, anew to beget my selfe unto them.

I make no account of goods, which I could not employ to the vse of my life. Such as I am so would I be elsewhere then in Paper. Mine art and industry have been employed to make my selfe of some worth. My study and endeavour to doe, and not to write. I have applied all my skill and devoire to frame my life. Lo-heere mine occupation and my worke. I am a lesse maker of bookes, then of any thing else. I have desired and aimed at sufficiencie, rather for the benefite of my present and essentiall commodities, then to make a store-house, and hoard it up for mine heires. Whosoever hath any worth in him, let him shew it in his behaviour, maners and ordinary discourses; be it to treat of love or of quarrels; of sport and play or bed-matters, at board or else-where; or be it in the conduct of his owne affaires, or private household matters. Those whom I see make good bookes, having tattered hoseu and ragged clothes on, had they believed me they should first have gotten themselves good clothes. Demand a Spartan, whether he would rather be a cunning Rhethorician, then an excellent Souldier: may were I asked, I wuld say, a good Cooke, had I not some to serve me. Good Lord (Madame) how I would hate such a commendation, to be a sufficient man in writing, and a foolish-shallow-headed braine or coxcombe in all things else: yet had I rather be a foole; both here and there, then to have made so base a choise, wherein to imploy my worth. So farre am I also from expecting, by such trifles to gaine new honour to my self: as I shal think I make a good bargain, if I loose not a part of that little, I had already gained. For, besides that this dombe and dead pictura, shall derogate and steale from my naturall being, it fadgeth not & hath no reference unto my better state, but is much fallen from my first vigor and naturall jollity, enclining to a kinde of drooping or mouldinesse. I am now come to the bottome of the vessell, which beginneth to taste of his dregs and lees. Otherwise (good Madame) I should not have dared so boldly to have ripped up the mysteries of Physicke,



sicke, considering the esteeme and credite your selfe, and so many others, ascribe unto it, and hold it in; had I not beene directed therunto by the authors of the same. I thinke they have but two ancient ones in Latine, to wit *Pliny* and *Celsus*. If you fortune at any time to looke into them, you shall finde them to speake much more rudely of their Art, then I doe. I but pinch it gently, they cut the throate of it. *Pliny* amongst other things, doth much scoffe at them, forsomuch as when they are at their wits end, and can go no further, they have found out this goodly shift, to send their long-turmoiled, and to no end much tormented patient, with their drugs and diets, some to the helpe of their vowes and myracles, and some others to hot Baths and waters. (Be not offended noble Lady, he meaneth not those on this side, vnder the protection of your house, and all *Gramontoises*.) They have a third kinde of shift or evasion to shake us off and discharge themselves of the imputations or reproaches, wee may justly charge them with, for the small amendment of our infirmities; whereof they have so long had the surway and government, as they have no more inventions or devises left the, to amuse us with; that is, to send us, to seeke and take the good aire of some other Country. Madam, we have harped long enough upon one string; I hope you will give me leave to come to my former discourses againe, from which for your better entertainment, I had somewhat digressed.

It was (as farre as I remember) *Pericles*, who being demanded, how he did; you may (saide he) judge it by this, shewing certaine scroules or briefes he had tied about his necke and armes. He would infer, that he was very sicke, since he was forced to have recourse to such vanities, and had suffered himselfe to be so drest. I affirme not, but I may one day be drawne to such fond opinions, and yeeld my life and health to the mercy, discretion, and regiment of Physicians. I may happily fall into this fond madnesse; I dare not warrant my future constancy. And even then if any aske me how I doe, I may answer him as did *Pericles*; You may judge, by shewing my hand fraughted with six drammes of Opium. It will be an evident token of a violent sicknesse. My judgement shall be exceedingly out of temper. If impatience or feare get that advantage upon me, you may thereby conclude some quelling fever hath seized upon my minde. I have taken the paines to plead this cause, whereof I have but small understanding, somewhat to strengthen and comfort naturall propension, against the drugs and practise of our Physicke, which is derived into me from mine ancestors: lest it might only be a stupid and rash inclination; and that it might have a little more forme. And that also those, who see me so constant against the exhortations and threatens, which are made against me, when sicknesse commeth upon me, may not thinke it to be a meere conceit, and simple wilfulnesse; And also, lest there be any so peevish, as to judge it to be some motive of vaine glory. *It were a strange desire, to seeke to draw honour from an action, common both to me, to my Gardener, or to my Groome.* Surely my heart is not so puffed up, nor so windy, that a solide, fleshy and marrowy pleasure, as health is; I should change it for an imaginary spirituall and airy delight. Renowme or glory (were it that of *Aymons* four sons) is overdecreely bought by a man of my humour, if it cost him but three violent fits of the chollike. Give me health a Godsname. Those that love our Physicke, may likewise have their considerations good, great and strong, I hate no fantasies contrary to mine. I am so far from vexing my selfe, to see my judgement differ from other mens, or to grow incompatible of the society or conversation of men, to be of any other faction or opinion then mine owne; that contrariwise (as variety is the most generall fashion that nature hath followed, and more in the mindes, then in the bodies: forsomuch as they are of a more supple and yeelding substance and susceptible or admitting of formes) I finde it more rare to see our humor or desseignes agree in one. And never were there two opinions in the world alike, no more than two haire, or two graines. *Diversity is the most universall quality.*

*The end of the second Booke.*



THE  
ESSAYES

OR  
MORALL POLITIKE  
AND MILITARIE  
Discourses

Of  
Lo: MICHAEL de Montaigne,  
Knight

Of the noble Order of S. MICHAEL, and one of the Gentlemen  
in Ordinary of the French King HENRY the Third  
his Chamber.

THE THIRD BOOKE.



LONDON,  
Printed in the yeare M DC XXXI.



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# THE ESSAYES OF

MICHAEL LO: of *Montaigne*,

## THE THIRD BOOKE.

### CHAP. I.

*Of profit and honesty.*



*N*o man living is free from speaking foolish things; the ill lucke is, to speake them curiously:

*Ne iste magno conatu magnas rugas  
dixerit.*

This fellow sure with much a doe;  
Will tell great tales and trifles too.

*Ter. Flaut  
act. 4. sc. 2.*

That concerneth not me; mine slip from me with as little care, as they are of smal worth; whereby they speed the better. I would suddenly quit them, for the least cost were in them. Nor do I buy, or sell them, but for what they weigh. I speake unto Paper, as to the first man I meete. That this is true, marke well what followes. To whom should not treachery be detestable, when *Tiberius* refused it on such great interest? One sent him word out of *Germany*, that if he thought it good, *Ariminius* should be made away by poison. He was the mightiest enemy the Romans had, who had so vilely used them under *Varus*, and who onely empeached the encrease of his domination in that country. His answer was; that the people of *Rome* were accustomed to be revenged on their enemies by open courses, With weapons in hand, not by subtil sleights, nor in hugger mugger: thus left he the profitable for the honest. He was (you will say) a cosener. I beleve it; that's no wonder, in men of his profession. But the confession of vertue, is of no lesse consequence in his mouth that hateth the same, forsomuch as truth by force doth wrest it from him, and if he will not admire it in him, at least, to adorne himselfe he will put it on. Our composition, both publike and private, is full of imperfection; yet is there nothing in nature unserviceable, no not inutility it selfe; nothing thereof hath beene insinuated in this huge univerte, but holdeth some fit place therein. Our essence is cymented with crased qualities; ambition, jealousie, envy, revenge, superstition, dispaire, lodge in us, with so naturall a possession, as their image is also discerned in beasts: yea and cruelty, so unnatural a vice: for in the midst of compassion, we inwardly feele a kinde of bitter-sweet; pricking of malicious delight to see others suffer; and children feele it also:

*Suave mari magno turbantibus aquora ventis,*

*E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem.*

Tis sweet on ground seas, when windes waves turmoyle,

From land to see an others greivous toyle.

The seed of which qualities, who should roote out of man, should ruine the fundamental conditions

*Livy. lib. 3.*



conditions of our life: In matter of policy likewise; some necessary functions are not onely base, but faulty vices finde therein a seate, and employ themselves in the stitching up of our frame; as poysons in the preservations of our health. If they become excusable, because wee have neede of them, and that common necessity effaceth their true property; let us resigne the acting of this part to hardy Citizens, who sticke not to sacrifice their honour and consciences, as those of old, their lives, for their Countries avails and safety. We that are more weake, had best assume taskes of more ease and lesse hazard. The Common wealth requirereth some to betray, some to lie, and some to massaker: leave we that commission to people more obedient and more pliable, Truly, I have often beene vexed, to see our judges, by fraude or false hopes of favour or pardon, draw on a malefactor, to bewray his offence; employing therein both couzenage and impudencie. It were fit for justice, and *Plato* himselfe, who favoureth this custome, to furnish me with meanes more sutable to my humour. 'Tis a malicious justice, and in my cōceit no lesse wounded by it selfe, then by others. I answered not long since, that hardly could I betray my Prince for a particular man, who should be very sory to betray a particular man for my Prince. And loath not onely to deceive, but that any be deceived in me; whereto I will neither furnish matter nor occasion. In that little busines I have managed betwene our Princes, amid the divisions and subdivisions, which at this day so teare and turmoile us, I have curiously heeded, that they mistake me not, nor muffled themselves in my maske. The professors of that trade hold themselves most covert; pretending and counterfeiting the greatest indifference and neerenes to the cause they can. As for me, I offer my selfe in my liveliest reasons, in a forme most mine owne: A tender and young Negoriator, and who had rather faile in my businesse, then in my selfe. Yet hath this been hitherto with so good hap (for surely fortune is in these matters a principal actor) that few have dealt betwene party and party with lesse suspition, and more inward favour. I have in all my proceedings an open fashion, easie to insinuate and give it selfe credit at first acquaintance. Sincerity, plainenesse, and naked truth, in what age soever, finde also their opportunitie and employment. Besides, their liberty is little called in question, or subject to hate, who deale without respect of their owne interest. And they may truly use the answer of *Hyperides* unto the Athenians, complaining of his bitter invectives and sharpenesse of his speech: *Consider not, my masters whether I am free, but whether I be so, without taking ought, or bettering my state by it.* My liberty also hath easily discharged me from all suspition of faintnesse, by its vigor (nor forbearing to speake any thing, though it bit or stung them; I could not have said worse in their absence) and because it carrieth an apparant show of simplicity and carelesnesse. I pretend no other fruit by negotiating, then to negotiate; and annex no long pursuites or propositions to it. Every actiō makes his particular game, win he if he can. Nor am I urged with the passion of love or hate unto great men; nor is my wil shackled with anger, or particular respect. I regard our Kings with an affection simply lawfull, and meere-ly civil, neither mooved nor unmoov'd by private interest: for which I like my selfe the better. The generall and just cause bindes me no more then moderately, and without violent fits. I am not subject to these piercing pledges & inward gages. Choller & hate are beyond the duty of justice, and are passions fitting only those, whose reason is not sufficient to hold them to their duty. *Vtatur motu animi, qui uti ratione non potest.* Let him use the motion of his minde, that cannot use reason. All lawfull intentions are of themselves temperate: if not, they are altered into sedicious and unlawful. It is that makes me march every where with my head aloft, my face and heart open. Verily (and I feare not to avouch it) I could easily for a neede, bring a candle to Saint *Michaell*, and another to his Dragon, as the good old woman. I will follow the best side to the fire, but not into it, if I can choote. If neede require, let *Montaigne* my Mannor-house be swallowed up in the publike ruine: but if there be no such necessity, I will acknowledge my selfe beholding unto fortune if she please to save it; and for its safety employ as much scope as my endeavours can afford me. Was it not *Atticus*, who cleaving to the right (but loosing side) saved himselfe by his moderation, in that generall Shipwracke of the world, amidst so many changes and divers alterations? To private men, such as he was, it is more easie. And in such kinde of businesse, I thinke one dealeth justly, not to be too forward to insinuate or invite himselfe: To hold a staggering or middle course, to beare an unmooved affection, and without inclination in the troubles of his country, and publike divisions, I deeme neither seemely nor honest: *Ea non media, sed nulla via*



*est velut eventum expectantium, quo fortuna consilia sua applicent, That is not the mid way, but a mad way, or no way, as of those that expect the event with intent to apply their designs as fortune shall fall out.* That may be permitted in the affaires of neighbours. So did Gelon the tyrant of Siracusa suspend his inclination in the Barbarian wars against the Greeke, keeping Ambassadors at Delphos, with presents, to watch on what side the victory would light, and to apprehend the fittest occasion of reconciliation with the victors. It were a kind of treason to do so in our owne affaires and domesticall matters, wherein of necessity one must reolve and take a side; but for a man that hath neither charge, nor expresse commandement to urge him; nor to busie or entermedle himselfe therein, I holde it more excusable: (Yet frame I not this excuse for my selfe) then in forraine and strangers wars, wherewith according to our laws, no man is troubled against his will, Nevertheless those, who wholly ingage themselves into them, may carry such an order and temper, as the storme (with out offending them) may glide over their head, Had wee not reason to hope as much of the deceased Bishop of Orleans, Lord of Moruilliers? And I know some, who at this present worthily bestirre themselves, in so even a fashion or pleasing a manner, that they are likely to continue on foote, whatsoever injurious alteration or fall, the heavens may prepare against us. *I holde it onely fit for Kings to be angry with Kings: And mocke at those rash spirits, who from the brauerie of their hearts offer themselves to to vnproportionate quarrels.* For one undertaketh not a particular quarrell against a Prince, in marching against him openly and couragiously, for his honour, and according to his duty: It hee love not such a man: hee doth better: at least hee esteemeth him. And the cause of lawes especially, and defence of the auncient state, hath ever found this priviledge, that such as for their owne interest, disturbe the same, excuse (if they honour not) their defenders. *But wee ought not terme duty (as now a dayes wee do) a sower rigour, and intestine crabbe-ness, proceeding of private interest and passion: nor courage a treacherous and malicious proceeding.* Their disposition to frowardnesse and mischief, they entitle Zeale That's not the cause doth heate them, 'tis their owne interest: They kindle a warre, not because it is just, but because it is warre. *Why may not a man beare himselfe betwixt the enemies feafully and faithfully? Doe it, if not altogether with an equall (for it may admit different measure) at least with a sober affection, which may not so much engage you to the one, that hee looke for all at your hands.* Content your selfe with a moderate proportion of their fauour, and to glide in troubled waters without fishing in them. *Thosher manner of offering ones uttermost endenours to both sides, implayeth lesse discretion then conscience.* What knows he to whom you betray another, as much your friend as himselfe, but you will do the like for him, when his turne shall come. He takes you for a villaine: whilst that hee heares you, and gathers out of you, and makes his best use of your disloyalty. For, *double fellows are onely beneficiall in what they bring, but we must looke, they carry away as little as may be.* I carry nothing to the one, which I may not (having opportunity) lay unto the other, the accent only changed a little: and report either but in different or knowne, or common things. No benefit can induce mee to lye unto them: what is entrusted to my silence I conceale religiously, but take as little in trust as I can. *Princes secrets are a troublesome charge, to such as haue nought to do with them.* I ever by my good will capitulate with them, that they trust mee with very little: but let them assuredly trust what I disclose unto them. I alwayes knew more then I wold. *An open speach opens the way to another, and draws all out, even as Wine, and Love.* Philippides in my munde, answered King Lyfimachus wisely, when hee demaunded of him, what of his wealth or state hee should impart unto him: *Which and what you please (quoth hee) so it be not your secrets.* I see every one mutinie, if another conceale the deapth or mysterie of the affaires from him, wherein he pleateth to employ him, or haue but purloyned any circumstance from him For my part, I am content one tell me no more of his businesse then he will have me know or deale in; nor desire I, that my knowledge exceede or straine my word. If I must needs be the instrument of cozinage, it shall at least be with safety of my conscience. I will not be esteemed a servant, nor so affectionate, nor yet so faithfull, that I be judged fit to betray any man. *Who is unfaithfull to himselfe, may be excused if hee be faithlesse to his Master.* But Princes entertaine not men by halves, and despite bounded an conditionall service. What remedy? I freely tell them my limits; for, a slave I must not be but unto reason, which yet I cannot compass: And they are to blame, to exact from a free man, the like subjection unto



their seruice, and the same obligation, which they may from those they have made and bought; and whose fortune dependeth particularly and expressly on theirs. The lawes have delivered mee from much trouble: they haue chosen mee a side to followe, and appointed mee a maister to obey: all other superiority and duty, ought to bee relative unto that, and bee restrained. Yet may it not be concluded, that if my affection should otherwise transport mee, I would presently afforde my helping hand unto it. *Will and desires are a lawe to themselves*, actions are to receiue it of publike institutions: All these proceedings of mine, are somewhat dissonant from our formes. They should produce no great effects, nor holde out long among vs. *Innocencie it selfe could not in these times nor negotiate without dissimulation, nor trafficke without lying.* Neither are publike functions of my diet; what my profession requires thereto, I furnish in the most priuate manner I can. Being a childe, I was plunged into them up to the eares, and had good successe; but I got loose in good time. I have often since shunned meddling with them, seldome accepted and never required; ever holding my back toward ambition; but if not as rowers, who goe forward as it were backward: Yet so, as I am lesse beholding to resolution, then to my good fortune, that I was not wholly embarked in them. For, there are courses lesse against my taste, and more comfortable to my carriage, by which if heretofore it had called mee to the seruice of the common-wealth, and my advancement unto credit in the world: I know that in following the same I had exceeded the reason of my conceite. Those which commonly say against my profession, that what I terme liberty, simplicity and plainenesse in my behauiour, is arte, cunning and subtilty: and rather discretion, then goodnesse; industry then nature; good wit, then good hap; doe mee more honour, then shame. But truly they make my cunning overcunning. And whosoever hath traced mee and nearely looked into my humours, Ile loose a good wager if hee confesse not, that there is no rule in their schoole, could, a midde such crooked pathes and diuers windings, square and report this naturall motion, and maintaine an appearance of liberty and licence, to equall and inflexible; and that all their attention and wit, is not of power to bring them to it. *The way to truth is but one and simple*; that of particular profit and benefit of affaires a man hath in charge, double, vneuen and accidentall. I have often scene these counterfet and artificiall liberties in practise, but most commonly without successe. They saour of *Æsopes* Asses: who in emulation of the dogge, layde his two fore-feete very jocondly upon his masters shoulders: but looke how many blandishments the pretty dogge receiued, vnder one, so many bastinadoes were redoubled upon the poore Asses backe. *Id maxime quemque decet: quod est cuiusque summi maxime: that becomes every man especially, which is his owne especially.* I will not deprive cousinage of their ranke, that were to understand the world but ill: I know it hath often done profitable seruice, it supporteth, yea and nourisheth the greatest part of mens vacations.

Cic.off.1.1.

There are some lawfull vices: as many actions, or good or excusable vnlawfull. Iustice in it selfe naturall and vniuersall is otherwise ordered, and more nobly distributed, then this other especiall, and nationall iustice, restrained and fured to the neede of our pollicie: *Veri juris germanaque iustitie solidam & expressam effigiem nullam tenemus: umbra & imaginibus utimur.* Wee haue no liuely nor life-like purtraiture of upright law and naturall iustice: wee use but the shaddowes and colours of them. So that wile *Dandamis*, hearing the lives of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras* and *Diogenes* repeated, in other things, judged them great and worthy men, but overmuch subiected to the reverence of the lawes: which to authorize and second, true vertue is to decline very much from his naturall vigor: and not onely by their permission, but perswasions diuers vicious actions are committed and take place. *Ex Senatus consultis plebsque scitis scelera exercentur.* Even by decrees of counsell, and by statute laws are mischiefs put in practise. I follow the common phrase, which makes a difference betweene profitable and honest things: terming some naturall actions which are not onely profitable but necessary, dishonest and filthy. But to continue our examples of treason. Two which aspired unto the kingdome of *Thrace*, were false into controversie for their right. The Emperour hindred them from failing together by the eares: the one under colour of contriving some friendly accord by an interview inviting the other to a feast in his houte, imprisoned and murthered him. Iustice required, that the Romanes should be satisfied for this outrage: some difficulties empached the ordinary course

Cic.off.1.3



courte. What they could not lawfully doe without warre and hazard, they attempted to accomplish by treason: what they could not honestly atchieue, they profitably compassed. For exployring whereof, *Pomponius Flaccus* was thought most fitt: who trayning the fellow into his Nettes by fained wordes and sugred assurances; in lieu of the favour and honour hee promised him, sent him bound hand and foote to *Rome*. One traitor over-reached another, against common custome: For, they are all full of distrust, and 'tis very hard to surprize them in their owne arte: witnesse the heavy and dismall experience we have lately felt of it. Let who liste bee *Pomponius Flaccus*; and there are too-too many that will bee so. As for my part, both my word and faith, are as the rest; pieces of this common body: their best effect is the publicke seruice: that's ever presupposed with mee. But as, if one should command mee to take the charge of the Rolles or Recordes of the Pallace, I would answere: I have no skill in them: or to bee a leader of Pioners, I would say; I am called to a worthier office: Even so, who would goe about to employ mee, not to murder or poyson, but to lye, betraye, and forswear my selfe, I would tell him; If I have robbed or stolne any thing from any man, send mee rather to the Gallies. For, a Gentleman may lawfully speake as did the Lacedemonians, defeated by *Antipater*, upon the points of their agreement: *You may impose as heavy burdenc, and harmefull taxes upon us as you please; but you lose your time, to command us any shamefull or dishonest things.* Every man should give himselfe the oath, which the Egyptian Kings, solemnly and usually presented to their judges; *Not to swarne from their consciences*, what command soever they should receive from themselves to the contrary. In such commissions there is an evident note of ignominie and condemnation. And whosoever gives them you, accuseth you; and if you conceive them right, gives you them as a trouble and burthen. As much as the publicke affaires amend by your endeavours, your owne empaireth: the better you do, so much the worse doe you. And it shall not bee newe, nor peradventure without shadowe of justice, that hee who setteth you a worke, becommeth your ruine. *If treason bee in any case excusable, it is onely then, when 'tis employed to punish and betray treason.* Wee shall finde many treacheries, to have beene not refused, but punished by them, in whose favour they were vndertaken. Who knowes not the sentence of *Fabritius*, against *Pyrrus* his Physicion? And the commaunder hath often severely revenged them on the partie hee employed in them, refusing so vnbridled a credite and power, and disavowing so lewde and so vile an obedience. *Iaropelt* Duke of *Russia*, solicited an Hungarian Gentleman, to betraye *Boleslaus* King of *Polonia*, in contriving his death, or furnishing the Russians with meanes to work him some notable mischief. This gallant, presently bestirres him in it, & more then ever applying himselfe to the Kings service obtained to bee of his counsell, and of those hee most trusted. By which advantages, and with the opportunity of his masters absence, hee betrayed *Vicilicia*, a great and rich citie to the Russians: which was whollie sakt and burnt by them, with a generall slaughter, both of the inhabitants, of what sexe or age soever, and a great number of nobility thereabouts, whom to that purpose he had assembled. *Iaropelt* his anger thus allwaged with revenge, and his rage mitigared (which was not without pretext, for *Boleslaus* had mightily wronged and in like manner incensed him) and glatted with the fruite of treason, examining the vgliness thereof, naked and alone, and with imparciall eyes beholding the same, not distempered by passion, conceived such a remorse, and tooke it so to heart, that hee forthwith caused the eyes of his instrumentall executioner to be pulled out, and his tongue and priuy parts to be cut off. *Antigonus* perswaded the *Argyraspides* soldiers, to betray *Euменes* their generall, and his aduersarie, unto him, whom when they had deliuered, and he had caused to be slaine; himselfe desired to be the Commissary of diuine justice, for the punishment of so detestable a trecherie: and resigning them into the hands of the Gouernor of the Province, gave him expresse charge, in what manner soever it were, to rid himselfe of them, and bring them to some mischievous end. Whereby, of that great number they were, not one ever after sawe the smoake of *Macedon*. The better they serued his turne, the more wicked hee judged them, and the more worthie of punishment. The slave that betrayed the corner wherein his master *P. Sulpicius* lay hid, was set at liberty, according to the promise of *Syllas* proscription: But according to the promise of common reason, being freed, hee was throwne head-long from off the *Tarpeyan* rocke. And *Clouis* King of *France*, in lieu of the golden armes he had promised the three seruants of *Cannae*



cre, caused them to be hanged, after they had by his sollicitation betraide their maister unto him. They hang them up with the purse of their reward about their neckes. Having satisfisied their second and speciall faith, they also satisfie the generall and first. *Makomet* the second, desirous to rid himselfe of his brother (through jealousie of rule, and according to the stile of that race) employed one of his officers in it; who stifled him, by much water powred downe his throate all at once: which done, in expiation of the fact, he deliuered the murderer into the hands of his brothers mother (for they were brethren but by the fathers side) shee, in his presence, opened his bosome, and with hir owne revenging handes searching for his heart pluckt it out, and cast it unto dogges to eate. Even unto vile dispositions (hauing made vse of of a filthy action) it is so sweete and pleasing, if they may with security, as it were, in way of recompence and holy correction, sowe one sure sitch of goodnesse, and justice unto it. Besides; they respect the ministers of such horrible crimes, as people, that still vpbraide them with them, and couet by their deaths to smother the knowledge, and cancell the testimony of their practises. Now if perhaps, not to frustrate the publike neede of that last and desperate remedy, one reward you for it: yet, hee who doth it (if hee bee not as bad himselfe) will hold you a most accursed and execrable creature. And deemeth you a greater traytor, then he whom you have betrayed: for with your owne handes, hee touched the lewdnesse of your disposition, without disavowing, without object. But employeth you, as we do out-cast persons in the executions of justice: an office as profitable as litle honest. Besides the basenesse of such commissions, there is in them a prostitution of conscience. The daughter of *Sejanus*, could not in *Rome*, by any true formal course of lawe, bee put to death, becaute shee was a virgine: that lawes might have their due course, shee was first deflowred by the common hang-man, and then strangled. Nor his hand onely, but his soule is a slave unto publike commodity. When *Amurath* the first, to agrauate the punishment of his subjects, who had given support unto his sons vnnatural rebellion, appointed their neereft kinsmen to lend their hands unto this execution: I finde it verie honest in some of them, who rather chose unjustly to bee held guiltie of anothers parricide, then to serue justice with their owne. And whereas in some paltrie townes forced in my time, I have scene base varlets for sauegarde of their owne lives, yeild to hang their friends and companions, I ever thought them of worse condition, then such as were hanged. It is reported, that *Witoldus* Prince of *Lithuania*, introduced an order with that nation, which was that the party condemned to die, should with his owne handes make himselfe away; finding it strange, that a third man being guiltlesse of the fact, shoulde bee employed and charged to commit a murder. When an vrgent circumstance, or any violent and v unexpected accident, induceth a Prince for the necessitie of his estate, or as they say for state matters, to breake his worde and faith, or otherwise forceth him out of his ordinary duty, hee is to ascribe that necessity unto a lash of Gods rod: It is no vice, for hee hath quit his reason, unto a reason more publike, and more powerfull, but surely tis ill fortune. So that to one, who asked mee what remedy? I replyde, none; were hee truely rackt betweene these two extreames (*Sed videat ne quaratur latebra periurio. But let him take heede he seeke not a starting hole for periurie*) hee must have done it; but if hee did it sans regret or scruple, if it greeued him not to doe it, tis an argument his conscience is but in ill tearmes. Now were there any one of so tender or cheuerella conscience, to whome no cure might seeme worthy of so extreame a remedy: I should pritt or regard him no whit the lesse. Hee cannot loose himselfe more handsomely nor more excusable. *Wee cannot doe every thing, nor bee in every place.* When all is done, thus and thus, must wee often, as unto our last Anker and sole refuge, resigne the protection of our vessell unto the onely conduct of heauen. To what iuster necessity can hee reserue himselfe? What is lesse possible for him to do, then what he cannot effect, without charge unto his faith, and imputation to his honour? things which peradventure should bee dearer to him, then his owne salvation, and the safety of his people. When with enfolded armes hee shall devoutly call on God for his ayde, may hee not hope, that his fatherlie mercie shall not refuse the extraordinary favour, and sinne-forgiuing grace of his all powerfull hand, unto a pure and righteous hand? They are dangerous examples, rare and crased exceptions to our naturall rules: wee must yeelde unto them, but with great moderation, and heedic circumspection. No priuate commodity, may any way deterue wee should

*Cic. off. 1. 3.*



should offer our conscience this wrong the common-wealth may, when it is most apparent and important. *Timoleon* did sitlie warrant and warde the strangenes of his exploit by the teares hee shed, remembring it was with a brotherlie hand hee slew the tyrant, And it neerely pinched his selfe gnawne conscience, that hee was compelled to purchase the common good, at the rate of his honestie. The sacred Senate it selfe, by his meanes deliuered from thraldome, durst not definitively decide of so haughtie an action, and rend in two so vrgent and different semblances. But the *Siracūsans* having opportunely and at that very instant sent to the *Corinthians*, to require their protection, and a governour able to re-establish their towne in former majestie, and deliuer *Sicilie* from a number of pettie tyrants, which grievously oppressed the same: they appointed *Timoleon*, with this new caveat and declaration: That according as hee should well or ill demean himselfe in his charge, their sentence should incline, either to grace him as the redeemer of his country, or disgrace him, as the murderer of his brother. This fantasticall conclusion, hath some excuse upon the danger of the example, and importance of an act so different, and they did well, to discharge their judgement of it, or to imbarke him some where else, and on their considerations. Now the proceedings of *Timoleon* in his renowned journe did soone yelde his cause the cleerer, so worthily and vertuously did hee every way beare himselfe therein. And the good hap, which ever accompanied him in the encombrances and difficulries hee was to subdue in the achievement of his noble enterprise, seemed to bee sent him by the Gods, conspiring to second, & consenting to favour his justification: This mans end is excusable, if ever any could bee. But the encrease and profit of the publike revenues, which served the Roman Senate for a pretext of the ensuing foule conclusion I purpose to relate, is not of sufficient force to warrant such injustice. Certaine cities had by the order and permission of the Senate, with mony purchased their libertie, at the hands of *L. Sylla*. The matter comming in question againe, the Senate condemned them, to be fineable and taxed as before: and the mony they had employed for their ransome, should bee deemed as lost and forfeited. Ciuill warres do often produce such enormous examples: That we punish private men, for somuch as they have beleved us, when wee were other then now wee are. And one same magistrate doth lay the penalty of his change on such as cannot do withal. The Schoolemaster whippeth his scholler for his docility, & the guide striketh the blinde man he leadeeth. A horrible image of justice. Some rules in Philosophy are both false and faint. The example proposed unto us of respecting priuate utility before faith given, hath not sufficient power by the circumstance they adde unto it. Theeves have taken you, and on your oath to pay them a certaine sum of money, have set you at liberty againe: They erre, that say, an honest man is quit of his worde and faith without paying, beeing out of their hands; There is no such matter, *What feare and danger hath once forced mee to will and consent unto, I am bound to will and performe being out of danger and feare.* And although it have but forced my tongue, and not my will, yet am I bound to make my worde good, and keepe my promise. For my part, when it hath sometimes unadvisedly over-runne my thought, yet have I made a conscience to disauowe the same. Otherwise wee should by degrees come to abolish all the right a third man: aketh and may challenge of our promises. *Quasi verò forti viro vis possit adhiberi. As though any force could be used upon a valiant man,* Tis onely lawfull for our priuate interest to excuse the breache of promise, if wee have rashlie promised things in themselves wicked and unjust. For, *the right of vertue ought to over-rule the right of our bond.* I have heretofore placed *Epaminondas* in the first ranke of excellent men, and now recant it not. Vnto what high pitch raised hee the consideration of his particular duty? who never slew man hee had vanquished; who for that unvaluable good of restoring his country hir liberty, made it a matter of conscience, to murder a Tyrant or his complices, without a due and formall course of lawe: and who judged him a bad man, how good a citizen soever, that amongst his enemies and in the tury of a battle, spared not his friend, or his hoste. Loe here a minde of a rich composition. Hee matched unto the most violent and rude actions of men, goodnesse and courtesie, yea and the most choise and delicate, that may be found in the schoole of Philosophie. This so high-raised courage, so swelling and so obstinate against sorow, death and povertie, was it nature or arte, made it relent, even to the utmost straine of exceeding tendernesse and debonarety of complexion? Being cloathed in the dreadfull luery of Steele and blood, hee goeth on crushing and bruising a nation, inuinci-



ble to all others, but to himselfe: yet mildly relenteth in the midst of a combat or confusion, when he meets with his host or with his friend. Verily, this man was deservedly fit to command in warre, which in the extremest furie of his innated rage, made him to feele the sting of courtesie, and remorse of gentlenesse: then when all inflamed, it foamed with furie, and burned with murder. Tis a miracle, to be able to joyne any shew of justice with such actions. But it only belongeth to the unmatched courage of *Epaminondas*, in that confused plight, to joyne mildnesse and facility of the most gentle behaviour that ever was, unto the yea and pure innocency it selfe. And whereas one told the *Mamertins*, that statutes were of no force against armed men: another to the Tribune of the people, 'that the time of justice and warre, were two: a third, that the confused noise of warre and clangor of armes, hindred him from vnderstanding the sober voice of the lawes: This man was not so much as empeached from conceiving the milde sound of civilitie and kindnesse. Borrowed hee of his enemies the custome of sacrificing to the muses (when he went to the warres) to qualifie by their sweetnesse and mildnesse, that martiall turie, and hostile surlinesse? Let vs not feare, after so great a master, to hold that some things are unlawfull, even against our fellest enemies: that publike interest, ought not to challenge all of all, against private interest: *Manente memoria etiam in dissidio publicorum fœderum privati juris*: Some memorie of private right continuing even in disagreement of publike contracts.

*Ouid. Pont.  
12. el. 8. 37.*

— *Et nulla potentia vires  
Præstandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet:*  
No power hath so great might,  
To make friends still goe right.

*Cic. off. L. 3.*

And that all things be not lawfull to an honest man for the service of his King, the generall cause and defence of the lawes. *Non enim patria præstat omnibus officijs, & ipsi conducit pios habere cives in parentes.* For our countrey is not above all other duties: it is good for the countrey to have her inhabitants use pietie toward their parents. Tis an instruction befitting the times: wee need not harden our courages with these plates of iron and Steele; it sufficeth our shoulders be armed with them: it is enough to dippe our pens in inke, too much, to die them in blood. If it be greatnesse of courage, and the effect of a rare and singular vertue, to neglect friendship, despite priuate respects and bonds; ones word and kindred, for the comon good and obedience of the Magistrate: it is verily able to excuise us from it, if we but alledge, that it is a greatnesse unable to lodge in the greatnesse of *Epaminondas* his courage. I abhorre the enraged admonitions of this other unruly spirit.

*Lucan. l. 7.  
320. Cæsar.*

— *dum tela micant, non vos piceatis imago  
Vlla, nec aduersa conspecti fronte parentes  
Commoveant, vultus gladio turbante verendos.*  
While swords are brandisht, let no shew of grace  
Once moove you, nor your parents face to face,  
But with your swords disturbe their reverend grace.

Let us bereave wicked, bloodie and traiterous dispositions, of this pretext of reason: leave we that impious and exorbitant iustice, and adhere unto more humane imitations, *Oh what may time and example bring to passe!* In an encounter of the civill warres against *Cinna*, one of *Pompeys* souldiers, having unwittingly slaine his brother, who was on the other side, through shame and sorrow presently killed himselfe; And some yeeres after, in another civill warre of the said people, a souldier boldly demanded a reward of his Captaines for killing his owne brother. Falsly doe wee argue honour, and the beautie of an action, by it's profit: and conclude as ill, to thinke every one is bound unto it, and that it is honest, if it be commodious.

*On. ep. l. 3. el. 8. 7.*

*Omnia non pariter rerum sunt omnibus apta  
All things alike to all  
Do not well-fitting fall.*

Choose



Choose we out the most necessary and most beneficiall matter of humane society, it will be a mariage; yet is it, that the *Saints* counsell findeth and deemeth the contrary side more honest; excluding from it the most reverend vocation of men: as wee to our races assigne such beasts as are of least esteeme.

## CHAP. 2.

## Of Repenting.

Others fashion man, I repeat him; and represent a particular one, but ill made; and whom were I to forme a new, he should be far other then he is, but he is now made. And though the lines of my picture change and vary, yet loose they not themselves. The world runnes all on wheels. All things therein moove without intermission; yea the earth, the rockes of *Caucasus*, and the Pyramides of *Egypt*, both with the publike and their own motion. *Constancy it selfe is nothing but a languishing and wavering dance.* I cannot settle my object; it goeth so unquietly and staggering, with a naturall drunkenesse. I take it in this plight, as it is at th' instant I amuse my selfe about it. I describe not the essence, but the passage; not a passage from age to age, or as the people reckon, from seaven yeares to seaven, but from day to day, from minute to minute. My history must be fitted to the present. I may soone change, not onely fortune, but intention. It is a counter-roule of divers and variable accidents, and irresolute imaginations, and sometimes contrary: whether it be that my selfe am other, or that I apprehend subjects, by other circumstances and considerations. Howsoever, I may perhaps gaine-say my selfe, but truth (as *Demades* said) I never gaine-says: Were my mind settled, I would not essay, but resolve my selfe. It is still a Prentise and a probationer. I propose a meane life, and without luster: 'Tis all one. They fasten all morall Philosophy as well to a popular and private life, as to one of richer stuffe. *Every man beareth the whole stampe of humane condition.* Authors communicate themselves unto the world by some speciall and strange marke; I the first, by my generall disposition; as *Michael de Montaigne*; not as a Grammarian, or a Poet, or a Lawyer. If the world complaine, I speake too much of my selfe, I complaine, it thinkes no more of it selfe. But is it reason, that being so private in use, I should pretend to make my selfe publike in knowledge? Or is it reason, I should produce into the world, where fashion & arte have such sway & command, the raw and simple effects of nature; and of a nature as yet exceeding weake? *To write bookes without learning is it not to make a wall without stone or such like thing?* Conceits of musicke are directed by arte; mine by hap. Yet have I this according to learning, that never man handled subject, he understood or knew, better then I doe this I have undertaken; being therein the cunningest man alive.

Secondly, that never man waded further into his matter, nor more distinctly sifted the parts and dependances of it, nor arrived more exactly and fully to the end he proposed unto himselfe. To finish the same, I have neede of naught but faithfulness: which is therein as sincere and pure as may be found. I speake truth, not my belly-full, but as much as I dare; and I dare the more, the more I grow into yeares: for it seemeth, custome alloweth old age more liberty to babble, and indiscretion to talke of it selfe. It cannot herein be, as in trades: where the Crafts-man and his worke doe often differ. Being a man of so sound and honest conversation, writ he so foolishly? Are such learned writings come from a man of so weake a conversation? who hath but an ordinary conceit, and writeth excellently, one may say his capacitie is borrowed, not of himselfe. A skilfull man, is not skilfull in all things: But a sufficient man, is sufficient every where, even unto ignorance. Here my booke and my selfe march together, and keepe one pace. Else where one may commend or condemne the worke, without the worke-man; heere not: who toucheth one toucheth the other. He who shall judge oft without knowing him, shal wrong himself more then me, he that knows it, hath



hath wholly satisfied mee. Happie beyond my merite, If I get this onely portion of publike approbation, as I may cause men of understanding to thinke, I had beene able to make use and benefit of learning, had I beene endowed with any : and deserved better helpe of memorie, excuse wee here what I often say, that I seldome repent my selfe, and that my conscience is contented with it selfe; not of an Angels or a hortles conscience, but as of a mans conscience. Adding ever this clause, not of ceremonie, but of true and essentiall submission; that *I speake inquiring and doubting, meereley and simply referring my selfe, from resolution, unto common and lawfull opinions.* I teach not ; I report: No vice is absolutely vice, which offendeth not, and a sound judgement accuseth not : For, the deformitie and incommoditie thereof is so palpable, as peradventure they have reason, who say, it is chiefly produced by sottishnesse and brought forth by ignorance ; so hard is it, to imagine one should know it without hating it. *Malice sucks up the greatest part of her owne venome, and therewith imposoneth herselfe. Vice, leaueth, as an vlcere in the flesh, a repentance in the soule, which still scratcheth & bloodiedh it selfe.* For reason effaceth other griefes and sorrowes, but engendereth those of repentance : the more yrkelome, because inward: As the colde and heate of agnes is more offensive then that which comes outward. I account vice (but each according to their measure) not onely those which reason disallowes, and nature cōdemnes, but such as mans opinion hath forged as false and erronious, if lawes and custome authorize the same. In like manner there is no goodnesse but gladdeth an honest disposition. There is truly I wor not what kinde or congratulation, of well doing, which rejoyceth in our selves, and a generous jollitie, that accompanieth a good conscience. A minde couragiously vicious, may happily furnish it selfe with security, but shee cannot be fraught, with this selfe. joyning delight and satisfaction. It is no smal pleasure, for one to feele himselfe preserved from the contagion of an age so infected as ours, and to say to himselfe; could a man enter & see even into my soule, yet should he not finde me guilty, either of the affliction or ruine of any body, nor culpable of envie or revenge, nor of publike offence against the lawes, nor tainted with innovation, trouble or sedition; nor spotted with falsifying of my word : and although the libertie of times allowed & taught it every man, yet could I never be induced to touch the goods or dive into the purse of any *French* man, and have alwayes lived upon mine own, as wel in time of war, as peace: nor did I ever make use of any poore mans labor, without reward. These testimonies of an unspotted conscience are very pleasing, which naturall joy is a great benefit unto us: & the onely payment never faileth us. To ground the recompence of vertuous actions upon the approbation of others, is to undertake a most uncertaine or troubled foundation, namely in an age so corrupt and times so ignorant, as this is : *the vulgar peoples good opinion is injurious.* Whom trust you in seeing what is commendable: God keepe me from being an honest man, according to the description I dayly see made of honour, each one by himselfe. *Qua fuerant vitia, mores sunt. What earst were vices are now growne fashions.* Some of my friends, have sometimes attempted to schoole me roundly, and sift me plainly, either of their owne motion, or envited by me, as to an office, which to a well composed minde, both in profit and lovingnesse, exceedeth all the duties of sincere amity. Such have I ever entertained with open armes of curtesie, & kinde acknowledgement. But now to speake from my conscience I often found so much false measure in their reproaches and praises, that I had not greatly erred If I had rather erred, then done well after their fashion. Such as we especially, who live a private life not exposed to any gaze but our owne, ought in our hearts establish a touchstone, and there to touch our deedes and try our actions; and accordingly, now cherish and now chastise our selves. I have my owne lawes and tribunall, to judge of mee, whither I adresse my selfe more then any where els. I restraine my actions according to other but extend them according to my selfe. None but your self knows rightly whether you be demisse and cruel, or loyal & devout. Others see you not, but ghesse you by uncertaine conjectures. They see not so much your nature as your arte. Adhere not then to their opinion, but hold unto your owne. *Tuo tibi iudicio est utendum. Virtutis & viciorum grave ipsius conscientie pondus est. qua sublata jacent omnia; You must use your owne judgement. The weight of the very conscience of vice and vertues is heavy: take that away, and all is downe.* But whereas it is said, that repentance neereley followeth sin, seemeth not to imply sinne placed in his rich aray, which lodgeth in us as in his proper mansion. One may disavow and disclaime vices, that impute us, and whereto our passions transport us: but those, which by long habite are rooted in a strong



strong, and ankred in a powerfull will, are not subject to contradiction. *Repentance is but a denying of our will, and an opposition of our fantasies* which diverts us here and there. It makes some disavow his former vertue and continencie.

*Quærens est bodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,  
Vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genæ?  
Why was not in a youth same minde as now?  
Or why beares not this mind a youthfull brow?*

*Hor. car. l. 4.  
qd. 19. 7.*

*That is an exquisite life, which even in his owne private keepeth it selfe in awe and order. Every one may play the jugler, and represent an honest man vpon the stage; but within, and in bosome, where all things are lawfull, where all is concealed; to keepe a due rule or formal decorum, that's the point. The next degree, is to be so in ones owne home, and in his ordinary actions, whereof we are to give account to no body: wherein is no study, nor art; And therefore Bias describing the perfect state of a family, whereof (saith he) the maister, be such inwardly by himselfe, as he is outwardly, for feare of the lawes, and respect of mens speaches. And it was a worthy saying of *Iulius Drusus*, to those worke-men, which for three thousand crownes, offered so to reforme his house, that his neighbours should no more over looke into it: I will give you sixe thousand (saith he) and contrive it so, that on all sides every man may looke into it. The custome of *Agésilas* is remembred with honour, who in his travaile was wont to take up his lodging in churches, that the people, and Gods themselves might pry into his private actions. Some have beene admirable to the world, in whom nor his wife, nor his servants ever noted any thing remarkable. Few men have beene admired of their familiars. No man hath beene a Prophet, not onely in his house, but in his owne country, saith the experience of histories, Even so in things of nought. And in this base example, is the image of greatnesse discerned. In my climate of *Gascoigne* they deeme it a jest to see mee in print. The further the knowledge which is taken of mee is from my home, of so much more woorth am I. In *Guienne* I pay Printers; in other places they pay mee. Vpon this accident they ground, who liuing and present keepe close-lurking, to purchase credit when they shall be dead and abient. I had rather have lesse. And I cast not my selfe into the world, but for the portion I draw from it. That done, I quit it. The people attend on such a man with wonderment, from a publike act, unto his owne doores: together with his robes hee leaves of his part; falling so much the lower, by how much higher hee was mounted. View him within, there all is turbulent, disordered and vile. And were order and formality found in him, a liuely, impartiall and well sorted iudgement is required, to perceive and fully to discern him in these base and priuate actions. Considering that order is but a dumpish and drowsie vertue: To gaine a Battaille, perfourme an Ambassage, and governe a people, are noble and woorthy actions; to chide, laugh, tell, pay, love, hate, and mildly and justly to converse both with his owne and with himselfe; not to relent, and not gaine-say himselfe, are things more rare, more difficult and lesse remarkable.*

Retired liues sustaine that way, what euer some say, offices as much more crabbed, and extended, then other liues doe. And priuate men (saith *Aristotle*) serve vertue more hardly, and more highly attend her, then those which are magistrates or placed in authority. Wee prepare our selves unto eminent occasions, more for glory then for conscience. *The nearest way to come unto glory, were to doe that for conscience, which wee doe for glory.* And me seemeth the vertue of *Alexander* representeth much lesse vigor in her large Theater, then that of *Socrates*, in his base and obscure exercitation. I easily conceiue *Socrates*, in the roome of *Alexander*; *Alexander* in that of *Socrates* I cannot. If any aske the one, what hee can do, he will answer, *Conquer the world*; let the same question bee demanded of the other, he will say, *leade my life conformably to it's naturall condition*; A science much more generous, more important, and more lawfull.

*The woorth of the minde consisteth not in going high, but in marching orderly. Her greatnesse is not exercised in greatnesse; in mediocritye it is. As those, which judge and touch vs inwardely, make no great account of the brightnesse of our publike actions: and see they are but streakes and poyntes of cleare Water, surging*



furging from a bottome, otherwise slimie and full of mud : So those who judge us by this gay outward apparance, conclude the same of our inward constitution, and cannot couple popular faculties as theirs are, unto these other faculties, which amaze them so farre from their leuell. So do we attribute savage shapes and ougly formes unto diuels. As who doeth not ascribe high-raised eye-browes, open nostrils, a sterne frightfull visage, and a huge-body unto *Tumberlaine*, as is the forme or shape of the imagination we have fore-conceived by the bruite of his name? Had any heretofore shewed me *Erasmus*, I could hardly had bin induced to think, but whatsoever he had said to his boy or hostes, had been Adages and Apothegmes. We imagine much more fitly an Artificer upon his close stoole or on his wife, then a great judge, reverend for his carriage and regardfull for his sufficiencie; we think, that if those high thrones they should not abate themselves so low, as to live. As vicious mindes are often incited to do well by some strange impulsion, so are vertuous spirits mooved to do ill. They must then be judged by their settled estate, when they are neare themselves, and as we say, at home, if at any time they be so; or when they are nearest unto rest, and in their naturall teate. Naturall inclinations are by institution helped and strengthened, but they neither change nor exceed. A thousand natures in my time, have a thwart, a contrary discipline escaped toward vertue or toward vice.

*Sic ubi desueta sitis in carcere clausa,  
Mansuere fere, & vulnus posuere minaces,  
Atque hominem didicere pati, si torrida paruo  
Venit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesque furorque,  
Admonitaque tumens gustato sanguine fances,  
Fervet, & à trepido vix abstinet ira magistro.  
So when wilde beasts, disused from the wood,  
Fierce looks laid downe, grow tame, close in a cage,  
Taught to beare man, if then a little blood  
Touch their hot lips, furie returns and rage;  
Their jawes by taste admonish swell with vaines,  
Rage boyles, and from faint keeper scarce abstains.*

These originall qualities are not grubd out, they are but covered, and hidden : The Latine tongue is to me in a mannner naturall; I understand it better then French; but it is now fortie yeares, I have not made use of it to speake, nor much to write : yet in some extreame emotions and suddaine passions, wherein I have twice or thrice falne, since my years of discretion; and namely once, when my father being in perfect health, fell all along upon me in a swoone, I have ever, even from my very hart uttered my first words in latine : Nature rushing and by force expressing it selfe, against so long a custome ; the like example is alleadged of divers others. Those which in my time, have attempted to correct the fashions of the world by new opinions, reforme the vices of apparance ; those of essence they leave untouched if they encrease them not : And their encrease is much to be feared. We willingly protract al other well-doing upon these externall reformatiōs, of lesse cost, and of greater merit ; whereby we satisfie good cheape, other naturall consubstantiall and intestine vices. Looke a little into the course of our experience. There is no man (if he listen to himselfe) that doth not discover in himselfe a peculiar forme of his, a swaying forme, which wrestleth against the institution, and against the tempests of passions, which are contrary unto him. As for me, I feele not my selfe much agitated by a shooke; I commonly finde my selfe in mine owne place, as are sluggish and lumpish bodies. If I am not close and neare unto my selfe, I am never farre-off: My debauches or excesses transport me not much. There is nothing extreame and strange: yet have I sound fits and vigorous lusts. The true condemnation, and which toucheth the common fashion of our men, is, that their very recreate is full of corruption and filth: The Idea of their amendment blurred and deformed ; their repentance crazed and faultie very neere as much as their sinne. Some, either becaute they are so fast and naturally joyned unto vice, or through long custome, have lost all sense of its ugliness. To others (of whose ranke I am) vice is burthenous, but they counter-balance it with pleasure, or other occasions: and suffer it, and at a certaine rate lend themselves unto it, though basely and viciously. Yet might happily so remote a disproportion of measure bee imagined, where with justice, the pleasure might excule the offence, as we say of profit.

Not



Not onely being accidentall, & out of sinne, as in theſis, but even in the very exerciſe of it, as in the acquaintance or copulation with women; where the provocation is ſo violent, and as they ſay, ſometime unrefiſtable, In a towne of a kinsman of mine; the other day, being in *Armignac*, I ſaw a country man, commonly ſurnamed the Theefe: who himſelfe reported his life to have beene thus. Being borne a begger, and perceiving, that to get his bread by the ſweate of his browe and labour of his hands, would never ſufficiently arme him againſt penury, he reſolved to become a Theefe, and that trade had employed all his youth ſaſely, by meanes of his bodily ſtrength: for he ever made up Harveſt and Vintage in other mens grounds; but ſo ſaſe off, and in ſo great heapes, that it was beyond imagination, one man ſhould in one night carry away ſo much upon his ſhoulders: and was ſo carefull to equall the pray, and diſperce the miſchiefe he did, that the ſpoile was of leſſe import to every particular man.

Hee is now in old yeares indifferently rich; for a man of his condition (Godamer- cy his trade) which he is not aſhamed to confeſſe openly, And to reconcile himſelfe with God, he affirmeth, to be dayly ready, with his gettings, and other good turnes, to ſatiſfie the poſterity of thoſe hee hath heretofore wronged or robbed; which if himſelfe bee not of ability to performe (for hee cannot do all at once) hee will charge his heires withall, according to the knowledge he hath, of the wrongs by him done to every man. By this deſcription, bee it true or falſe, he reſpecteth theft, as a diſhoneſt & unlawfull action, and hateth the ſame: yet leſſe then pinching want: He repents but ſimply; for in regard it was ſo counterballanced and recompenced, he repenteth not. That is not that habit which incorporates us unto vice, and confirmeth our underſtanding in it; nor is it that boyſterous winde, which by violent blaſtes dazeleth and troubleth our mindes, and at that time confoundes, and overwhelmes both us, our judgement, and all into the power of vice. What I doe, is ordinarily full and compleate, and I march (as wee ſay) all in one pace: I have not many motions, that hide themſelves and ſinke away from my reaſon, or which very neare are not guided by the conſent of all my partes, without diviſion, or intestine ſedition: my judgement hath the whole blame, or commendation; and the blame it hath once, it hath ever ſor, almoſt from it's birth, it hath beene one, of the ſame inclination, courſe and force. And in matters of generall opinions, even from my infancy, I ranged my ſelfe to the point I was to hold. Some ſinnes there are outrageous, violent and ſuddaine; leave we them.

But thoſe other ſinnes, ſo often reaſſumed, determined and adviſed upon, whether they be of complexion, or of profeſſion and calling, I cannot conceive how they ſhould ſo long be ſettled in one ſame courage, unleſſe the reaſon and conſcience of the ſinner were thereunto inwardly privie and conſtantly willing. And how to imagine or faſhion the repentance therof, which he vantereth, doth ſome times viſit him, ſeemeth ſomewhat hard unto me. I am not of *Pythagoras* Sect, that men take a new ſoule, when to receive Oracles, they approach the images of Gods, unleſſe he would ſay with all, that it muſt be a ſtrange one, new, and lent him for the time: our owne, giving ſo little ſigne of purification, and clea- neſſe worthe of that office. They doe altogether againſt the *Stoycall* precepts, which appoint us to correct the imperfections and vices we finde in our ſelves, but withall to bid us to diſturbe the quiet of our minde. They make us beleewe, they feele great remorse, and are inwardly much diſpleaſed with ſinne; but of amendment, correction or intermiſſion, they ſhew us none. Surely there can be no perfect health; Where the diſeaſe is not perfectly remooved. Were repentance put in the ſcale of the balance, it would weigh downe ſinne. I finde no humour ſo eaſie to be counterfeited as Devotion: If one conforme not his life and conditions to it, her eſſence is abſtruſe and concealed, her apparance gentle and ſtately.

For my part, I may in generall wiſh to be other then I am; I may condemne and miſlike my univerſall forme; I may beſeech God to grant me an vndeſiled reformation, and excuſe my naturall weakenefſe; but mee ſeemeth I ought not to tearme this repentance no more then the diſpleaſure of being neither Angell nor *Cato*. My actions are ſquared to what I am and confirmed to my condition. I cannot doe better: And repentance doth not properly concerne what is not in our power; ſorrow doth. I may imagine infinite diſpoſitions of a higher pitch, and better governed then myne, yet doe I nothing better my faculties;



no more then mine arme becommeth stronger, or my wit more excellent, by conceiving some others to be so. If to suppose & wish a more nobler working then ours, might produce the repentance of our owne, wee should then repent us of our most innocent actions: for so much as we judge that in a more excellent nature, they had beene directed with greater perfection and dignity; and our selves would doe the like. When I consult with my age of my yowthes proceedings, I finde that commonly, (according to my opinion) I managed them in order. This is all my resistance is able to performe, I flatter not my selfe: in like circumstances, I should ever be the same. It is not a spot, but a whole dye that staynes mee. I acknowledge no repentance, this is superficiall, meane and ceremonious. It must touch me on all sides, before I can terme it repentance. It must pinch my entrailes, and afflict them as deeply and thoroughly, as God himselfe beholds mee. When in negotiating, many good fortunes have slippt me for want of good discretion, yet did my projects make good choyce, according to the occurrences presented unto them. Their manner is ever to take the easier and surer side. I finde that in my former deliberations, I proceeded, after my rules, discretely for the subjects state propounded to mee; and in like occasions, would proceede alike a hundred yeares hence. I respect not what now it is, but what it was, when I consulted of it. *The consequence of all designs consists in the seasons; occasions passe, and matters change incessantly.* I have in my time runne into some grolle, absurd and important errors, not for want of good advise, but of good happe. There are secret and indivinable parts in the objects men doe handle; especially in the nature of men and mute conditions, without shew, and sometimes unknowne of the very possitors, produced and stirred up by suddaine occasions. If my wit could neyther finde nor presage them, I am not offended with it; the function thereof is contained within it's owne limits. If the successe beare me, and favour the side I refused; there is no remedy; I fall not out with my selfe: I accuse my fortune, not my endeavour: that's not called repentance. *Phocion* had given the Athenians some counsell, which was not followed: the matter, against his opinion, succeeding happily: How now *Phocion*, (quoth one) art thou pleased the matter hath thrived so well? (yea said hee) and I am glad of it, yet repent not the advise I gave.

When any of my friends come to me for counsell, I bestow it francklie and clearelie, not as (well-nigh all the world doth,) wavering at the hazard of the matter, whereby the contrary of my meaning may happen: that so they may justly finde fault with my advise: for which I care not greatly. For they shall doe me wrong, and it became not mee to refuse them that dutie. I have no body to blame for my faults or misfortunes, but my self. For in effect I seldome use the advise of other unlesse it be for complement sake, and where I have need of instruction or knowledge of the fact. Many in things wherein nought but judgement is to be employed; strange reasons may serve to sustaine, but not to divert me. I lend a favourable and courteous eare unto them all. But (to my remembrance) I never beleevd any but mine owne. With me they are but Flies and Moathes, which distract my will. I little regard mine owne opinions, other mens I esteeme as little: Fortune payes mee accordingly. If I take no counsell I give as little. I am not much sought after for it, and lesse credited when I give it: Neither know I any enterprise, either private or publike, that my advise hath directed and brought to conclusion. Even those whom fortune had some-way tyde thereunto, have more willingly admitted the direction of others conceits, then mine. As one that am as jealous of the rights of my quiet, as of those of my authority; I would rather have it thus.

Where leaving me, they jumpe with my profession, which is, wholly to settle and containe me in my selfe. It is a pleasure unto mee, to bee disinterested of other mens affayres, and disingaged from their contentions. When sutes or busineses bee over-past. how-so-ever it bee, I greeve little at them. For, the imagination that they must necessarily happen so, puts mee out of paine; Behould them in the course of the Universte, and enchained in Stoycall causes, Your fantazie cannot by with or imagination, remooove one point of them, but the whole order of things must revert to both what is past, and what it to come. Moreover, I hate that accidentall repentance which olde age brings with it.

Hee that in ancient times said, he was beholden to yeares, because they had ridde him



of voluptuousnesse, was not of mine opinion. I shall never give impuissance thanks, for any good it can do me. *Nec tam aversa unquam videbitur ab opere suo providentia, ut debitas inter optima inuncta sit.* Nor shall fore sights ever bee seene so averse from his owne worke, that weaknesse bee found to bee one of the best things. Our appetites are rare in olde-age. the blowe overpassed, a deepe satiety seizeth upon us: Therein I see no conscience. Fretting care and weaknesse, imprint in us an effeminate and drowzie verrue.

Wee must not suffer our selves so fully to bee carried into naturall alterations, as to corrupt or adulterate our judgement by them. Youth and pleasure have not heretofore prevailed so much over me, but I could ever (even in the midst of sensualities) discern the ugly face of sinne: nor can the distaste which yeares bring on me, at this instant, keepe mee from discerning that of voluptuousnesse in vice. Now I am no longer in it, I judge of it as if I were still there. I who lively and attentively examine my reason, finde it to be the same that possessed me in my most dissolute and licentious age; whilst perhaps, they being enfeebled and empayred by yeares, doe make some difference: And finde, that what delight it refuseth to affoerde mee in regarde of my bodilie health, it would no more denie mee, then in times past, for the health of my soule. To see it out of combate, I holde it not the more courageous. My temptations are so mortified and crazed, as they are not worthy of it's oppositions; holding but my hand before me, I be-calmethem. Should one present that former concupiscence unto it, I feare it would be of lesse power. to sustaine it than heretofore it hath beene. I see in it, by it selfe no increase of judgement, nor access of brightnesse, what it now judgeth, it did then. Wherefore if there be any amendment, 'tis but diseased. *Oh miserable kinds of remedie, to bee beholden unto sickness for our health.* It is not for our mishap, but for the good successe of our judgement to performe this office. Crosses and afflictions, make me doe nothing but curse them. They are for people, that cannot bee awaked but by the whip. the course of my reason is the nimbler in prosperity; It is much more distracted and busied in the digesting of mischiefs, than of delights. I see much clearer in faire weather. Health forewarneth me, as with more pleasure, so to better purpose than sickness. I approached the nearest I could unto amendment and regularity, when I should have enjoyed the same; I should be ashamed and vexed, that the misery and mishap of my old age could exceede the health, attention and vigor of my youth; and that I should be esteemed, not for what I have beene, but for what I am leaft to be. The happy life (in my opinion) not (as said *Anisthenes*) the happy death, is it that makes mans happinesse in this world.

I have not preposterously busied my selfe to tie the taile of a Philosopher, unto the head and bodie of a varlet: nor that this paultrie end, should disavow and belie the fairest, soundest, and longest part of my life. I will present my selfe, and make a generall muster of my whole, every where vniformally. Were I to live againe, it should be as I have already lived. I neither deplore what is past, nor dread what is to come: and if I be not deceived, the inward parts have neerely resembled the outward. It is one of the chiefeest points wherein I am beholden to fortune, that in the course of my bodies estate, each thing hath beene carried in season. I have seene the leaues, the blossomes, and the fruit; and now see the the drooping and withering of it. Happily, because naturally. I beare my present miseries the more gently, because they are in season, and with greater favour make me remember the long happinesse of my former life. In like manner, my discretion may well bee of like proportion in the one and the other time: but sure it was of much more performance, and had a better grace, being fresh, jolly and full of spirit, then now that it is worne, decrepite and toylefome.

I therefore renounce these casuall and dolourous reformations. God must touch our heartes; our conscience must amende of it selfe, and not by re-inforcement of our reason, nor by the enfeebeling of our appetites. Voluptuousnesse in it selfe is neither pale nor discoloured, to bee discerned by bleare and troubled eyes. Wee should affect temperance and chastity for it selfe, and for Gods cause, who hath ordained them unto us: that which Catars bestow upon us, and which I am beholden to my scollicke is, for nei-



ther temperance nor chasticie. A man cannot boast of contemning or combating sensuality, if hee see her not, or know not her grace, her force and most attractive beauties. I know them both, and therefore may speake it. But mee thinks our soules in age are subject unto more importunate diseases and imperfections, then they are in youth. I said so being young, when my beardlesse chinne was upbraided me; and I say it againe, now that my gray beard gives me authority. We entitle wisdom, the frowardnesse of our humours, and the distaste of present things; but in truth wee abandon not vices, so much as we change them; and in mine opinion for the worse. Besides a sillie and ruinous pride, combersome rattle, wayward and unsotiable humours, superstition & a ridiculous carking for wealth, when the use of it is well-nigh lost, I finde the more envie, injustice and leaudnesse in it. It sets more wrinckles in our mindes, then on our foreheads: nor are there any spirits, or very rare ones, which in growing old taste not sowrely and mustily. Man marcheth entirely towards his increase and decrease. View but the wisdom of *Socrates*, and divers circumstances of his condemnation, I dare say he something lent himselfe unto it by prevarication of purpose: being so neere, and at the age of seventy, to endure the benumbing of his spirits richest pace, and the dimming of his accustomed brightnesse. What *Metamorphoses* have I scene it daily make in divers of mine acquaintances? It is a powerfull maladie, which naturally and imperceptible gliderh into us: There is required great provision of study, heed and precaution, to avoid the imperfections wherewith it chargeth us; or at least to weaken their further progresse. I finde that notwithstanding all my entrenchings, by little and little it getteth ground upon me: I hold out as long as I can, but know not whither at length it will bring me. Happe what happe will, I am pleased the world know from what height I tumbled.

## CHAP. III.

*Of three commerces or societies.*

**W**E must not cleave so fast unto our humours and dispositions. Our chiefeft sufficiency is, to apply our selves to divers fashions. It is a being, but not a life, to be tied and bound by necessity to one onely course. The goodliest mindes are those that have most variety and pliability in them. Behold an honourable testimony of old *Cato*: *Huic versatile ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceret, quodcunque ageret.* He had a wit so turneable for all things alike, as one would say hee had bene onely borne for that hee went about to do. Were I to dresse my selfe after mine owne manner, there is no fashion so good. whereto I would be so affected or tied, as not to know how to leave and loose it. Life is a motion unequall, irregular and multiforme. It is not to be the friend (lesse the master) but the slave of ones selfe to follow unceasingly, and bee so addicted to his inclinations, as hee cannot stray from them, nor wrest them. This I say now, as being extremely pestered with the importunity of my minde, forsomuch as shee cannot amuse her selfe, but whereon it is busied; nor employ it selfe, but bent and whole. How light soever the subject is one gives it, it willingly amplifieth, and wire-drawes the same, even unto the highest pitch of toile. It's idlenesse is therefore a painefull trade unto mee, and offensive to my health. Most wits have neede of extravagant stuffe, to un-benume and exercise themselves: mine hath neede of it, rather to settle and continue it selfe: *Vitia otij negotio discutienda sunt*, The vices of idlenesse should bee shaken off with businesse: For, the most laborious care and principall studie of it, is, to studie it selfe. Bookes are one of those businesse that seduce it from studie. At the first thoughtes that present themselves, it rouzeth up and makes proofe of all the vigour it hath. It exerciseth it's function sometimes toward force, sometimes towards order and comeliness, it rangeth, moderates and fortifieth

*Liu. bel.  
Mac. l. 9.*

*S. n. ep. 56.*



ti fieth. It hath of it selfe to awaken the faculties of it: Nature having given it, as unto all other, matter of it's owne for advantage, subjects fit enough whereon to devise and determine. Meditation is a large and powerfull study to such as vigorously can taste and employ themselves therein. I had rather forge then furnish my minde.

There is no office or occupation either weaker or stronger, then that of entertaining of ones thoughts according to the mind, whatsoever it be. The greatest make it their vacation, *Quibus vivere est cogitare, to whom it is all one to live and to meditate.* Nature hath also favoured it with this priviledge, that there is nothing we can do so long; nor action, whereto we give our selves more ordinarily and easily. It is the worke of Gods (saith *Aristotle*) whence both their happinesse and ours proceedeth. Reading serves mee especially, to awake my conceit by divers objects: to busie my judgement, not my memory. Few entertainments then, stay mee without vigour and force. 'Tis true that courtesie and beautie possesse mee, as much or more, then waight and depth. And because I slumber in all other communications, and lend but the superficial parts of my attention unto them, it often befalleth mee, in such kinde of weake and absurd discourses, (discourses of countenance) to blurte out and answer ridiculous toies, and fond absurdities, unworthy achilde; or wilfully to hold my peace; therewithall more foolishly and incivilly. I have a kind of raving fancie-full behaviour, that retireth mee into my selfe; and on the other side, a grosse and childish ignorance of many ordinary things; by meanes of which two qualities, I have in my daies committed five or six as sottish trickes, as any one whosoever; which to my derogation may bee reported. But to follow my purpose, this harsh complexion of mine makes me nice in conversing with men (whom I must picke and cull out for the nonce and) unfit for common actions. Wee live and negotiate with the people: If their behaviour importune us, if wee disdaine to lend our selves to base and vulgar spirits, which often are as regular as those of a finer mould; and *all wisdom is unsavourie, that is not conformed to common insipience.* Wee are no longer to intermeddle either with our, or other mens affaires: and both publicke and private forsake such kinde of people.

The least wrested, and most naturall proceedings of our minde, are the fairest; the best occupations, those which are least forced. Good God, how good an office doth wisdom unto those, whose desires she squareth according to their power! There is no science more profitable. *As one may,* was the burden and favoured saying of *Socrates*: A sentence of great substance. Wee must addresse and stay our desires, to things most easie and needrest. Is it not a fond-peevisch humour in mee, to disagree from a thousand; to whom my fortune joineth mee, without whom I cannot live, to adhere unto one or two, that are out of my commerce and conversion; or rather to a fantasticall conceit, or fancie-full desire, for a thing I cannot obtaine? My soft behaviours and milde manners, enemies to all sharpenesse and foes to all bitterness, may easily have discharged mee from envie and contention. To bee beloved, I say not, but not to be hated, never did man give more occasion. But the coldnesse of my conversation, hath with reason robd mee of the good will of many; which may bee excused, if they interpret the same to other, or worse sense. I am most capable of getting rare amities, and continuing exquisite acquaintances. For so as with so greedie hunger I snatch at such acquaintances as answer my taste and square with my humour. I so greedily produce and headlong cast my selfe upon them, that I do not easily mittle to cleave unto them, and where I light on, to make a steady impression; I have often made happie and successfull triall of it.

In vulgar worldly friendships, I am somewhat cold and barren: for my proceeding is not naturall, if not unresisted and with hoised-full sailes. Moreover, my fortune having enured and allured mee, even from my infancie, to one sole singular and perfect amitie, hath verily, in some sort, distasted mee from others: and over deeply imprinted in my fantasie, that it is a beast sociable and for companie, and not of troupe, as said an ancient writer. So that it is naturally a paine unto mee, to communicate my selfe by halves, and with modification: and that servile or suspicious wisdom, which in the conversation of these numerous and imperfect amities, is ordained and pro-



posed unto us: Prescribed in these dayes especially, *Wherein one cannot speake of the world but dangerously or falsely.* Yet I see, that who (as I do) makes for his ende, the commodities of his life (I meane essentiall commodities) must auoide as a plague, these difficulties and quaintnesse of humour.

I should commend a high rayfed minde, that could both bende and discharge it selfe: that where-ever his fortune might transport him, shew might continue constant: that could discourse with his neighbours of all matters, as of his building, of his hunting and of any quarrell; and entertaine with delight a Carpenter or a Gardiner. I enuie those which can be familiar with the meanest of their followers, and vouchsafe to contract friendship, and frame discourse with their owne seruants. Nor do I like the aduise of *Plato*, ever to speake imperiously unto our attendants, without blithnesse and sance any familiarity: be it to men or women seruants. For, besides my reason, it is inhumanity, and injustice, to attribute so much unto that prerogative of fortune, and the government: where lesse inequality is permitted betweene the servant and master, is, in my conceite the more indifferent. Some other study to rouze and raise their minde; but I to abase and prostrate mine: it is not faulty but in extension.

*Hor. car. l. 2.  
3. od. 19.*

*Narras & genus Aeci,  
Et pugnata sacro bella sub Illo.  
Quo Chium pretio cadum  
Marcemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,  
Quo prabente domum, & quota  
Pelignis caream frigoribus, taces.  
You tell of Aecus the pedegree;  
The warres at sacred Troje you do display;  
You tell not at what price a hogs-head we  
May buy of the best Wine; who shall allaye  
Vine-fire with water, at whose house to holde  
t what a-clock, I may be kept from colde,*

Even as the Lacedemonian valour had neede of moderation, and of sweet and pleasing sounds of Flutes, to flatter and allay it in time of warre, least it should runne head-long into rashnesse and fury: whereas all other nations use commonly pearcing sounds and strong shouts, which violently excite, and enflame their souldiers courage: so thinke I (against ordinary custome) that in the imployment of our spirit, wee have for the most part more need of leade then wings; of coldnesse and quiet, then of heate and agitation. Aboue all, in my mind, *The onely way to playe the foole well, is to seeme wise among fooles:* to speake as though ones tongue were ever bent to *Fauelar in punta disforchetta*, To syllabize or speake minsingly. One must lend himselfe unto those hee is with, and sometimes affect ignorances: Set force and subtiltie aside; In common employments 'tis enough to reserue order; dragge your selfe even close to the ground, they will have it so. The learned stumble willingly on this blocke: making continuall muster, and open shew of their skill, and dispersing their bookes abroad: And have in these dayes so filled the closets, and possessed the cares of Ladyes, that if they retaine not their substance, at least they have their countenances: using in all sorts of discourse and subject how bale or popular soever, a newe, an affected and learned fashion of speaking and writing.

*Inuen. Sat. 6.  
189.*

*Hoc sermone pavent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas;  
Hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta, quid olirà?  
Concumbunt docte.  
They in this language feare, in this they fashion  
Their joyes, their cares, their rage, their inward passion;  
VWhat more? they learned are in copulation.*

And alledge *Plato*, and *Saint Thomas* for things, which the first man they meete would decide as well, and stand for as good a witnesse. Such learning as could not enter  
into



Into their minde, hath staid on their tongues. If the well-borne will give any credit unto me, they shall be pleased to make their own and naturall riches to prevaile and be of worth: They hide and shroud their formes under fortaine and borrowed beauties: *It is great simplicity, for any body to smother and conceale his owne brightnesse, to shine with a borrowed light:* They are buried and entombed under the Arte of *CAPSULA TOTÆ*, It is because they do not sufficiently know themselves: the world containes nothing of more beauty: It is for them to honour Artes, and to beautifie embellishment. What neede they more then to live beloved and honoured? They have, and know but too much in that matter. There needes but a little rouzing and enflaming of the faculties that are in them.

When I see them meddling with Rhetoricke, with Law, and with Logicke, and such like trash, so vaine and unprofitable for their use: I enter into feare, that those who advise them to such things, doe it, that they may have more law to govern e them under that pretence. For, what other excuse can I devise for them? It is sufficient, that without vs, they may frame, or roule the grace of their eyes, unto cheerefulnesse, unto severity, and unto mildnesse: and season a No with frowardnesse, with doubt and with fauour; and require not an interpreter in discourses made for their seruice. With this learning they command without controule, and over-rule both Regents and Schooles. Yet if it offend them to yeeld us any preheminence and would for curiosity sake have part in bookes also: Poetrie is a study fit for their purpose: being a wanton, amusing, subtill, disguised, and prattling Arte; all in delight, all in shew, like to themselves. They may also select diuers commodities out of History. In Morall Philosophy, they may take the discourses which enable them to judge of our humours, to censure our conditions, and to auoide our guiles and treacheries; to temper the rashnesse of their owne desires, to husband their liberty: lengthen the delights of life, gently to beare the inconstancy of a seruant, the peevishnesse or rudenesse of a husband, the importunity of yeares, the unwell-comnesse of wrinkles, and such like minde-troubling accidents. Loe here the most and greatest share of learning I would assigne them. There are some particular, retired and close dispositions.

My essentiall forme is fit for communication, and proper for production: I am all outward and in apparance; borne for society and unto friendship. The solitude I love and commend, is especially but to retire my affections and redeeme my thoughts unto my selfe: to restraine and close up, not my steppes, but my desires and my cares, resigning all forraigne solicitude and trouble, and mortally shunning all manner of seruitude and obligation; and not so much the throng of men as the importunity of affaires. Locall solitarinesse (to say truerh) doth rather extend and enlarge me outwardly; I give my selfe to State-businesse, and to the world, more willingly when I am all alone. At the court, and in presse of people, I close and slinke into mine owne skinne. Assemblies thrust mee againe into my selfe. And I never entertaine my selfe so fondly, so licentiously, and so particularly, as in places of respect, and ceremonious discretion. Our follies make mee not laugh, but our wisdomes doe. Of mine owne complexion, I am no enemy to the agitations and stirrings of our Courts: I have there past great part of my life: and am inured to bee merry in great assemblies, so it be by intermission, and sutable to my humour.

But this tendernesse and coinesse of judgement (whereof I speake) doth perforce tie me unto solitarinesse. Yea even in mine owne house, in the midst of a numerous family and most frequented houses, I see people more then a good many, but seldome such as I love to converse or communicate withall. And there I reserve, both for my selfe, and others, an vnaccustomed liberty; making truce with ceremonies, assistance, and inuicings, and such other troublesome ordinances of our courtesies (O servile custome & importunate manner) there every man demeaneth himselfe as hee pleaseth, and entertaineth what his thoughts affect: whereas I keepe my selfe silent, meditating and close, without offence to my guests or friends.

The men whose familiarity and society I hunt after, are those which are called honest, vertuous and sufficient: the image of whom doth distaste and divert mee from others. It



is ( being rightly taken ) the rarest of our formes; and a forme or fashion chiefly due unto nature.

The end or scope of this commerce, is principally and simply familiarity, conference and frequentation: the exercise of mindes, without other fruit. In our discourses, all subjects are alike to me: I care not though they want either waight or depth; grace and pertinency are never wanting; all therein is tainted with a ripe and constant judgement, and commixt with goodnesse, liberty, cheerefulnesse, and kindnesse. It is not onely in the subject of Laws and affaires of Princes, that our spirit sheweth it's beautie, grace and vigor: It sheweth them as much in priuate conferences. I know my people by their very silence and smyling, and peradventure discover them better at a Table, then sitting in serious counsell.

*Hippomachus* said, hee discerned good Wrestlers but by seeing them march through a Street. If learning vouchsafe to step into our talke, shee shall not be refused; yet must not shee be sterne, mastring, imperious and importunate, as commonly shee is; but assistant, and docile of hir selfe. Therein wee seeke for nothing but recreation and pastime: when we shall looke to be instructed, taught and resolved, we will go seeke and sue to hir in hir Throne. Let hir if she please keepe from us at that time; for, as commodious and pleasing as shee is: I presume that for a neede we could spare hir presence, and doe our businesse well-enough without hir. Wits well borne, soundly bred and exercised in the practise and commerce of men, become gracious and plausible of themselves. Arte is but the Checke-roule, and Register of the Productions vttered, and conceites produced by them.

*Cic. parad.*

The company of faire, and society of honest women is likewise a sweet commerce for me: *Nam nos quoque oculos eruditos habemus, for we also have learned eyes.* If the minde have not so much to solace hir-selfe, as in the former; the corporall senses, whose part is more in the second, bring it to a proportion neere unto the other; although in mine opinion not equall. But it is a society wherein it behooveth a man somewhat to stand upon his guard: and especially those that are of a strong constitution, and whose body can do much, as in me. In my youth I heared my selfe therein and was very violent: and indured all the rages and furious assaults, which Poets say happen to those who without order or discretion abandon themselves over-loosly and riorously unto it. True it is indeed, that the same last hath since stood me instead of an instruction.

*Ouid. Trist.  
lib. 1. el. 1. 23.*

*Quicunque Argolico de classe Capharea fugit,  
Semper ab Euboicis vela retorquet aquis.*

Greeke Sailers that Capborean Rockes did fly,  
From the Eubœan Seas their sailes still ply.

It is folly to fasten all ones thoughts upon it, and with a furious and indiscreet affection to engage himselfe unto it: But on the other side, to meddle with it without loue or bond of affection, as Comedians do, to play a common part of age and manners, without ought of their owne but bare-conned words, is verily a provision for ones safety: and yet but a cowardly one; as is that of him, who would forgoe his honour, his profit or his pleasure for feare of danger; for it is certaine that the practisers of such courses, cannot hope for any fruit able to moove or satisfie a worthy minde.

One must very earnestly have desired that, whereof he would enjoy an absolute delight: I meane, though fortune should unjustly favour their intention: which often happeneth because there is no woman, how deformed and unhandsome soever, but thinkes hir-selfe lovely, amiable and praise-worthy, either for hir age, hir haire or gate (for there are generally no more faire then soule ones) And the *Brachmanian* maidens wanting other commendations; by Proclamation for that purpose, made shew



of their matrimoniall parts unto the people assembled, to see if thereby at least they might get them husbands. By consequence there is not one of them, but upon the first oath one maketh to serve her, will very easily be perswaded to thinke well of her selfe. Now this common treason and ordinary protestations of men in these dayes, must needs produce the effects, experience already discovereth; which is, that either they joyne together, and cast away themselves on themselves, to avoid us, or on their side follow also the example wee give them; acting their part of the play, without passion; without care, and without love lending themselves to this entercourse: *Neque affectus suo aut alieno obnoxia: Neither liable to their own nor other folkes affection.* Thinking, according to *Lysias* perswasions in *Plato*, they may so much the more profitably and commodiously yeeld unto us, by how much lesse we love them: Wherein it will happen as in Comedies, the spectators shall have as much or more pleasure, as the Comedians. For my part, I no more acknowledge *Venus* without *Cupid*, then a mother-hood without an off-spring: They are things which enterlend & enter-owe own another their essence. Thus doth this cozening rebound on him that useth it; & as it cost him little, so gets he not much by it. Those which made *Venus* a good will, have respected that her principall beautie was incorporeall and spirituall. But shee whom these kinde of pople hunt after, is not so much as humane, nor also brutall; but such as wilde beasts, would not have her so filthy and terrestriall. We see that imagination enflames them, & desire or lust urgeth them, before the body: We see in one and other sex, even in whole heards, choise and distinctions in their affections, and amongst themselves acquaintances of long continued good-will and liking. And even those to whom age denieth bodily strength, doe yet bray, neigh, roare, skip and wince for love. Before the deed we see them full of hope and heat; and when the body hath plaid his part, even tickle and tingle themselves with the sweetenesse of that remembrance: some of them swell with pride at parting from it, others all weary and glutted, ring out songs of glee and triumph. Who makes no more of it but to discharge his body of some naturall necessitie, hath no cause to trouble others with so curious preparation. *It is no food for a greedy and clownish hunger.* As one that would not be accounted better then I am, thus much I will display of my youths wanton-errors: Not onely for the danger of ones health that followes that game (yet could I not avoid two, though light and cursorie assaults) but also for contempt, I have not much beene given to mercenarie and common acquaintances. I have covered to set an edge on that sensuall pleasure by difficultie, by desire, and for some glory. And liked *Tiberius* his fashions, who in his amours was swaied as much by modesty and noblenesse, as by any other quality. And *Floras* humour, who would prostitute her selfe to none worse then Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, and tooke delight in the dignitie and greatnesse of her lovers, doth some-what sute with mine. Surely glittering pearles and silken cloathes adde some-thing unto it, and so doe titles, nobilitie and a worthie traine. Besides which, I made high esteeme of the minde, yet so as the body might not justly be found fault withall: For, to speake my conscience, if either of the two beauties were necessarily to be wanting, I would rather have chosen to want the mentall, whose use is to be employed in better things. But in the subject of love; a subject that chiefly hath reference unto the two senses of seeing and touching, some thing may be done without the graces of the minde, but little or nothing without the corporall. *Beautie is the true availefull advantage of women:* It is so peculiarly theirs, that ours though it require some features and different allurements, is not in her right kine, or true bias, unlesse confused with theirs; childish and beardlesse. It is reported, that such as serve the great *Turke* under the title of beautie (whereof the number is infinite) are dismissed at furthest when they once come to the age of two and twenty yeeres. *Discourse, discretion, together with the offices of true amitie, are better found amongst men: and therefore governe they the worlds affaires.* These two commerces or societies are accidentall, and depending of others; the one is troublesome and tedious for its raritie, the other withers with old age: nor could they have sufficiently provided for my lives necessities. That of bookes, which is the third, is much more solid-fare & much more ours; some other advantages it yeeldeth to the two former: but hath for her share constancie and the facilitie of her service. This accosteth and secondeth all my courtesie, and every where assisteth me: It comforts me in age, and solaceth me in solitarinesse: It easeth mee of the burthen of a weary-some sloth: and at all times rideth me of tedious companies: it abateth the



the edge of fretting sorrow, on condition it be not extreme and over insolent. *To divert me from any importunate imagination or insinuating conceit, there is no better way then to have recourse unto bookes:* with ease they allure mee to them, and with facility they remoove them all. And though they perceive I neither frequent nor seeke them, but wanting other more essentiall, lively, and more naturall commodities, they never mutinie or murmur at mee; but still entertaine mee with one and selfe-same visage. *He may well walke a foote, that leades his horse by the bridle,* saith the proverbe. And our *James* king of *Naples & Sicilie*, who being faire, young, healthy and in good plight, caused himselfe to be caried abroad in a plaine wagon or skitene, lying upon an homely pillow of course feathers, cloathed in a sute of home spunne gray, and a bonet of the same, yet royally attended on by a gallant troupe of Nobles, of Litters, Coches, and of all sorts of choice led-horses, a number of gentlemen, and officers, represented a tender and wavering austerity. *The sicke man is not to be moaned, that hath his health in his sleeve.* In the experience and use of this sentence, which is most true, consisteth all the commoditie I reape of bookes. In effect I make no other use of them, then those who know them not. I enjoy them, as a miser doth his gold; to know, that I may enjoy them when I list; my minde is settled and satisfied with the right of possession. I never travel without bookes, nor in peace nor in warre; yet doe I passe many dayes and moneths without using them. It shall be anon, say I or to morrow, or when I please; in the meane while the time runnes away, and passeth without hurting me. For it is wonderfull, what repose I take, and how I continue in this consideratiō, that they are at my elbow to delight me when time shall serve; and in acknowledging what assistance they give unto my life. This is the best munition I have found in this humane peregrination, and I extremely bewaile those men of understanding that want the same. I accept with better will all other kindes of amusements, how slight soever, for so much as this cannot faile me. At home I betake me somewhat the oftner to my library, whence all at once I command and surway all my household; It is seated in the chiefe entrie of my house, thence I behold under me my garden, my base court, my yard, and looke even into most roomes of my house. There without order, without method, and by peece-meales I turne over and ransacke, now one booke and now another. Sometimes I muse and rave; and walking up & downe I endight and enregister these my humours, these my conceits. It is placed on the third storie of a tower. The lowermost is my Chapell; the second a chamber with other lodgings, where I often lie, because I would be alone. Above it is a great ward-robe. It was in times past the most unprofitable place of all my house. There I past the greatest part of my lives dayes, and weare out most houres of the day. I am never there a nights: Next unto it is a handsome neat cabinet, able and large enough to receive fire in winter, and very pleasantly windowen. And if I feared not care, more then cost; (care which drives and diverts me from all businesse) I might easily joyne a convenient gallerie of a hundred paces long, and twelve broad, on each side of it, and upon one floore; having already, for some other purpose, found all the walles raised unto a convenient height. Each retired place requireth a walke. My thoughts are prone to sleepe, if I sit long. My minde goes not alone as if ledges did moove it. Those that studie without bookes, are all in the same case. The forme of it is round, and hath no flat side, but what serveth for my table and chaire: In which bending or circling manner, at one looke it offreth me the full sight of all my books, set round about upon shelves or desks, five rancks one upon another. It hath three bay-windowes, of a farre-extending, rich and unresisted prospect, and is in diameter sixteene paces void. In winter I am lesse continually there: for my house (as the name of it importeth) is perched upon an over-pearing hillocke; and hath no part more subject to all weathers then this: which pleaseth me the more, both because the access unto it is somewhat troublesome and remote, & for the benefit of the exercise which is to be respected; and that I may the better seclude my selfe from companie, and keepe in-crochers from me: There is my seat, that is my throne. I endeavour to make my rule therein absolute, & to sequester that only corner from the communitie of wife, of children and of acquaintaunce. Else-where I have but a verball authoritie, of confused essence. Miserable, in my minde is he, who in his owne home, hath no where to be to himselfe; where hee may particularly court, and at his pleasure hide or with-draw himself. Ambition paieth her followers well, to keepe them still in open view, as a statue in some conspicuous place. *Magnus servitus est magna fortuna: A great fortune is a great bondage.* They cannot bee private so much



much as at their privie, I have deemed nothing so rude in the austerity of the life, which our Church men affect, as that in some of their companies they institute a perpetuall societie of place, and a numerous assistance amongst them in any thing they doe. And deeme it somewhat more tolerable to be ever alone, then never able to be so. If any say to me, It is a kinde of viliifying the Muses, to use them onely for sport and recreation, he wots not as I doe, what worth, pleasure, sport and passe-time is of : I had well nigh termed all other ends ridiculous. I live from hand to mouth, and with reverence be it spoken, I live but to my selfe: there end all my designs. Being young I studied for ostentation; then a little to enable my selfe and become wiser; now for delight and recreation, never for gaine. A vaine conceit and lavish humour I had after this kinde of stuffe; not only to provide for my need, but somewhat further to adorne and embellish my selfe withall : I have since partlie left it. *Bookes have and containe divers pleasing qualities to those that can duly choose them. But no good without paines; no Roses without prickles.* It is a pleasure not absolutely pure and neate, no more then all others; it hath his inconveniences attending on it & sometimes waighy ones: The minde is therein exercised, but the body (the care whereof I have not yet forgotten) remaineth there-whilst without action, and is wasted, and enforrowed, I know no excesse more hurtfull for me, nor more to be avoided by me, in this declining age. Loe here my three most favoured and particular employments. I speake not of those I owe of dutie to the world.

## CHAP. III.

*Of diverting and diversions.*

**I** Was once employed in comforting of a truly-afflicted Ladie: the greatest part of their discourses are artificall and ceremonious,

*Vberibus semper lachrimis, semperque paratis,  
In statione sua, atque expectantibus illam,  
Quo jubeat manare modo.*

*Juven. Sat. 6.  
273.*

With plenteous teares; still readie in their stand,  
Expecting still their Mistresses command,  
How they must flow, when they must goe.

Men do but ill in opposing themselves against this passion; for opposition doth but incense and engage them more to sorrow and quiernesse : *The disease is exasperated by the jealousie of debate.* In matters of common discourse, we see, that what I have spoken without heede or care, if one come to contest with me about it, I stiffly maintaine and make good mine owne; much more if it be a thing wherein I am interested. Besides, in so dooing, you enter but rudely into your matter, whereas a Physitions first entertainment of his patient should be gracious, cheerefull and pleasing. *An ugly and froward Physition wrought never any good effect.* On the contrary then, we must at first assist and smoothe their laments, and witnesse some approbation and excuse thereof. By which meanes you get credit to go on, and by an easie and insensible inclination, you fall into more firme and serious discourses and fit for their amendment. But I, who desired chiefly to gull the assistants, that had their eyes cast on me, meant to salve their mischiefe: I verily finde by experience, that I have but an ill and unfruitfull vaine to perswade. I present my reasons either too sharpe, or too drie, or too stirringly or too carelessly. After I had for a while applyed my selfe to hir torment, I attempted not to cure it by strong and lively reasons: either because I want them, or because I suppose I might otherwise effect my purpose the better. Nor did I cull out the severall fashions of comfort prescribed by philosophy: That the thing lamented is not ill, as *Cleanthes*: or but a little ill, as the *Peripatetikes* : That to lament is neither just, nor commendable, as *Chrysippus*: Nor this *Epicurus*, most agreeing with my manner, to translate the conceit of ykresome into delightfull things : Nor to make a load of all this masse, dispensing the same, as one hath occasion, as *Cicero*. But faire and softly declining our discourse



discourses, and by degrees bending them unto subjects more neare; then a little more remote, even as shee more or lesse enclined to mee. I unperceaveably remooved those dolefull humours from hir: so that as long as I was with her, so long I kept her in cheerefull countenance, and untroubled fashion, wherein I used diversion. Those which in the same service succeded mee, found her no whit amended: the reason was, I had not yet driven my wedge to the roote. I have peradventure else where, glanced at some kindes of publicke diversions. And the militarie customes used by *Pericles* in the Peloponnesian warre, and a thousand others else where, to divert or withdrawe the armie of an enemy from their owne country, is too frequent in histories. It was an ingenious diverting, where-with the Lord of *Himbercourt* saved both himselfe and others in the towne of *Liege*, into which the Duke of *Burgondie*, who beleagred the same, had caused him to enter, to performe the covenants of their accorded yeelding. The inhabitants thereof, to provide for it, assembled by night, and began to mutinie against their former agreement, determining upon this advantage to set upon the Negotiators, now in their power. Hee perceiving their intent, and noise of this shoure readie to fall upon him, and the danger his lodging was in, forth-with rushed out upon them two cittizens (whereof he had divers with him) furnished with most plausible and new offers to be propounded to their counsell; but indeed forged at that instant to serve his turne withall, and to amuse them. These two stayes the first approaching storme, and carried this incensed Hydra-headed-monster multitude backe to the town-house, to heare their charge, and accordingly to determine of it. The conclusion was short; when loe a second tempest came rushing on, more furiously intraged then the former; to whom he immediately dispatched foure new and semblable intercessors, with protestations that now they were in earnest to propose and declare new and farre more ample conditions unto them, wholly to their content and satisfaction; whereby this disordered rout was againe drawne to their Conclave and Senate-house. In summe, he by such a dispensation of amusements, diverting their headlong fury, and dissipating the same with vaine and frivolous consultations, at length lulled them into so secure a sleep, that he gained the day, which was his chiefeft drift and only aymed scope. This other storie is also of the same predicament. *Atalanta* a maid of rare surpassing beautie, and of a wondrous strange disposition to ridde herselfe from the importunate pursuit of a thousand amorous suitors, who solicited her for marriage, prescribed this law unto them; that shee would accept of him that should equall her in running: on condition those she shold overcome might lose their lives. Some there were found, who deemed this prize wor: hie the hazard, & who incurred the penaltie of so cruell a match. *Hippomenes* coming to make his assay after the rest, devoutly addressed himselfe to the divine protectresse of all amorous delights, earnestly invoking her assistance: who gently listning to his hearty prayers, furnished him with three golden Apples, and taught him how to use them. The scope of the race being plaine, according as *Hippomenes* perceived his swift-footed mistresse to approach his heeles, he let fall (as at unawares) one of his Apples: the heedlesse maiden gazing and wondring at the alluring beautie of it, failed not to turne and take it up.

Ovid. Met.  
lib. 10. 666.

*Obstupuit virgo, nitidique cupidine pomi,  
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.*  
The maid amaz'd, desiring that faire gold,  
Turnes by her course, takes it up as it rold.

The like he did (at his need) with the second and third, untill by this digressing and diverting, the goale and advantage of the course was iudged his. When Physicians cannot purge the rheume, they divert and remoove the same unto some lesse dangerous part. I also perceive it to be the most ordinary receipt for the mindes diseases. *Abducendus etiam nonnunquam animus est ad aliena studia, sollicitudines, curas negotia: Loci denique mutatione, tanquam agroti non convalescentes, saepe curandus est: Our minde also is sometimes to be diverted to other studies, cogitations, cares and businesses: and lastly to be cured by change of place, as sicke folkes use, that otherwise cannot get health.* We make it seldome to shooke mischiefs with direct resistance: we make it neither to beare nor to break, but to shun or divert, the blow. This other lesson is too high, and over-hard. It is for him of the first ranke, meerely to stay upon the thing it selfe, to examine and judge it. It belongeth to one onely *Socrates*, to accost and entertaine death with an undaunted ordinary visage, to become familiar and play with it.

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he seeketh for no comfort out of the thing it selfe. To die seemeth unto him a naturall and indifferent accident: thereon he wisely fixeth his sight, and thereon he resolvethe without looking else-where. *Hegesias* his disciples, who with hunger starv'd themselves to death, incited thereunto with the perswading discourses of his lessons; and that so thicke as *King Ptolomey* forbid him any longer to entertaine his schoole with such murtherous precepts. Those considered not death in it selfe, they judged it not: This was not the limit of their thoughts, they run on, and ayme at another being. Those poore creatures we see on scaffold, taught with an ardent devotion, therein to the uttermost of their power, employing all their senses; their eares attentive to such instructions as Preachers give them their hands and eyes lift up towards heaven; their voice uttering loud and earnest prayers; all with an eager and continuall rith mooving motion; doe verily what in such an unavioyable exigent is commendable and convenient. One may well commend their religion, but not properly their constancy. They shunne the brunt; they divert their consideration from death; as we use to dandle and busie children, when we would lance them or let them blood. I have seen some, who if by fortune they chanced to cast their eyes towards the dreadful preparations of death, which were round about them, fall into trances, & with fury cast their cogitations else-where. Wee teach those that are to passe over some steepy downe fall or dreadfull abisse, to shut or turne aside their eyes. *Subrius Flavius*, being by the appointment of *Nero* to be put to death by the hands of *Niger*, both chiefe commanders in war: when he was brought unto the place where the execution should be performed, seeing the pit *Niger* had caused to be digged for him uneven and unhandisomely made: Nor is this pit (quoth he to the souldiers that stood about him) according to the true discipline of war: And to *Niger*, who willed him to hold his head steddy, I wish thou wouldest stricke as steddily. He guessed right; for *Nigers* arme trembling, he had divers blowes at him before he could strike it off. This man seemeth to have fixed his thoughts surely and directly on the matter. He that dies in the fury of a battle, with weapons in hand thinkes not then on death, and neither feeleth, nor considereth the same: the heat of the fight transports him. An honest man of my acquaintance, falling downe in a single combate, and feeling himselfe stab'd nine or ten times by his enemy, was called unto by the by standers to call on God and remember his conscience: but he told me after, that albeit those voices came unto his eares, they had no whit mooved him, & that he thought on nothing, but how to discharge and revenge himselfe. In which combat he vanquished and slew his adversary.

He who brought *L. Syllanus* his condemnation, did much for him: in that whē he heard him answer he was prepared to die, but not by the hands of base villaines, ran upon him with his souldiers to force him; against whom obstinately defending himself though unarmed with fists and feet: he was slaine in the conflict: dispersing with a ready and rebellious choller the painefull sence of a long and fore-prepared death: to which he was assigned. We ever thinke on somewhat else: either the hope of a better life doth settle and support us, or the confidence of our childrens worth, or the future glory of our name, or the avoyding of these lives mischieves, or the revenge hanging over their heads that have caused and procured our death:

*Spero equidem medijs, si quid pia numina possunt,  
Supplicia hausurum scopolis, & nomine Dido  
Sape vocaturum.*

*Audiam, & hac manes veniet mihi fama sub imos.*

I hope, if powers of heaven have any power,

On rockes he shall be punisht, at that houre,

He oft on *Didoes* name shall pittileffe exclaime,

This shall I heare, and this report, shall to me in my grave resort.

*Xenophon* sacrificed with a crowne on his head, when one came to tell him the death of his sonne *Gryllus* in the battell of *Mantineia*. At the first hearing whereof he cast his crowne to the ground, but finding upon better relation how valiantly he died, he tooke it up and put it on his head againe. *Epicurus* also at his death comforted himselfe in the eternitie and worth of his writings. *Omnes clari & nobilitati labores sunt tolerabiles.* glo. Cit. Tusc. l. 3.

*Virg. Aen.  
l. 4. 382*

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Ibid.

rious and honourable labours are made tolerable. And the same wound, and the same toyle (saith Xenophon) toucheth not a Generall of an armie, as it doth a private souldier. Epaminondas tooke his death much the more cheerefully, being informed that the victorie remained on his side. *Hæc sunt solatia, hæc fomenta summorum dolorum*: These are the comforts, these the eases of most grievous paines. And such other like circumstances amuse, divert and remoove us from the consideration of the thing in it selfe. Even the arguments of Philosophie, at each clappe wrest and turne the matter aside, and scarcely wipe away the scabbe thereof. The first man of the first Philosophicall Schoole and Superintendent of the rest, that great Zeno, against death, cried out; *No evil is honourable; death is: therefore is death no evil*. Against drunkennesses; *No man entrusts his secrets to a drunkard; every one to the wise: therefore the wise will not be drunke*. Is this to hit the white? I love to see, that these principall wits cannot rid themselves of our company. As perfect and absolute as they would be, they still are but grosse and simple men. *Revenge is a sweet-pleasing passion, of a great and naturall impression*: I perceive it well, albeit I have made no triall of it. To divert of late a young prince from it, I told him not, he was to offer the one side of his cheek, to him who had stroke him on the other, in regard of charity; nor displaid I unto him the tragicall events Poesie bestoweth upon that passion. There I left him, and strove to make him taste the beaurie of a contrary image: the honour, the favour and the good-will he should acquire by gentlenesse & goodnesse: I diverted him to ambition. Behold how they deale in such cases. *If your affection in love be over-powerfull, disperse or dissipate the same*, say they; and they say true, for I have often, with profit made triall of it: Breake it by the vertue of severall desires, of which one may be Regent or chiefe Master, if you please; but for feare it should misuse and tyrannize you, weaken it with dividing, and protract it with diverting the same.

Perf. Sat. 6.  
73. Lucr. l. 4.  
1056.

*Cum morosa vago singuliet inguine vena;  
Conjicito humorem collectum in corpora quæque.  
When raging lust excites a panting tumor,  
To divers parts send that collected humor.*

And looketo it intime, lest it vex you, if it have once seized on you.

Lucr. l. 4.  
1061.

*Si non prima novis conturbes vulnera plagis,  
Vulgi vagæque vagus Venere ante recentia curas,  
Vnlesse the first wounds with new wounds you mix,  
And ranging cure the fresh with common tricks.*

I was once neerely touched with a heavy displeasure, according to my complexion; and yet more iust then heavie: I had peradventure lost my selfe in it, had I only relied upon mine owne strength. Needing a vehement diversion to with-draw me from it; I did by Arte and studie make my selfe a Lover, whereto my age assisted me; love discharged and diverted me from the inconvenience, which good-wil and amitie had caused in me. So is it in all things else. A sharpe conceit possesseth, and a violent imagination holdeth me: I finde it a shorter course to alter and divert, then to tame and vanquish the same: if I cannot substitute a contrary unto it, at least I present another unto it. *Change ever easeth, Varietie dissolveth, and shifting dissipateth*. If I cannot buckle with it, I flie from it: and in shunning it, I stray and double from it. Shifting of place, exercise and company, I save my selfe amid the throng of other studies and amusements, where it loseth my tracke, and so I slip away. Nature proceedeth thus, by the benefit of inconstancy: For, the time it hath bestowed on us, as a soveraigne phisitiõ of our passions, chiefly obtaines his purpose that way, when fraughting our conceits with other and different affaires, it dissolveth and corrupteth that first apprehension, how forcible soever it be. A wise man seeth little lesse his friend dying at the end of five and twenty yeeres, then at the beginning of the first yeere; and according to Epicurus, nothing lesse: for he ascribed no qualification of perplexities, either to the foresight or antiquitie of them. But so many other cogitations, crosse this, that it languisheth, and in the end groweth weary. To divert the inclination of vulgar reports, Alcibiades cut off his faire dogs eares and taile, and so drove him into the market place; that giving this subject of prattle to the people, they might not meddle with his other actiõs. I have also seen some women, who to divert the opinions and conjectures of the babling people, and to divert the fond ratling of some, did by counterfet and dissembled affections, overshadow and cloak true affections.

Amongst



Amongst which I have noted some, who in dissembling and counterfeiting have suffered themselves to be intrapped wittingly and in good earnest; quitting their true and originall humour for the fained: of whom I learne, that such as finde themselves well seated, are very fooles to yeelde unto that maske. The common greetings, and publike entertainements being reserved unto that set or appointed seruant, beleue there is little sufficiency in him, if in the end he usurpe not your roome and send you unto his. This is properly to cut out & stich up a shoe, for another to put on. *A little thing doth dinere and turne us; for a small thing holds us.* We do not much respect subjects in grosse and alone: they are circumstances, or small and superficial images that moove and touch us; and vaine rindes which rebound from subjects.

*Follicules ut nunc teretes astate cicadae  
Lingunt.*

*Lucr. l. 3.  
812.*

As grasse-hoppers in summer now forsake

The round-grown sheafes, which they in time shoud take.

*Plutarke* himselfe bewailes his daughter by the fopperies of his childehood. The remembrance of a farewell, of an action, of a particular grace, or of a last commendation, afflict us. *Cesars* gowne disquieted all *Rome*, which his death had not done; The very sound of names, which gingleth in our eares, as, *Oh my poore master*; or, *Alas my deare friend*; *Oh my good father*; or, *Alas my sweete daughter*, When such like repetitions pincle me, & that I looke more nearly to them, I finde them but grammaticall laments, the word and the tune wound me. Even as *Preachers* exclamations do often move their auditory more, then their reasons: and as the pittifull groane of a beast yerneth us though it be killed for our use: without poisoning or entering there-whilest, into the true and massie essence of my subject.

*Hic se stimulis dolor ipso laceffit.*

*Lucan. l. 2.  
42.*

Griefe by these provocations,

Puts it selfe in more passions.

They are the foundations of our mourning. The conceipt of the stone, namely in the yard, hath sometime for three or foure dayes together, so stopped my vrine, and brought me so neare deaths-doore that it had beene meere folly in me, to hope, nay to desire, to avoyd the same, considering what cruell pangs that painefull plight did seaze me with. Oh how cunning a master in the murdering arte, or hangmans trade, was that good Emperour, who caused malefactors yards to bee fast-tide, that so hee might make them dye for want of pissing. In which ill plight finding my selfe, I considered by how slight causes and triuolous objects, imagination nourished in me the griefe to lose my life: with what Atomes the consequence and difficulty of my dislodging was contriued in my minde: to what idle conceits and triuolous cogitations we give place in so waighy a case or important affaire. A Dogge, a Horse, a Hare, a Glaske, and what not? were corrupted in my losse. To others, their ambitious hopes, their purse, their learning: In my minde as sottishly. I view death carelesly when I behould it universally as the end of life. I over-whelme and contemne it thus in great, by reayle it spoiles and proules me: The teares of a Lacquey, the distributing of my cast futes, the touch of a knowne hand, an ordinary consolation: down disconsolate and intender me. So do the plaints and fables of trouble vex our mindes: and the wailing laments of *Dydo*, and *Arsadne* passionate even those, that beleue them not in *Virgill*, nor in *Catullus*: It is an argument of an obstinate nature, and indurate hart, not to be moved there-with: as for a wonder, they report of *Polemon*: who was not so much as appaled, at the biting of a Dog, who tooke away the braun or calfe of his leg. And no wise dome goeth so far, as by the due judgement to conceiue aright the evident cause of a sorrow and griefe, so liuely & wholly, that it suffer or admit no accession by presence, when eies and eares have their share therein: parts that cannot be agitated but by vaine accidents. Is it reason, that even arts should serve their purposes, and make their profit of our imbecillity & naturall blockishnes? An Orator (saith *Rhetorick*) in the play of his pleading, shall be moved at the sound of his owne voice, and by his fained agitations: and suffer himselfe to be cozoned by the passion he representeth: imprinting a lively and essential sorrow, by the jugling he affecteth, to transference it into the judges, whom of the two it concerneth lesse: As the persons hired at our funerals who to aide the ceremony of mourning, make sale of their teares by measure, & of their sorrow by waight. For although they strue to act it in a borrowed forme, yet by habituating







He framing bodies saw in arte no minde?  
The mindes way first should rightly be assign'd.

## CHAP. V.

## Vpon some verses of Virgil.

**P**ROfitable thoughts, the more full and solide they are, the more combersome and heavy are they; vice, death poverty and diseases, are subjects that waigh and grieve. We must have our minde instructed with meanes to sustaine and combate mischiefes, and furnished with rules how to live well and believe right: and often rouze and exercise it in this goodly study. But to a minde of the common stampe, it must bewith intermission and moderation; it groweth weake, by being continually over-wrested: When I was young, I had neede to be advertised, and sollicitod to keepe my selfe in office: Mirth and health (saies one) sure not so well with these serious and grave discourfes. I am now in another state. The conditions of age do but over-much admonish, instruct, and preach unto me. From the exesse of jollity, I am falne into the extreame of severity: more peevissh and more untoward. Therefore, I do now of purpose somewhat giue way unto licentious allurements; and now and then employ my minde in wanton and youthfull conceits, wherein she recreates hir selfe. I am now but too much settled; too heavy and too ripe. My yeares read me daily a lesſon of coldnesse and temperance. My body shunneth disorder, and feares it: it hath his turne to direct the minde toward reformation; his turne also to rule and sway; and that more rudely and imperiously. Be I awake or a sleepe, it doth not permit me one houre but to ruminat on instruction, on death, on patience, and on repentance. As I have heretofore defended my selfe from pleasure, so I now ward my selfe from temperance: it haleth me too far back, and even to stupidity. I will now every way be master of my selfe. *Wisdom hath hir excesses, and no lesse need of moderation, then follie.* So that least I should wither, I varnish and over cloy my selfe with prudence, in the intermissions my evils affoord mee;

*Mens intentis suis ne ser: vsque malis.*

Still let not the conceit attend,  
The ils that it too much offend.

*Ouid. Trist.  
li. 4. el. 1. 40*

I gently turne aside, and steale mine eyes from viewing that tempestuous and cloudy skie, I have before me; which (thanks be to God) I consider without feare, but not without contention & study. And amuse my selfe with the remembrance of passed youth-tricks:

*animus quod perdidit, optat,*

*Atque in praterita se totus imagine versat.*

The minde, what it hath lost, doth wish and cast,  
And turne and wind in Images forepast.

*Petron. Asth.  
S. 16.*

That infancy looketh forward, & age backward; was it not that which *Ianus* his double visage signified? yeares entraine me if they please: but backward. As far as mine eyes can discern that faire expired season, by fits I turne them thitherward. If it escape my bloud & veines, yet will I not roote the image of it out of my memory:

*— hoc est,*

*Vivere bis, vita posse priore frui,*

This is the way for any to live twice,  
Who can of former life enjoy the price.

*M. 1. l. 102  
epig. 23. 7.*

*Plato* appoints old men to be present at youthfull exercises, dances and games, to make them rejoyce at the bodies agility and comelines of others, which is now no longer in them; and call to their remembrance, the grace and favour of that blooming age: and willet them to give the honour of the victory to that young man, who hath gladdened and made most of them mery. I was heretofore wont to note sulien and gloomy daies, as extraordinary: now are they my ordinary ones: the extraordinary are my faire and cleere dayes. I am ready to  
scape



leape for joy, as at the receaving of some vnexpected favour, when nothing grieveth me  
 Let me tickle my selfe, I can now hardly wrest a bare smile from this wretched body of  
 mine. I am not pleased but in conceite and dreaming, by sleight to turne aside the way-ward  
 cares of age; but sure there is need of other remedies, then dreaming, A weake contention, of  
 arte against nature. It is meere simplicity, as most men do, to prolong and anticipate humane  
 incommodities. *I had rather be lesse while olde, then old before my time.* I take hold even of the  
 least occasions of delight I can meet withall. I know now by heare-say divers kindes of wise  
 powerfull and glorious pleasures: but opinion is not of sufficient force over me, to make me  
 long for them. I would not have them so stately, lofty and disdainfull: as pleasant gentle &  
 ready. *A natura discedimus; populo nos damus, nullius rei bono auctori; We forsake nature, Wee  
 follow the people anshor of no good.* My Philosophy is in action, in naturall and present, little in  
 conceit. What if I should be pleased to play at cob-nut, or whip a top?

*Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem.*

He did not prize what might be said,

Before how all might safe be laid.

Before how all might late be hid.  
Voleptuousnesse is a quality little ambitious; it holds it selfe rich enough of it selfe without any accesse of reputation; and is best affected where it is most obscured. That young man should deserue the whip, who would spend his time in choosing out the neatest Wine and best sauces. There is nothing I ever knew or esteemed lesse: I now beginne to learne it. I am much ashamed of it, but what can I do withall? and am more ashamed and vexed, at the occasions that compell me to it. It is for us to dally, doate and trifle out the time; and for youth to stand vpon nice reputation, and hold by the better end of the staffe. That creepeth towards the world and marcheth toward credite; we come from it. *Sibi arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clauam, sibi pilam, sibi nationes & cursu habeant: nobis semibus, ex lusionibus multis, talos relinquunt, & tesseras*; Let them keepe their armor, their horses, their lances, their polaxes, their tennis, their swimming, and their running; and of their many games, let them put over to us old men the tables and the cardes. The very lawes send us home to our lodgings. I can do no lesse in favour of this wretched condition, whereto my age forceth mee, then furnish it with somewhat to dandle and amuse it selfe, as it were childehood; for when all is done we fall into it againe. And both wisdom and folly shall have much a do, by enterchange of offices to support and succour me in this calamity of age.

*Misce stultitiam consilijs breuem.*

With short-like-foolish tricks,

Thy graueſt counſels mixe.

Thy graueit counsels mixe.  
Withal I shun the lightest pricklings; and those which heretofore could not haue scratche  
me, do now transpeare me. So wilingly my habite doth now begin to apply it selfe to euil:  
*in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est: all offence is yreesome to a crased body.*  
*Non sine pœni durum sustinet æra nihil.*

*Mensque pati durum sustinet agra nihil.*

A sicke minde can endure,

No hard thing for his cure.

No hard thing for his cure.  
I have ever been ticklish and nice in matters of offence, at this present I am more tender,  
and every where open.

*Et minima vires frangere quassa valent.*

Least strength can breake,

Things worne and weak.

Things worne and weak.  
Well may my judgement hinder me from spurning and repining at the inconveniences which nature allots me to indure ; from feeling them it cannot. I could finde in my heart to runne from one ende of the world to another, to searche & purchase one yeare of pleasing and absolute tranquillity, I who have no other scope, then to live and be mery. Drouzie & stupide tranquillity is sufficiently to be found for me , but it makes me drouzy and dizzie: therefore I am not pleased with it. If there be any body , or any good company in the cuntry, in the city, in *France* , or any where els, resident, travelling, that likes of my conceites, or whose humours are pleasing to me , they neede but hold up their hand, or whistle in their fist, and I will store them with Essayes , of pithe and substance , with might and maine. Seeing it is the mindes priviledge to renew and recover it selfe on old age, I earnestly advise it to do it: let it bud , blossome , and flourish if it can , as Mistle-toe on a dead tree. I



feare it is a traitor; so straightly is she clasped, and so hard doth she cling to my body, that every hand while she forsakes me, to follow her in her necessities. I flatter her in private, I vige her to no purpose; in vaine I offer to divert her from this combination, and boolelle it is for me to present her *Seneca* or *Catullus*, or Ladies, or stately dances; if her companion have the chollicke, it seemes she also hath it. The very powers or faculties that are particular & proper to her, cannot then rouze themselves: they evidently seeme to be en-rheum'd: there is no blithens in her productions, if there be none in the body. Our schollers are to blame, who serching the causes of our mindes extraordinary fits and motions, besides they ascribe some to a divine fury, to love, to warre-like fiercenelle, to Poessie, and to Wine; if they have not also allotted health her share. A health youthfull, lusty, vigorous, full, idle, such as heretofore the Aprill of my yeares and security offorded me by fittes. That fire of jocondnelle stirreth up lively and bright sparkles in our mind, beyond our naturall brightnelle and amongst the most working, if not the most desperate *Enthusiasmes* or inspirations. VVell, it is no wonder if a contrary estate clogge and naile my spirit, and drawe from it a contrary effect.

*Ad nullum consurgit opus, cum corpore languet,*

It to no worke doth rise,

VVhen body fainting lyes.

*Cor. Gal. ch. x.*

125.

And yet would have me beholden to him, for lending (as he sayth) much lesse to this content, then beareth the ordinary custome of men. Let us at least whilst we have time, chafe all euils, and expell all difficulties from our society.

*Dum licet obducta soluantur fronte senectus:*

VVith wrinckled wimpl'd forehead let old yeares,

VVhile we may, be resolu'd to merrie cheere.

*Hor. epod. i. 3. 7*

*Tetrica sunt amandanda iocularibus. Vnpleasant things, and sowre matters should be sweetned & made pleasant with sportefull mixtures.* I love a lighttome and civill discretion, and loathe a roughnes and austerity of behaujour: suspecting every peevisli and way ward countenance.

*Tristemque vultus tetraei arrogantiam.*

Of austere countenance,

The sad soure arrogance.

*Et habet tristis quoque turba cynados*

Fidlers are often had,

Mongst people that are sad.

*Mart. l. 7. epig.*

57. 90

I easily beleeeve *Plato*, who saith, that *ease* or *hard humors*, are a great preiudice unto the mindes goodnesse or badnesse. *Socrates* had a constant countenance, but light-some and tinyling: not frowardly constant, as old *Crassus*, who was never seene to laugh. *Vertue* is a pleasant and buxom quality. Few, I know will inarle at the liberty of my writings, that have not more cause to inarle at their thoughts-loosenes. I conforme my selfe unto their courage, but I offend their eies. It is a well ordered humour to wrest *Platos* writings, and straine his pretended negotiations with *Phedon*, *Dion*, *Stella*, *Archeanassa*. *Non pudeat dicere, quod non pudeat sentire. Let us not bee ashamed to speake, what we shame not to thinke.* I hate a way ward and sad disposition, that glideth over the pleasures of his life, and fastens and feedes on miseries. As flies that cannot cleave to smooth and flecke bodies, but seaze and holde on rugged and uneven places. Or as Cupping glasses, that aff. ct and suck none but the worst bloud. For my part I am resolued to dare speake whatsoever I dare do: And am displeased with thoughts not to be published. The worst of my actions or condicions seeme not so vgly unto me, as I finde it both vgly and hate not to dare to avouch them. Every one is wary in the confession; we should be as heeay in the action. The bouldnes of offending is somewhat recopened & restrained by the bouldnes of confessing. he that should be bound to tell all, should also bind himselfe to do nothing w<sup>h</sup>one is forced to conceale. God graunt this excelle of my licēce draw men to freedom, beyond these cowardly and squeamish vertues, sprung from our imperfections; and that by the expence of my immoderation, I may reduce them unto reason. One must suruay his faulties and study them, ere he be able to repeat them. Those which hide them from others, commonly conceale them also from themselves; and esteeme them not sufficiently hidden, if themselves see them. They withdraw and disguise them from their owne consciences.



*gen. ep. 5. 3. m.* *Quare vicia confitentur? Quia etiam nunc in illis est, somnium narrare vigilantis est.* Why doth no man confesse his faults? Because hee is yet in them; and to declare his dreame, is for him that is waking. The bodies euils are discerned by their increase. And now we finde that to be the gout which we termed the rheume or a bruse. The euils of the mind are darkened by their own force; the most infected feeleth them least. Therefore is it, that they must often a day be handled, and violently be opened and rent from out the hollow of our bosome. As in the case of good; so of bad offices, only confession is sometimes a satisfaction. Is there any deformity in the error, which dispenseth us to confesse the same? It is a paine for me to dissemble: so that I refuse to take charge of other mens sectets, as wanting hart to disauow my knowledge. I cannot conceale it; but deny it I cannot, without much a do & some trouble. To be perfectly secret, one must be so by nature; not by obligation. It is a small matter to be secret in the Princes service, if one be not also a liar. He that demanded *Thales Milesius*, whether he should solenly deny his lechery; had he come to me, I would have answered him, he ought not do it: for a ly is in mine opinion, worse then lechery. *Thales* advised him otherwise, bidding him swear, thereby to warrant the more by the lesse. Yet was not his counsell so much the election, as multiplication of vice. Wherevpon we sometimes use this by-word, that we deale wel with a man of conscience, when in counterpoise of vice we propose some difficulty unto him? but when he is inclosed betweene two vices, he is put to a hard choise. As *Origen* was deale with al, either to commit idolatry, or suffer himselfe to be Sodomatically abused by a filthy Egyptian slave, that was presented unto him; he yeilded to the first condition, and viciously, saith one. Therefore should not those women be distasted, according to their error, who of late protest, that they had rather charge their conscience with ten men, then one Miles. If it be indiscretion so to divulge ones errors, ther is no danger though it come into examination and use. For *Ariston* said, that *The minds men feare most, are those which discover them.* Wee must tuck up this homely rag that cloaketh our manners. They send their conscience to the stewes, and keepe their countenance in order. Even traitors and murderers observe the laws of complements, and thereto fixe their endeavors. So that neither can injustice complaine of incivility, nor malice of indiscretion. Tis pittie a bad man is not also a foole, and that decency should cloak his vice. These pargettings belong only to good and sound wals, such as deserve to be whited, to be preserved. In fauour of *Hugonots*, who accuse our auricular and priuate confession, I confesse my selfe in publike, religiously and purely. *Saint Augustine*, *Origine*, and *Hippocrates*, have published their errors of their opinions; I likewise of my maners. I greedily long to make my selfe knowne; nor care I at what rate, so it be truly: or to say better, I hunger for nothing; but I hate mortally to be mistaken by such as shall happen to know my name. He that doth all for honor and glory, what thinks he to gaine by presenting himselfe to the world in a maske, hiding his true being from the peoples knowledge? Commend a crook-back for his comely stature, he ought to take it as an injury if you be a coward, and one honoreth you for a valiant man, is it of you he speaketh? you are taken for another: I should like as well, to have him glory in the courtesies and lowtings that are shewed him, supposing himselfe to be ring-leader of a troupe when he is the meanest follower of it. *Archelaws* King of *Macedon*, passing through, a street som body cast water upon him, was advised by his followers to punish the party; yea but (quoth he) who ever it was, he cast not the water upon me, but upon him he thought I was. *Socrates* to one that told him he was railed upon and ill spoken of? *Tull* (said he) there is no such thing in me. For my part, should one commend me to be an excellent Pilore, to be very modest, or most chaste, I should owe him no thanks. Likewise should any man call me traitour, theefe or drunkard, I would deeme my selfe but little wronged by him. Those who misknow themselves, may feed themselves with false approbations; but not I, who see and search my selfe into my very bowels, and know full well what belongs unto me. I am pleased to be little commended, provided I be better knowne. I may be esteemed wise for such conditions of wisdom, that I account meere follies. It vexeth me, that my Essayes serve Ladies in lieu of common ware and stufte for their hall: this Chap. wil preferre me to their cabinet: I love their society somewhat priuate; their publike familiarity wants fauor and fauor. In farewells we heate aboue ordinary our affections to the things we forgo. I here take my last leave of this worlds pleasures: loe here our last embraces. And now to our theame. Why was the acte of generation made so naturall, so necessary and so just, seeing we feare to speake of it without shame, & exclude it from our serious and regular discourses we prononce boldly,



to rob, to murder, to betray; and this we dare not but betweene our teeth. Are we to gather by't, that the lesse we breath out in words the more we are allowed to furnish our thoughts with? For words least vsed least written and least concealed should best be vnderstood, and most generally knowne. No age, no condition are more ignorant of it, then of their bread. They are imprinted in each one, without expressing, without voice or figure. And the sexe that doth it most, is most bound to suppress it. It is an action we have put in the precincts of silence, whence to draw it were an offence: not to accuse or judge it. Nor dare we beare it but in circumlocution & picture. A notable fauour, to a criminal offender; o be so execrable, that justice deem it injustice to touch and behold him, freed & saved by the benefit of this condemnations severity. It is not herein as in matters of books, which being once called-in and forbidden become more saleable and publik? As for me, I will take *Aristotle* at his word that *baseness* is an ornament to youth, but a reproach to age. These verties are preached in the old schoole; a shoole of which I hold more then of the moderne: her vertues seeme greater unto me, her vices lesse.

*Deux qui par trop fuient Venus estriuent  
Faillout autant que ceux qui trop la suiuent.  
Who striue ore much Venus to shunne, offends  
Alike with him, that wholly hir intends  
Tu dea, tu rerum naturam sola gubernas,  
Neo sine te quicquam dias in luminis oras  
Exoritur, neque fit latum, nec amabile quicquam,  
Goddesse, thou rul'st the nature of all things.  
Without thee nothing into this light springs.  
Nothing is louely, nothing pleasures brings.*

Lucr. l. 1. 22.

I know not who could set *Pallas* and the *Muses* at oddes with *Venus*, and make them cold and slow in affecting of love; as for me, I se no Deities that better sute together, nor more cadedbed one to another. Who- ever shal go about to remove amorous imaginations from the *Muses*, shall deprive them of the best entertainment they have, and of the noblest subject of their work: and who shall debarre *Cupid* the service and conuersation of Poetrie, shall weaken him of his best weapons. By this meanes they caste upon the God of acquaintance, of amitie & goodwill; and upon the Goddesses, protectresses of humanity, and justice, the vice of ingratitude, and imputation of churlishnesse. I have not so long beene cashiered from the state and service of this God, but that my memory is still acquainted with the force of his worth and valour.

— agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ.

I feele and feeling know, How my old flames regrow.

Virg. Aen. l. 4.  
23.

There commonly remaine some reliques of shivering and heate after an ague,  
*Nec mihi deficiat calor hic, hyemantibus annis.*

VVhen VVinteryeares com-on,

Let not this heate begon.

As drie, as sluggish & as unwieldy as I am, I feele yet some warme cinders of my passed heate

*Quab' alto Aege, erche Aquiloneo Noto  
Cessi che into prima si volse & scosse,  
Non accheta ei però, ma il suono e'l moto,  
Ritien deliondo anco gitate & grosse.  
As graund Aegean Sea, because the voice  
Of windes doth cease, which it before enraged,  
Yet doth not calme, but stil retains the noise  
And motion of hugé billowes vnasswaged.*

But for so much as I know of it, the power and might of this God, are found more quick and lively in the shadowe of the Poetrie, then in their owne essence,

*Et versus digitos habet.*

Verfes have full effect,

Of fingers to erect,

It representeth a kinde of aire more lovely then love it selfe. *Venus* is not so faire, nor so alluring all naked, quick and panting, as she is here in *Virgil*.

Iuven. Sat. 6.  
197.

*Dixerat, & niveis hinc atque hinc diua lacertis  
Cunctantem amplexu molifonet: Ille repente*

Virg. Aen. 8. 387

Accepit



*Accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas  
Intrauit calor, & labe salt a per ossa cucurrit.  
Non secus atque olim tonitru cum rupta corusco  
Ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.*  
So said the Goddesse, and with soft embrace,  
Of Snow-white arme, the grim-fire doth enchase,  
He straight tooke wonced fire, knowne heate at once,  
His marrow pearc't, ranne through his weakned bones;  
As fierie flash with thunder doth divide,  
With radiant lightning through a storme doth glide.  
——— *en verba loquutus,*

Ibid. 404.

*Optatos dedit amplexus, placidumque petiuit.  
Conjugis infusus gremio per membra soporem.*  
A sweet embrace, when he those words had said  
He gave, and his lims pleasing-rest he praid  
To take in his wives bosome lolling laid.

What therein I finde to be considered, is that he depainteth her somewhat stirring for a maritall *Venus*. In this discrete match, appetites are not commonly to fondling; but drowsie and more sluggish. Love disdaineth a man should hold of other then himselfe, and dealeth but faintly with acquiescences begun and entertained under another title; as mariage is. Alliances, respects and meanes, by all reason, waigh as much or more, as the grace and beauty. A man doth not marry for himselfe, whatsoever he aleageth; but as much or more for his posteritie & familie. The use and interest of mariage concerneth our off-spring, a great way beyond us. Therefore doth this fashion pleate me, to guide it rather by a third hand, & by anothers sence, then our owne: All which, how much doth it dissent from amorous conventions? Nor is it other then a kinde of incest, in this reverend alliance and sacred bond, to employ the efforts & extravagant humor of an amorous licentiousnes, as I thinke to have said else were. One should (saith *Aristotle*) touch his wife soberly, discretely and severely, least that tickling too lasciviously pleasure transport her beyond the bounds of reason. What he speaketh for conscience, *Phisitios* alledge for health: saying that pleasure excessively whotte voluptuous and continuall, altereth the seede, and hindereth conception. Some other say, besides that to a languishing congression (as naturally that is) to store it with a convenient, and fertile heat, one must but seldome, and by moderate intermissions present himselfe unto it.

*Virg. Geor. l. 3.*  
137.

*Quo rapit sitiens venerem interiusque recondant.*  
Thirsting to snatch a fit,  
And inly harbour it.

I see no marriages faile (sooner, or more troubled, then such as are concluded for beauties sake, and builded up for amorous desires. There are required more solide foundations, and more constant grounds, and a more warie marching to it: this earnest youthly heate serveth to no purpose. Those who thinke to honour marriage, by joyning love unto it, (in mine opinion) doe as those, who to doe vertue a favour, holde, that nobilitie is no other thing then Vertue. Indeed these things have affinitie; but therewithall great difference: their names and titles should not thus be commixt: both are wronged so to be confounded. Nobilitie is a worthy, goodly quality, and introduced with good reason, but in as much as it dependeth on others, and may fall to the share of my vicious and worthlesse fellowe, it is in estimation farre shorte of vertue. If it be a vertue, it is artificiall and visible; relying both on time and fortune; divers in forme, according unto countries: living and mortall: without birth, as the river *Nilus* genealogicall and common: by succession and similitude: drawne along by consequence, but a very weake one. Knowledge, strength, goodnesse, beauty, wealth and all other qualities fall within compasse of commerce and communication: whereas this consumeth it selfe in it selfe, of no employment for the service of others. One proposed to one of our Kings the choise of two competitors in one office, the one a Gentleman, the other a Yeoman: hee appointed that without respect unto that quality, he who deserved best should be elected: but were their valour or worth fully a-like, the Gentleman should be regarded, this was justlie to give nobilitie her right and ranke, *Antigon us*, to an unknowne young-man, who succd unto



unto him for his fathers charge, a man of valour and who was lately deceased : My friend (quoth hee) in such good turnes, *I waigh not my souldiers noble birth, so much as their sufficiency.* Of truth it should not be herein, as with the officers of Spartan kings; Trumpeters, Musitions, Cookes, in whose roome their children succeeded, how ignorant soever, before the best experienced in the trade. Those of *Calicut* make of their nobility a degree above humane. Marriage is interdicted them, and all other vocations saving warre. Of Concubines they may have as many as they list, and women as many lechardes, without Iealousie one of another. But it is a capital crime, and unremissible offence to contract or marry with any of different condition: Nay they deeme themselves disparaged and polluted, if they have but touched them in passing by. And as if their honour were much injured and interrested by it they kil those who approach somewhat too neare them. In such sort, that the ignoble are bound to cry as they walke along, like the *Gondoliers* or Water men of *Venice* along the streetes, least they should iustle with them: and the nobles command them to what side of the way they please. I hereby do these avoyde an obloquie which they esteeme perpetual; and those an assured death. *No continuance of time, no favour of Prince, no office, no vertue, nor any wealth can make a clown to become a gentleman.* Which is much furthered by this custome, that marriages of one trade with another are strictly forbiddē A Shoo-maker cannot marry with the race of a Carpenter; and parents are precisely bound to traine up orphans in their fathers trade, and in no other. Whereby the difference: the distinction and continuance, of their fortune is maintained. A good marriage (if any there be) refuseth the company & conditions of love; it endeavoureth to present those of amity. It is a sweete society of life, full of constancy, of trust, and an infinite number of profitable and solid offices, and mutual obligations: No woman that throughly and impartially tasteth the same,

*(Optato quam junxit lumine sada*

Whom loves-fire joyned in double band,  
With wished light of marriage brand)

Cotul.com.  
Ber. 79a

would foregoe her estate to be her husbands master. Be she lodged in his affection, as a wife, she is much more honourably & surely lodged. Be a man passionately entangled in any unlawfull lust or love, let them then be damned on whom he would rather have some shame or disgrace to alight; eyther on his lawfull wife, or on his lechard mistris whose misfortune wold afflict him most, and to whom he wisheth greater good or more honour. These questions admit no doubt in an absolute sound. *The reason we see so few good, is an apparant signe of it's worth, and a testimony of it's price.* Perfectly to fashion and rightly to take it, is the worthiest and best part of our societie. We cannot be without it: and yet we disgrace and vilifie the same. It may be compared to a cage, the birds without dispaire to get in, & those within dispaire to get out. *Socrates* being demanded, whether was most commodeous, to take, or not, to take a wife; *Which soever a man doth* (quoth he) *he shall repent it.* It is a match where to may well be applied the common saying, *homo homini aut Deus, aut Lupus.* *Man unto man* *Eras. chil. 1. c. 169. 78.* is either a God or a Wolfe, to the perfect erecting whereof are the concurrences of divers qualities required: It is now a dayes found most fit or commodious for simple mindes and popular spirits whō dainties, curiosity & idlenes do not so much trouble. Licentious humours, pebaushed conceits (as are mine) who hate all manner of duties, bondes, or observances are not so fit, so proper, and so sutable for it.

*Et mihi dulca magis resolutio vivere collo.*

Sweeter it is to me, with loose necke to live free:

Cor. Gal. el. 16  
61.

Of mine owne disposition, would wisdome it selfe have had me, I should have refused to wed her. But we may say our pleasure; the custome and use of common life overbeareth us. Most of my actions are guided by example, and not by election: Yet did I not properly enuite my selfe unto it, I was led and brought thereunto by strange and unexpected occasions. For, *not onely incommodious things, but foule, vicious and inevitable, may by some condition and accident become acceptable and allowed.* So vaine is mans posture and defence. And truly I was then drawne unto it, being but ill prepared and more backward, then now I am that have made triall of it. And as licentious as the world reputes me, I have (in good truth) more strictly observed the lawes of wedlock, then either I had promised or hoped. *It is no longer time to wince when one hath put on the shackles.* A man ought wisely to husband his liberty; but after he hath once submitted himselfe, unto bondage, he is to stick unto it by the lawes of common



mon duty or at least enforce him selfe to keepe them. Those which undertake that covenant to deale therein with hate and contempt, do both unjustly and incommodiouly And that goodly rule I see passe from hand to hand among women, as a sacred Oracle,

*Sers ton mary comme maitre:*

*Et t'en garde comme d'un traistre.*

Your husband as your master serve yee:

From him as from false friend preserve yee.

which is as much to say; Beare thy selfe toward him with a constrained, enemy and distrustfull reverence (a stile of warre, and cry of defiance) is likewise injurious and difficult. I am to milde for such crabbed dissignes: To say truth, I am not yet come to that perfection of sufficiency and quaintnesse of wit, as to confound reason with injustice: and laugh or scoffe at each order or rule, that jumps not with my humour. To hate superstition, I do not presently cast my selfe into irreligion. If one do not alwaies discharge his duty, yet ought he at least ever love, ever acknowledge it: *It is treason for one to marry unlesse he wed.* But go we on. Our Poet describeth a marriage full of accord and good agreement, wherein notwithstanding there is not much loyalty. Did he meane it was not possible to performe loves rights, and yet reserve some rights toward marriage; and that one may bruse it, without altogether breaking it? A servant may picke his masters purse, and yet not hate him. Beauty, opportunity, destiny, (for destiny hath also a hand therein)

*Luna Sat. 9. 32.*

*fatum est in partibus illis.*

*Quas finis abscondit; nam si tibi sidera casset,*

*Nil faciet longi mensura incognita nervi.*

In those parts there is fate, which hidden are;

If then thou be not wrought for by thy starre,

The measure of long nerves, unknowne to nothing serves.

have entangled a woman to a stranger, yet peradventure not so absolutely, but that some bond may be left to hold her to her husband. They are twodisignes, having severall and unconfounded pathes leading to them. A woman may yeeld to such a man, whom in no case she would have married. I meane not for the conditions of his fortune, but for the qualities of his person. Few men have wedded their sweet hearts, their paramours or mistresses, but have come home by weeping Crosse, and ere long repented their bargaine. And even in the other world, what an vnquiet life leades *Iupiter* with his wife, whom before hee had secretly knowen, and lovingly enjoyed? This is as they say, *to betray the panier, and then put it on your head.* My selfe have seene in some good place, love, shamefully and dishonestly cured by marriage: the considerations are too much different. We love without disturbance to our selves; two divers and in themselves contrary things. *Isocrates* said, that the towne of *Athens* pleased men, even as Ladies doe whom wee serve for affection. Every one loved to come thither, to walke and passe away the time: but none affected to wed it: that is to say, to endenison, to dwell and habituate himselfe therein. I have (and that to my spight and griefe) seene husbands hate their wives, onely because themselves wronged them: *Howsoever*, wee should not love them lesse for our faults; at least for repentance and compassion they ought to be dearer unto us. These are different ends (saith he) & yet in some sort compatible. Wedlocke hath for his share honour, justice, profit and constancie: a plaine, but more generall delight. Love melts in onely pleasure; and truly it hath it more ticklish; more lively, more quaint, & more sharpe: a pleasure inflamed by difficulty: there must be a kinde of stinging, tingling and smarting. *It is no longer love, be it once without Arrowes, or without fire.* The liberality of Ladies is to profuse in marriage, and blunts the edge of affection and desire. To avoide this inconvenience, see the punishment inflicted by the lawes of *Lycurgus* and *Plato*. But Women are not altogether in the wrong, when they refuse the rules of life prescribed to the World, forso much as onely men have established them without their consent. There is commonly brauling & contention between them and us. And the nearest consent we have with them, is but stormy and tumultuous. In the opinion of our Authour, we heerein use them but inconsiderately. After we have knowen, that without comparision they are much more capable and violent in Loves-effects then we, as was testified by that ancient Priest, who had seene both man and woman, and tried the passions of both sexes.

*Kenn*



*Venus huic erat utraque nota:*

Of both sortes he knew venery.

*Ovid Meta.*

*l. 3. 223.*

*Tiros.*

We have moreover learned by their owne mouth, what tryall was made of it, though in divers ages, by an Emperour and an Empreſſe of *Rome*, both skilful and famous maſters in lawleſſe luſt and unruly wantonneſſe; for he in one night deflowred ten *Sarmatian* virgines, that were his captives; but ſhee really did one night alſo, and were five and twenty ſeverall aſſaults, changing her aſſailants as ſhe found cauſe to ſupply her neede, or ſitte her taſte,

*—ad huc ardens rigida texitigine vulva*

*Et laſſata viris, nondum ſatiata reſeſſit.*

*Juven. Sat. 6.*

*127.*

and that upon the controverſie happened in *Catalogus*, betweene a wife and a husband; ſhee complaining on his over violence and continuance therein (not ſo much in my conceit, becauſe ſhe was thereby overlaboréd (for but by faith I beleevé not miracles) as under this pretext, to abridge and bridle the authority of husbands over their wives, which is the fundamental part of marriage: And to ſhew that their frowning, fullenneſſe and peeviſhneſſe exceede the very nuptiall bed, and trample under-foote the very beauties, graces and delights of *Venus*: (to whoſe complaint her husband, a right churlish and rude fellow answered, that even on faſting dayes he muſt needes do it ten times at leaſt) was by the *Queene of Aragon* giuen this notable ſentence: by which after mature deliberatiō of counſel, the good *Queen* to eſta bliſh a rule and imitable example unto all poſterity, for the moderation and required modeſty in a lawfull marriage, ordained the number of ſixe times a day, as a lawfull, neceſſary and competent limit. Releaſing and diminishing a great part of her ſexes neede and deſire: to eſta bliſh (quoth ſhe) an eaſie forme, and conſequently permanent and immutable. Hereupon doctors cry out; what is the appetite and luſt of women, when as their reaſon, their reformation and their vertue, is retailed at ſuch a rate? conſidering the divers iudgement of our deſires: for *Solon* maſter of the lawiers ſchoole alloweth but three times a month becauſe this matrimoniall entercourse ſhould not decay or faile. Now after we beleevéd (ſay I) and preached thus much, we have for their particular portion allotted them continency; as their laſt and extreame penalty. There is no paſſion more importunate then this, which we would have them only to reſiſt: Not ſimply, as a vice in it ſelf, but as abhominati on and execration, and more then irreligion and parricide; whiſt we our ſelves without blame or reproach offend in it at our pleaſure. Even thoſe amongſt us, who have earneſtly labored to overcome luſt, have ſufficiently veiwed, what difficulty, or rather unreſiſtable impoſſibilitie they found in it, uſing nevertheleſſe materiall remedies, to tame, to weaken and coole the body. And we on the other ſide would have them ſound, healthy, ſtrong, in good liking, wel-fed and chaſte together, that is to ſay, both hot and colde. For marriage which we averre ſhould hinder them from burning, off' rds them but ſmal reſreſhing, according as our manners are. If they meet with a husband, whoſe force by reaſon of his age is yet boy-ling, he will take a pride to ſpend it elſe-where.

*Sic tandem pudor, aut eamus in ius,*

*Multis mentula millibus redempta;*

*Non eſt hac tua, Baſſe, vendidiſti.*

*Mart. l. 12. epig.*

*99. 10.*

The Philoſopher *Polemon* was juſtly called in queſtion by his wife, for ſowing in a barré ſielde the fruit due to the fertile. But if they match with broken ſtuffe in ſul wedlocke, they are in worſe caſe, then either virgins or widowes. Wee deeme them ſufficiently furniſhed, if they have a man lie by them. As the Romans reputed *Clodia Leta* a veſtall virgine deſt' u- red, whom *Caligula* had touched, although it was manifeſtly proovéd he had but approach- ed her: But on the contrary, their need or longing is thereby encreaſed; for but the touch or company of any man whatſoever ſtirreth up their heate, which in their ſoly- tude was huſht and quiet, and lay as cinders raked up in aſhes. And to the end, as it is likely, to make by this circumſtance and conſideration their chaſtitie more meritori- ous: *Boleſlaus* and *Kinge* his wife, *King* and *Queene of Poland*, lying together, the fiſt day of their marriage vowed it with mutuall conſent, and in deſpight of all wedlocke com- moditie of nuptiall delights, maintained the ſame. Even from their infancy wee frame them to the ſports of love: their inſtruction, behaviour, attire, grace, learning and all their words aimeth onely at love, reſpects, onely affection. Their nurces and their keepers

imprints



imprint no other thing in them, then the lovelinesse of love, were it but by continually presenting the same unto them, to distaste them of it: My daughter (all the children I have) is of the age wherein the lawes excuse the forwardest to marry. She is of a slowe, nice and milde complexion, and hath accordingly beene brought up by hir mother, in a retired and particular manner: so that shee beginneth but now to put-off childish simplicitie. She was one day reading a *French* booke before me, an obscene word came in her way (more bawdie in sound then in effect, it signifieth the name of a Tree and another thing) the woman that lookes to hir, staid her presently, and somewhat churlishly making her step over the same: I let hir alone, because I would not crosse their rules, for I medle nothing with this government: womens policie hath a mysticall proceeding, we must be content to leave it to them. But if I be not deceived, the conversatiō of twenty lacqueis could not in six moneths have setled in her thoughts, the understanding, the use and consequences of the sound belonging to those filthy syllables, as did that good olde woman by her checke and interdiction.

*Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos.*

*Hor. car. l. 3.  
Od. 5. 21.*

*Matura virgo, et fingitur artibus*

*Iam nunc, et incestos amores*

*De tenero meditatur ungui.*

Maides mariage ripe straight to betraught delight

*Ionique* daunces, fram'de by arte aright

In every joynt, and ev'n from their first haire

Incestuous loves in meditation beare.

Let them somewhat dispence with ceremonies, let them fall into free libertie of speach, we are but children, we are but gullies, in respect of them, about any such subject. Heare them relate how we sue, how we wooe, how we sollicite, and how we entertaine them, they will soone give you to understand, that we can say, that we can doe, and that we can bring them nothing, but what they already knew, and had long before digested without us. May it be (as *Plato* saith) because they have one time or other beene themselves wanton, licentious & amorous lads? Mine eares hapned one day in a place, where without suspicion they might listen and steale some of their private, lavish and bould discourses; O why is it not lawful for me to repeate them? Birlady (quoth I to my selfe) It is high time indeed for us to go studie the phrales of *Amadis*, the metaphors of *Aretine*, and eloquence of *Boccace*, thereby to become more skilfull, more ready and more sufficient to confront them: surely we bestow our time wel; there is nor quaint phrase, nor choise word, nor ambiguous figure, nor patheticall example, nor love-expressing gesture, nor alluring posture, but they know them all better then our bookes: It is a cunning bred in their vaines and will never out of the flesh,

*Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit.*

*Virg. Geor.  
4. 3. 267.*

*Venus* her selfe assign'de

To them both meanes and minde,

which these skill infusing Schoole-mistresses nature, youth, health & opportunitee, are ever buzzing in their eares, ever whispering in their minds; They need not learn, nor take paines about it; they beget it, with them it is borne.

*Nec tantum niveo ganisa est nulla columba*

*Catul. eleg.  
4. 1. 25.*

*Compar, vel si quid dicitur improbius,*

*Oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro:*

*Quantum precipue multivola est mulier.*

No pigeons hen, or paire, or what worse name

You list, makes with hir Snow-white cock such game;

With biting bill to catch when she is kist,

As many-minded women when they list.

Had not this naturall violence of their desires beene somewhat held in awe, by feare and honor, wherewith they have beene provided we had all beene defamed. All the worlds motions bend and yeeld to this conjunction, it is a matter every-where infused; and a Centre whereto all lines come, all things looke. The ordinances of ancient and wise *Rome*, ordained for the service, and instituted for the behoofe of love, are yet to be seene: together with the precepts of *Socrates* to instruct courtizans.

*Nec*



*Nec non libelli Stoici inter sericos*

*Iacere puluillos amant.*

Ev'n Stoicks books are pleas'd

Amidst silke cushions to be eas'd.

*Hor. Epod. 8. 256*

*Zeno* among other laws, ordered also the struglings, the opening of legges, and the actions, which happen in the deflowring of a virgin. Of what sense was the book of *Strato* the Philosopher, of carnall copulation? And whereof treated *Theophrastus* in thole he entituled, one *The Lover*, the other, *Of Love*? Whereof *Aristippus* in his volume *Of ancient deliciousnesse or sports*? What implied or what imported the ample and lively descriptions in *Plato*; of the loves practis'd in his dayes? And the lover of *Demetrius Phalerens*? And *Clinias*, or the forced lover of *Hetractides Ponticus*? And thar of *Antisthenes*, of the getting of children, or of weddings? And the other, *Of the Master, or of the lover*? And that of *Aristo* *Of amorous exercises*? Of *Cleanthes*, one of love, another of the Art of love? The amorous dialogues of *Sphernus*? And the filthy intolerable, and without blushing nor to be vttered fable of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, written by *Chrysippus*? And his so lascivious fifty Epistles? I will omit the writings of some Philosphers, who have followed the sect of *Epicurus*. protestinge of all maner of sensuality and carnall pleasure. Fifty seve. all Deities were in times past allotted to this office. And there hath beene a nation found, which to allay and coole the lustfull concupiscence of such as came for devotion, kept wenches of purpose in their temples to be vsed; and it was a point of religion to deale with them before one went to prayers. *Nimirum propter continentiam incontinentia necessaria est, incoendium ignibus extinguatur.* *Belike we must be incontinent that we may be continent, burning is quenched by fire.* In most places of the world, that part of our body was deified. In that same province, some slead it to offer, and consecrated a peece thereof; others offered and consecrated their seed. In another the young men did publicly pierce, and in divers places open their yard between flesh and skin, and thorow the holes put the longest and biggest stickes they could endure, and of those stickes made afterward a fire, for an offering to their Gods, and were esteemed of small vigour and lesse chastity, if by the force of that cruell paine they shewed any dismay. Else-where, the most sacred magistrate was revered and acknowledged by those parts. And in divers ceremonies the portraiture thereof was carried and shewed in pompe and state, to the honour of sundry Deities. The Egyptian Dames in their *Bacchanalian* feasts wore a wodden one about their necks, exquisitely fashioned, as huge and heavy as every one could conveniently beare: besides that which the statue of their God represented, which in measure exceeded the rest of his body. The married women here-by, with their *Coverchefs* frame the figure of one upon their forehead; to glory themselves with the enjoying they have of it; and comming to be widowes, they place it behind, and hide it vnder their quoifes. The greatest and wisest matrons of *Rome*, were honoured for offering flowers and garlands to God *Priapus*. And when their Virgins were married, they (during the nuptials) were made to sit upon their priuities. Nor am I sure, whether in my time, I have not seene a glimpse of like devotion. What meant that laughter-moving, and maids looke-drawing peece our Fathers wore in their breeches, yet extant among the *Switzers*? To what end is at this present day the shew of our formall peeces under our *Gascoine* hoses? and often (which is worse) above their naturall greatnesse, by falshood and imposture? A little thing would make me believe, that the said kinde of garment was invented in the best and most vpright ages, that the world might not be deceived, and all men should yeild a publike account of their sufficiency. The simplest nations have it yet somewhat resembling the true forme. Then was the worke-mans skill instructed, how it is to be made, by the measure of the arme or foot. That good meaning man, who in my youth, thorowout his great city, caused so many faire, curious and ancient statues to be guelded, lest the sense of seeing might be corrupted, following the advice of that other good ancient man,

*Flagitij principium est nudare inter cives corpora:*

Mongst civill people sinne,

By baring bodies we beginne.

*Cicero de Off. 1. 4. 22*

should have considered, how in the mysteries of the good Goddesse, all apparence of man was excluded; that he was no whit neerer, if he did not also procure both hories and asses, and at length nature her selfe to be guelded.



Virg. Georg. l. 3.  
344

*Omne adeo genus in terris, hominumque ferarumque,  
Et genus agnorum, pecudes, pictaeque volucres,  
In furias ignemque runant.*

All kindes of things on earth, wilde beast, mankinde,  
Field-beasts, faire-fethered fowle, and fish (we finde)  
Into loves fire and fury run by kinde.

The Gods (saith *Plato*) have furnished man with a disobedient, skittish, and tyrannical member; which like an vntamed furious-beast, attempteth by the violence of his appetite to bring all things vnder his becke. So have they allotted women another as insulting, wilde and fierce; in nature like a greedy, deuouring, and rebellious creature, who if when he craveth it, hee bee refused nourishment, as impatient of delay, it enrageth; and infusing that rage into their bodies, stoppereth their conduits, hindreth their respiration, and causeth a thousand kindes of inconveniences; vntill sucking up the fruit of the generall thirst, it have largely bedewed and enseeded the bottome of their matrix. Now my law-giver should also have considered, that peradventure it were a more chaste and commodiously fruitfull use, betimes to give them a knowledge and taste of the quicke; then according to the liberty and heat of their fantasie, suffer them to ghesse and imagine the same. In lieu of true essential parts, they by desire surmise, and by hope substitute others, three times as extravagant. And one of my acquaintance was spoiled, by making open shew of his in place, where yet it was not convenient to put them in possession of their more serious use. What harme cause not those huge draughts or pictures, which wanton youth with chalke or coales draw in each passage, wall, or staires of our great houses? whence a cruell contempt of our naturall store is bred in them. Who knoweth, whether *Plato* ordaining amongst other well-instituted Common-wealths, that men and women, old and yoong, should in their exercises or *Gymnasticks*, present themselves naked one to the sight of another, aimed at that or no? The Indian women, who daily without interdiction view their men all over, have at least wherewith to assuage and coole the sense of their seeing. And whatsoever the women of that great kingdome of *Pegu* say, who from their waste downward, have nothing to cover themselves but a single cloth slith before; and that so straight, that what nice modestie, or ceremonious decencie soever they seeme to affect, one may plainly at each step see what God hath sent them: that it is an invention or shift devised to draw men unto them, and with-draw them from other men or boies, to which vnnaturall brutish sinne that nation is wholly addicted: it might be said, they lose more then they get: and that *a full hunger is more vehement, then one which hath bene gluttoned, be it but by the eyes*. And *Linus* said, that to an honest woman, a naked man is no more then an Image. The Lacedemonian women, more virgin-wives, then are our maidens, saw every day the young men of their citie, naked at their exercises: themselves nothing precise to hide their thighes in walking, esteeming themselves (saith *Plato*) sufficiently cloathed with their vertue, without vardingall. But those, of whom *S. Augustine* speaketh, have attributed much to nakednesse, who made a question, whether women at the last day of judgement should rise againe in their proper sex, and not rather in ours, lest even then they tempt us in that holy state. In summe, we lure and every way flesh them: we vncessantly enflame and encite their imagination: and then we cry out, *but oh, but oh the belly*. Let us confesse the truth, there are few amongst us, that feare not more the shame they may have by their wives offences, then by their owne vices; or that cares not more (oh wondrous charity) for his wives, then his own conscience; or that had not rather be a theefe & church-robbet, and have his wife a murderer and an heretike, then not more chaste then himselfe. Oh impious estimation of vices. Both wee and they are capable of a thousand more hurtfull and vnnaturall corruptions, then is lust or lasciuiousnesse. But we frame vices and waigh sinnes, not according to their nature, but according to our interest; whereby they take so many different vnequall formes. The severity of our lawes makes womens inclination to that vice, more violent and faulty, then it's condition beareth; and engageth it to worse proceedings then is their cause. They will readily offer rather to follow the practise of law, and plead at the barre for a fee, or go to the warres for reputation, then in the midst of idlenesse and deliciousnesse be tied to keepe so hard a Sentinell, so dangerous a watch. See they not plainly, how there is



neither Merchant, Lawyer, Souldier, or Church-man, but will leave his accounts, forsake his client, quit his glory, and neglect his function, to follow this other businesse? And the burden-bearing porter, touterly cobber, and toilefull labourer, all harassed, all besmeared, & all bemoiled, through travell, labour and trudding, will forget all; to please himselfe with this pleasing sport.

*Num tu qua tenuit dives Achemenes,  
Aut pinguis Phrygia Mygdomas opes;  
Permutare velis crine Licinia,  
Plenas aut Arabum domos,  
Dum fragrantia detorquet ad oscula  
Cervicem, aut facili saustia negat,  
Quae poscentis magis gaudet eripi,  
Interdum rapere occupat?*

*Hor. cer. l. 2. edo  
lib. 21.*

Would you exchange for your faire mistresse haire,  
All that the rich *Achemenes* did hold,  
Or all that fertill *Phrygia* soile doth beare,  
Or all th' *Arabians* store of spice and gold?  
Whilst she to fragrant kisses turnes her head,  
Or with a courteous coineffe them denies;  
Which more then he that speeds she would have sped,  
And which sometimes to snatch she formost hies?

I wot not whether *Casars* exploits, or *Alexanders* atchivements exceed in hardinesse the resolution of a beauntious young woman, trained after our manner, in the open view and uncontrolled conversation of the world, solicited and battered by so many contrary examples, exposed to a thousand assaults and continuall pursuits, and yet still holding her selfe good and unvanquished. *There is no point of doing more thorny, nor more active, then this of not doing. I finde it easier, to beare all ones life a combersome armour on his backe, then a maiden-head. And the vow of virginity, is the noblest of all vowes, because the hardest. Diaboli virtus in tumbis est.* *Hieron.* The diuels master-point lies in our loines, saith *S. Ierome*. Surely we haue resigned the most difficult and vigorous devoire of mankinde unto women, and quit them the glory of it, which might stead them as a singular motive to opinionate themselves therein: and serue them as a worthy subiect to braue us, and trample under feet that vaine preheminance of valour and vertue we pretend over them. They shall finde (if they but heed it) that they shall thereby not only be highly regarded, but also more beloved. A gallant undaunted spirit leaveth not his pursuits for a bare refusall; so it bee a refusall of chastitie, and not of choise. Wee may sweare, threaten and wailingly complaine; we lie, for we love them the better. *There is no enricing lure to wisdom and secret modestie;* so it be not rude, churlish, and froward. It is blockishnesse and balenelle to be obstinately willfull against hatred and contempt: But against a vertuous and constant resolution, matched with an acknowledging minde, it is the exercise of a noble and generous minde. They may accept of our service unto a certaine measure, and make us honestly perceive how they disdain vs not: for the law which enjoineth them to abhorre us, because we adore them: and hate us, forsomuch as love them: is doubtlesse very cruell, were it but for it's difficultie. Why may they not listen to our offers, and not gaine say our requests, so long as they containe themselves within the bounds of modestie? VVherefore should we imagine, they inwardly affect atreer meaning? A Queene of our time said wittily, that to refuse mens kinde summons, is a testimony of much weaknesse, and an accusing of ones owne facility: and that an unattempted Lady could not vaunt of her chastite. Honours limits are not restrained so short: they may somewhat be slackted, and without offending somewhat dispensed withall. At the end of his frontiers, there is left a free, indifferent, and newter space. He that could drive and force his mistresse into a corner, and reduce her into her fort, hath no great matter in him, if he be not content with his fortune. *The price or honor of the conquest is rated by the difficultie.* VVill you know what impression your merits, your services and worth have made in her heart? Iudge of it by her behaviour and disposition.

Some one may give more, that (all things considered) giveth not so much. *The obligation*



of a benefit hath wholly reference unto the will of him that giveth: other circumstances which fall within the compasse of good-turnes, are dumbe, dead and casuall. That little she giveth may cost her more, then all her companion hath. If rarenesse be in any thing worthy estimation, it ought to be in this. Respekt not how little it is, but how few have it to give. The value of money is changed according to the coine, stampe or marke of the place. Whatsoever the spight or indiscretiō of some, may upon the excelsse of their discontentment, make them say; *Vertue and truth doe ever recover their advantage.* I have knowen some, whose reputation hath long time beene impeached by wrong, and interessed by reproach, restored unto all mens good opinion and generall approbation, without care or Art, onely by their constancie; each repenting and denying what he formerly beleevd. From wenches somewhat suspected, they now hold the first ranke amongst honourable Ladies. Some told *Plato*, that all the world spake ill of him; *Let them say what they list* (quoth he) *I will so live, that Ile make them recant and change their speeches.* Besides the feare of God, and the reward of so rare a glory, which should incite them to preserve themselves, the corruption of our age enforceth them vnto it: and were I in their clothes, there is nothing but I would rather doe, then commit my reputation into so dangerous hands. In my time, the pleasure of reporting and blabbing what one hath done (a pleasure not much short of the act it selfe in sweetnesse) was only allowed to such as had some assured, trustie and singular friend; whereas now-a daies, the ordinary entertainments and familiar discourses of meetings and at tables, are the boastings of favours received, graces obtained, and secret liberalities of Ladies. Verily it is too great an abjection, and argueth a basenesse of heart, so fiercely to suffer those tender, daintie, delicious joyes, to be persecuted, pelted, and foraged by persons so vngratefull, so vndiscreet, and so giddy-headed. This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of jealousie; the most vaine and turbulent infirmity that may afflict mans minde.

*Ouid. Art. A.  
mand. l. 3. 93.*

*Quis vetat apposto lumen de lumine sumi?*

*Dent licet assidue, nil tamen inde peris.*

To borrow light of light, who would deny?

Though still they give, nothing is lost thereby.

That, and Envie her sister, are (in mine opinion) the fondest of the troupe. Of the latter, I cannot say much; a passion which how effectuall and powerfull soever they set sooth; of her good favour she medleth not with me. As for the other, I know it only by sight. Beasts have some feeling of it. The shepherd *Cratis* being fallen in love with a shee Goat, her Bucke for jealousie beat out his braines as hee lay asleepe. Wee have raised to the highest straine the excelsse of this moodie feaver, after the example of some barbarous nations: The best disciplined have therewith beene tainted, it is reason; but not carried away by it:

*Ense maritali nemo confossus adulter,*

*Purpureo stygias sanguine tinxit aquas.*

With husbands sword yet no adulter staine,

With purple blood did Stygian waters staine.

*Lucullus*, *Cesar*, *Pompey*, *Anthony*, *Cato*, and divers other gallant men were Cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it. There was in all that time but one gullish coxcombe *Lepidus*, that died with the anguish of it.

*Catal. lyr. epig.  
15. 17.*

*Ah tum te miserum malique sati,*

*Quem attractis pedibus patente porta,*

*Perrcurrent mugilesque raphanique.*

Ah thee then wretched, of accursed fate,

Whom Fish-wives, Redish-wives of base estate,

Shall scoffing over-runne in open gate.

And the God of our Poet, when he surpris'd one of his companions napping with his wife, was contented but to shame them:

*Ouid. Met. l. 4.  
187.*

*Atque aliquis de ijs non tristibus opas,*

*Sic fieri turpis.*

Some of the merier Gods doth wish in heart,

To share their shame, of pleasure to take part.

And yet forbeareth not to be enflamed with the gentle dalliances, and amorous blandishments



ments she offereth him, complaining that for so slight a matter he should distrust her to him deare-deare affection:

*Quid causas petis ex alto? fiducia cessit*

*Quo tibi Diva mei?*

So farre why fetch you your pleas pedigree?

VVhither is fled the trust you had in mee?

And which is more, she becomes a suiter to him in the behalfe of a bastard of hers,

*Arma rogo genitrix nato.*

A mother for a sonne, I crave,

An armor he of you may have.

VVhich is freely granted her: And *Vulcan* speakes honourably of *Aeneas*:

*Arma acri facienda viro*

An armour must be hammered out,

For one of courage sterne and stout.

In truth with an humanity, more then humane. And which excesse of goodnesse by my consent shall onely be left to the Gods:

*Nec deus hominis componier equum est.*

Nor is it meet, that men with Gods

Should be compar'd, there is such ods.

As for the confusion of children, besides that the gravest law-makers appoint & affect it in their Common-wealths, it concerneth not women, with whom this passion is, I wor not how in some sort better placed, fitter seated.

*Sape etiam Iuno maxima calicolum*

*Conjugis inculpa flagravat quotidiana.*

Ev'n *Iuno* chiefe of Goddesses oft-time,

Hath growne hot at her husbands daily crime.

VVhen jealousie once seizeth on these silly, weake, and vnresisting soules, t'is pitifull, to see; how cruelly it tormenteth, insultingly it tyrannizeth them. It insinuateth it selfe vnder colour of friendship: but after it once possesseth them, the same causes which serued for a ground of good-will, serve for the foundation of mortall hatred. Of all the mindes diseases, that is it, whereto most things serve for sustenance, and fewest for remedy. The vertue, courage, health, merit and reputation of their husbands, are the firebrands of their despight, and motives of their rage.

*Nulla sunt inimicitie nisi amoris acerba.*

No enmities so bitter prove,

And sharpe, as those which spring of love.

This consuming feaver blemisheth and corrupteth all that otherwise is good and goodly in them. And how chaste or good a hufwife soever a jealous woman is, there is no action of hers, but tasteth of sharpnesse and smaks of importunity. It is a furious perturbation, a moody agitation, which throwes them into extremities. altogether contrary to the cause. The successe of one *Ottavius* in *Rome* was strange, who having layen with, and enjoied the love of *Pontia Posthuma*, increased his affection by enjoying her, and instantly sued to mary her; but being vnable to perswade her, his extreme passionate love precipitated him into effects of a most cruell, mortall and inexorable hatred, whereupon he killed her. Likewise the ordinary *Symptomes* or passions of this other amorous disease, are intestine hates, sic *Monopolies*, close conspiracies:

*Notumque, furens quid femina possit.*

It is knowne what a woman may,

VVhose raging passions have no stay.

And a raging spight, which so much the more fretteth it selfe, by being forced to excuse it selfe vnder pretence of good-will. Now the duty of chastitie hath a large extension and farre-reaching compasse. Is it their will, we would have them to bridle? That's a part very pliable and active. It is very nimble and quick-rolling to bee staied. VVhat? If dreames do sometimes engage them so farre, as they cannot dissemble nor deny them; It lieth not in them (nor perhaps in chastitie it selfe, seeing she is a female) to shield themselves from concupiscence and avoid desiring. If only their will intereste and engage us, where and in what case

*Virg. Aen. l. 8.*

395.

*Ibid. 382.*

*Ibid. 441.*

*Catul. eleg. 4.*

141.

*Catul. eleg. 4.*

138.

*Prop. l. 2. el. 8. 3.*

*Virg. Aen. l. 3. 6*



are we? Imagine what great throng of men there would bee, in pursuit of this privilege, with winged-speed (though without eies and without tongue) to be conueied upon the point of every woman that would buy him. The Scythian women were wont to thrust out the eies of all their slaves and prisoners taken in warre, thereby to make more free and private use of them. *Oh what a serious advantage is opportunitie!* He that should demand of me, what the chiefe or first part in love is, I would answer, *To know how to take fit time; even so the second, and likewise the third.* It is a point which may doe all in all. I have often wanted fortune, but sometimes also enterprise. God shield him from harme, that can yet mocke himselfe with it. In this age more rashnesse is required; which our youths excuse vnder colour of heat. But should our women looke neerer vnto it, they might finde, how it rather proceedeth of contempt. I superstitiously feared to offend; and what I love, I willingly respect. Besides that, who depriveth this merchandize of reverence, defaceth all luster of it. I love that a man should therein somewhat play the childe, the dastard and the seruant. If not altogether in this, yet in some other things I have some aires or motives of the sottish bashfulnesse, whereof *Plutarch* speaketh; and the course of my life hath diversly beene wounded and tainted by it: a qualitie very ill becomming my vniuersall forme. And *what is there amongst vs, but sedition and iarring?* Mine eyes be as tender to beare a refusall as to refuse; and it doth so much trouble me to be troublesome to others, that where occasions force me or dutie compelleth me to trie the will of any one, be it in doubtfull things, or of cost vnto him, I do it but faintly and much against my will: But if it be for mine owne private businesse (though *Homer* say most truly, that in an indigent or needy man, bashfulnesse is but a fond vertue) I commonly substitute a third party, who may blush in my roome: and direct them that employ mee, with like difficulty: so that it hath sometimes befallen me, *to have the will to deny, when I had not power to refuse.* It is then folly, to go about to bridle women of a desire, so fervent and so naturall in them. And when I heare them bragge to have so virgin-like a will and cold mind, I but laugh and mocke at them. They recoile too farre backward. If it be a toothlesse bel-dame or decrepit grandame, or a young drie phisicke starveling; if it be not altogether credible, they have at least some colour or appareance to say it. But those which stirre about, and have a little breath left them, marre but their market with such stuffe: forso much as *inconsiderate excuses are no better then accusations.* As a Gentleman my neighbour, who was suspected of insufficiencie,

*Calul. l. 3. v. 11.*

*Languidior tenera cui pendens sientia beta,  
Nunquam se mediam sustulit ad tunicam.*

to iustifie himselfe, three or foure dayes after his mariage, swore confidently, that the night before, he had performed twenty courtes: which oath hath since served to convince him of meere ignorance, and to divorce him from his wife. Besides, this allegation is of no great worth: For, *there is nor continencie, nor vertue, where no resistance is to the contrary.* It is true, may one say, but I am not ready to yeeld. The Saints themselves speake so. This is vnderstood of such as beaſt in good earnest of their coldnesse and insensibility, and would be credited with a serious countenance: for, when it is from an affected looke (where the eyes give words the lie) and from the faltering speech of their profession (which ever workes against the wooll) I allow of it. I am a dutious servant vnto plainnesse, simplicity and liberty: but there is no remedie, if it be not meere plaine, simple or infantine; it is fond, inept and vnseemely for Ladies in this commerce: it presently inclineth and bendeth to impudence. Their disguisings, their figures and dissimulations cozen none but fooles; there lying sitteth in the chaire of honour; it is a by-way, which by a false posterne leads us vnto truth. If we cannot containe their imaginations, what require we of them? the effects? Many there be, who are free from all strangers-communication, by which chastitie may be corrupted, and honestie defiled.

*Mart. l. 7. epig.  
61. 6.*

*Illud sepe facit, quod sine teste facit.  
What she doth with no witnesse to it,  
She often may be found to do it.*

And those whom we feare least, are peradventure most to be feared: their secret sins are the worst.

*Ibid. l. 6. epig.  
7. 6.*

*Offendor moecha simpliciore minus.  
Pleas'd with a whores simplicity,  
Offended with her nicitie.*

There are effects, which without impuritie may lose them their pudicitie; and which is more,



more, without their knowledge. *Obstetrix virginis cuiusdam integritatem manu velut explorans, sine malevolentia, sine insidia, sine casu, dum inspicit, perdidit: A Midwife searching with her finger into a certaine maidens virginity, either for ill will, or of unskilfulness, or by chance, whilst shee seekes and lookes into it, shee lost and spoiled it.* Some one hath lost or wronged her virginity in looking or searching for it; some other killed the same in playing with it. Wee are not able precisely to circumscribe them the actions we forbid them: Our law must be conceived vnder generall and uncertaine termes. The very Idea we forge unto their chastity is ridiculous. For, amongst the extremest examples or patternes I have of it, it is *Fatma* the wife of *Fannus*, who after shee was married, would never suffer her selfe to be seene of any man whatsoever. And *Hieron's* wife, that never felt her husbands stinking breath, supposing it to be a quality common to all men. It were necessary, that to satisfie and please vs, they should become insensible and invisible. Now let vs confesse, that the knot of the judgement of this duty consisteth principally in the will. There have beene husbands who have endured this accident, not only without reproach and offence against their wives, but with singular acknowledgement, obligation and commendation to their vertue. Some one that more esteemed her honestie then she loved her life, hath prostituted the same unto the lawlesse lust and raging sensuality of a mortall hatefull enemy, thereby to save her husbands life; and hath done that for him, which she could never have beene induced to do for her selfe. This is no place to extend these examples: they are too high and over-rich, to be presented in this luster: let vs therefore reserve them for a nobler feat. But to give you some examples of a more vulgar stamp: Are there not women daily seene amongst us, who for the only profit of their husbands, and by their expresse order and brokage, make sale of their honesty? And in old times *Phaulinus* the *Argian*, through ambition offered his to King *Philip*. Even as that *Galba*, who bestowed a supper on *Mecenas*, perceiving him and his wife beginne to bandy civilities and signes, of civility shrunke downe upon his cushion, as one exprest with sleepe; to give better scope vnto their love; which he avouched as prettily: for at that instant, a servant of his presuming to lay hands on the plate which was on the table, he cried outright unto him; How now varlet? Seest thou not I sleepe only for *Mecenas*? One may be of a loose behaviour, yet of purer will and better reformed, then another who frameth her selfe to a precise apparance. As some are seene complaine because they vowed chastitie before yeeres of discretion or knowledge: so have I seene others unfainedly bewaile and truly lament that they were vowed to licentiousnesse and dissolutenes before the age of judgement and distinction. The parents leaudnesse may be the cause of it; or the force of impulsive necessity, which is a shrewd counsellor, and a violent perswader. Though chastity were in the East Indias of singular esteeme, yet the custome permitted, that a married wife might freely betake her selfe to what man soever did present her an Elephant: and that which some glory to have been valued at so high a rate. *Phedon* the Philosopher, of a noble house, after the taking of his country *Elis*, protested to prostitute the beauty of his youth to all commers, so long as it should continue, for money to live with and beare his charges. And *Solon* was the first of *Greece* (say some) who by his lawes, gaue women liberty, by the price of their honestie, to provide for their necessities: A custome which *Heroaitus* reporteth, to have beene entertained before him in divers Common-wealths. And moreover, what fruit yeelds this carefull vexation? For, what justice soever be in this passion, yet should we note whether it harrie us unto our profit or no. Thinkes any man that he can ring them by his industrie?

*Pone seram, cohibes sed quis custodiet ipsos*

*Custodes? causa est, & ab illis incipit uxor.*

*Iuven. Sat. 6.*

247.

Keepe her with locke and key: but from her who shall keepe

Her Keepers? She begins with them, her wits so deepe

What advantage sufficeth them not, in this so skilfull age? *Curiosity* is every where vicious; but herein pernicious. It is meere folly for one to seeke to be resolved of a doubt, or search into a mischief; for which there is no remedie, but makes it worse, but festereth the same: the reproach whereof is increased, and chiefly published by jealousy: and the revenge whereof doth more wound and disgrace our children, then it helpeth or graceeth us. You waste away and die in pursuit of so concealed a mysterie, of so obscure a verification. Whereunto how pitiously have they arrived, who in my time have attained their purpose? If the accuser, or intelligencer present not withall the remedie

end



and his assistance, his office is injurious, his intelligence harmefull, and which better deserueth a stabbe, then doth a lie. Wee flout him no lesse, that toileth to prevent it, then laugh at him that is a Cuckold and knowes it not. *The character of cuckoldrie is perpetuall; on whom it once fastneth, it holdeth for ever.* The punishment bewraieith it more then the fault. It is a goodly sight, to draw our private misfortunes from out the shadow of oblivion or dungeon of doubt, for to blazon and proclaime them on Tragicall Stages: and misfortunes which pinch us not, but by relation. For (as the saying is) she is a good wife, and that a good marriage, not that is so indeed, but whereof no man speaketh. Wee ought to be wittily-wary to avoid this irksome, this tedious and unprofitable knowledge. The Romans were accustomed, when they returned from any journey, to send home before, and giue their wives notice of their coming, that so they might not surprize them. And therefore hath a certaine nation instituted the Priest to open the way unto the Bridegroom, on the wedding day, thereby to take from him the doubt and curiosity of searching in this first attempt, whether shee come a pure virgin to him, or be broken and tainted with any former love. But the world speakes of it. I know a hundred Cockolds, which are so, honestly and little undecently. An honest man and a gallant spirit, is moaned, but not dilesteemed by it. Cause your vertue to suppress your mishap; that honest-minded men may blame the occasion, & curse the cause; that he which offends you, may tremble with onely thinking of it. And moreover, what man is scot-free, or who is not spoken of in this sense, from the meanest vnto the the highest?

Lucr. 3. 1070.

*— tot qui legionibus imperitant,  
Et melior quam tu multis fuit, improbe, rebus.  
He that so many bands of men commanded,  
Thy better much, sir knave, was much like branded.*

Seest thou not how many honest men, even in thy presence, are spoken of and touched with this reproach? Imagine then they will be as bold with thee, and say as much of thee else-where. For no man is spared. And even Ladies will scoffe and prattle of it. And what do they now adae more willingly flout at, then at any well composed and peaceable marriage? There is none of you all but hath made one Cuckold or other: Now nature stood ever on this point, *Kae mee Ile kae thee*, and ever ready to bee even alwaies on recompences and vicissitude of things, and to give as good as one brings. The long continued frequency of this accident, should by this time have seasoned the bitter taste thereof: It is almost become a custome. Oh miserable passion, which hath also this mischiefe, to be incommunicable.

Catul. her. Argon. 170.

*Fors etiam nostris invidie quæstibus aures.  
Fortune ev'n eares envied,  
To heare us when we cried.*

For, to what friend dare you entrust your grievances, who, if hee laugh not at them, will not make vse of them, as a direction and instruction to take a share of the quarie or boottie to himselfe? As well the sowrenesse and inconveniences, as the sweetnesse and pleasures incident to marriage, are secretly concealed by the wiser sort. And amongst other importunate conditions belonging to wedlocke, this one, unto a babling fellow as I am, is of the chiefeest; that tyrannous custome makes it vncomely and hurtfull, for a man to communicate with any one all hee knowes and thinkes of it. To give women aduice to distaste them from jealousy, were but time lost or labour spent in vaine: Their essence is so infected with suspicion, with vanity and curiosity, that we may not hope to cure them by any lawfull meane. They often recover of this infirmitie by a forme of heath, much more to be feared, then the disease it selfe. For even as some enchantment cannot ridde away an evill, but with laying it on another, so when they lose it, they transerre and bestow this maladie on their husbands. And to say truth, I wot not whether a man can endure any thing at their hands worse then jealousy: of all their conditions it is most dangerous, as the head of all their members. *Pittacus* said, that every man had one imperfection or other: his wives curst pate was his; and but for that, he should esteeme himselfe most happy. It must needs be a weightie inconvenience, wherewith so just, so wise and worthy a man, felt the state of his whole life distempered: what shall wee petie followes doe then? The Senate of *Marceille* had reason to grant and enroll his request who demanded leave to kill



kill himselfe, thereby to free and exempt himselfe from his wives tempestuous scolding humor; for it is an evil, that is never cleane rid away, but by removing the whole peece: and hath no other composition of worth, but flight or sufferance; both too-too hard, God knowes. And in my conceit, he vnderstood it right, that said, *a good marriage might be made betweene a blinde woman and a deafe man.* Let vs also take heed, lest this great and violent strictnesse of obligation we enioine the, produce not two effects contrary to our end; that is to wit, to set an edge upon their suiters stomacks, and make women more easie to yeeld. For, as concerning the first point, *enhancing the price of the place, we raise the price and endear the desire of the conquest.* Might it not be *Venus* her selfe, who so cunningly enhanced the market of her ware, by the brokage or panderizing of the lawes? knowing how tortish and castlesse a delight it is, were it not enabled by opinion, and endeared by deernes? To conclude, *it is all but hogges flesh, varied by sauce,* as said *Flaminius* his host. *Cupid* is a roguish God; his sport is to wrettle with devotion and to contend with justice. It is his glory, that his power checketh and copes all other might, and that all other rules give place to his.

*Materiam culpa prosequiturque sua.*  
He prosecutes the ground,  
Where he is faulty found.

*Ouid. Trist. l.*  
*el. 1. 34.*

And as for the second point; should wee not be lesse Cuckolds if we lesse feared to be so? according to womens conditions: whom inhibition inciteth, and restraint inviteth.

*Vbi velis nolunt, ubi nolis volunt ultro:*  
They will not when you will,  
When you will not, they will.  
*Concessa pudet ire videri.*  
They are asham'd to passe  
The way that granted was.

*Ter. Eunuc. act.*  
*4. sc. 6.*

*Lucan. l. 2. 443.*

What better interpretation can we finde concerning *Messalina's* demeanor? In the beginning she made her silly husband Cuckold, secretly and by stealth (as the fashion is) but perceiving how vncontrolled & easly she went on with her matches, by reason of the stupidity that possessed him, she presently contemned and forsooke that course, and began openly to make love, to avouch her servants, to entertaine and favour them in open view of all men; and would have him take notice of it, and seeme to be distastd with it: but the silly gull & senselesse coxcombe awaked not for all this, and by his over-base facility, by which hee seemed to authorize and legitimate her humours, yeelding her pleasures weerith, & her amours tastelesse: what did shee? Being the wife of an Emperour, lustie, in health and living; and where? In *Rome*, on the worlds chiefe Theater, at high noone-day, at a stately feast, in a publike ceremonie; and which is more, with one *Silius*, whom long time before she had freely enjoied, she was solemnly married one day that her husband was out of the Citie. Seemes it not that shee tooke a direct course to become chaste, by the retchlesnesse of her husband? or that she sought another husband, who by jealousie might whet her appetite, and who in-fisting might incite her? But the first difficultie she met with, was also the last. The drowzie beast roused himselfe and suddenly started up. *One hath often the worst bargaines at the hands of such sluggish logger heads.* I have seene by experience, that this extreme patience or long-sufferance, if it once come to be dissolved, produceth most bitter and outrageous revenges: for, taking fire all at once, choller and fury hudling all together, becomming one confused chaos, clattereth forth their violent effects at the first charge.

*Ira unoque omnes effundit habenas.*  
It quite lets loose the raine,  
That anger should restraine.

*Virg. Aen. l. 12.*  
*499.*

He caused both her and a great number of her instruments and abettors to be put to death; yea such as could not doe withall; and whom by force of whipping shee had allured to her adulterous



adulterous bed. What *Virgil* saith of *Venus* and *Vulcan*, *Lucretius* had more suitably said it of a secretly-stolne enjoying betweene her and *Mars*.

*Lucret. l. 1. 33.*

—bellifera munera *Mavors*  
*Armipotens regit, in gremium qui saepe tuum se*  
*Rejcit, aeterno devinctus vulnere amoris:*  
*Pascit amore avidos inhians in te Dea visus,*  
*Eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore:*  
*Hunc tu Diva tuo recubantem corpore sancto*  
*Circumsusa super, suavis ex ore loquelae*  
*Funde.*  
*Mars* mighty-arm'd, rules the fierce seats of armes,  
 Yet often casts himselfe into thine armes,  
 Oblig'd thereto by endlesse wounds of love,  
 Gaping on thee feeds greedy sight with love,  
 His breath hangs at thy mouth who upward lies;  
 Goddess thou circling him, while he so lies,  
 With thy celestiall body, speeches sweet  
 Powre from thy mouth (as any Nectar sweet.)

When I consider this, *rejcit, pascit, inhians, molli, fovet, medullas, labefacta, pendet, percurrit*, and this noble *circumsusa*, mother of gentle *infusus*, I am vexed at these small points and verbal allusions, which since have sprung up. To those well-meaning people, there needed no sharpe encounter or witty equivocation: Their speech is altogether full and massie, with a naturall and constant vigor: They are all epigram, not only taile, but head, stomacke and feet. There is nothing forced, nothing wrested, nothing limping; all marcheth with like tenour. *Contextus totus virilis est, non sunt circa flosculos occupati.* The whole composition or text is manly, they are not bebusied about Rhetorike flowers. This is not a soft quaint eloquence, and only without offence, it is sinnowie, materiall, and solid; not somuch delighting, as filling & ravishing, and ravisheth most the strongest wits, the wittiest conceits. When I behold these gallant formes of expressing, so lively, so nimble, so deepe: I say not this is to speake well, but to think wel. It is the quaintnesse or liveliness of the conceit, that elevateth and puffes up the words. *Pectus est quod disertum facit.* It is a mans owne brest, that makes him eloquent. Our people termes judgement, language; and full conceptions, fine words. This pourtraiture is directed not so much by the hands dexterity, as by having the object more lively printed in the minde. *Gal-* *tus* speaks plainly, because he conceiveth plainly. *Horace* is not pleased with a sleight or superficiall expressing, it would betray him; he seeth more cleere and further into matters: his spirit pickes and rantaketh the whole store-house of words and figures, to shew and present himselfe, and he must have them more then ordinary, as his conceit is beyond ordinary. *Plutarch* saith, that he discerned the Latine tongue by things. Here likewise the sense enlighteneth and produceth the words: no longer windy or spongy, but of flesh and bone. They signifie more then they utter. Even weake ones shew some image of this. For, in *Italie*, I spake what I listed in ordinary discourses, but in more serious and pitchy, I durst not have dared to trust to an Idiom, which I could not winde or turne beyond it's common grace, or vulgar bias. I will be able to adde and vse in it somewhat of mine owne. The managing and employment of good wits, endeareth and giveth grace unto a tongue: Not so much innovating as filling the same with more forcible and divers services, wresting, straining and enfolding it. They bring no words unto it, but enrich their owne, waigh-downe and cramme-in their signification and custome; teaching it unwonted motions; but wisely and ingenuously. Which skill how little it is given to all, may plainly bee discerned by most of our moderne French Writers. They are over-bold and scornfull, to shunne the common trodden path; but want of invention and lacke of discretion looseth them. There is nothing to be seene in them but a miserable strained affectation of strange Inke-pot termes; harsh, cold and absurd disguisements, which in stead of raising, pull downe the matter. So they may gallantize and flush it in noueltie, they care not for efficacie. To take hold of a new farre-fetched word, they neglect the usuall, which often are more significant, forcible and sinnowie.



sinnowy. I finde sufficient store of stufte in our language, but some defect of fashion. For there is nothing but could be framed of our Hunters gibbish words or strange phrases, and of our Warriours peculiar tearmes; a fruitfull and rich store to borrow of. And as *hearbes and trees are bettered and fortified by being transplanted, so formes of speech are embellished and graced by variation.* I finde it sufficiently plentifull, but not sufficiently plyable and vigorous. It commonly faileth and shrinketh vnder apichy and powerfull conception. If your march therein be far extended, you often feeble it droope and languish vnder you, unto whose default the Latine doth now and then present his helping hand, and the Greeke to some others. By some of these words which I have culled out, we more hardly perceive the *Energie* or effectuall operation of them, forsomuch as use and frequencie have in some sort abated the grace and made their beauty vulgar. As in our ordinary language, we shall sometimes meete with excellent phrases, and quaint metaphors, whose blithenesse fadeth through age, and colour is tarnish by too common vsing them. But that doth nothing detracte from the sound judgement, nor derogate from the glory of those ancient Authors, who, as it is like'y, were the first that brought these words into luster, and raised them to that straine. The Sciences handle this ouer finely, with an artificiall maner, and different from the vulgar and natural forme. My Page makes love, and understands it feelingly; Read *Leon Hebraeus* or *Ficinus* unto him, you speake of him, of his thoughts and of his actions, yet understands he nothing what you meane. I nor acknowledge nor discern in *Aristotle*, the most part of my ordinary motions. They are clothed with other robes, and shrouded under other vestures, for the use of Academicall schooles. God send them well to speed: but were I of the trade, I would naturalize *Arte*, as much as they *Artize nature*. *Bento* and *Equicola*. When I write, I can well omit the company, and spare the remembrance of books; for feare they interrupt my forme. And in truth, good Authours delect me too-much, and quail my courage. I willingly imitate that Painter, who having bungler-like drawn, & fondly represented some Cockes, forbade his boies to suffer any live Cocke to come into his shop. And to give my selfe some luster or grace have rather neede of some of *Antinoydes* the Musicians invention; who when he was to play any masick, gave order that before or after him, some other bad musicians should cloy and suffer his auditory. But I can very hardly be without *Plutark*, he is so vniuersall and so full, that upon all occasions, and whatsoever extravagant subject you have undertaken, he intrudeth himselfe into your work, and gently reacheth you a helping hand, fraught with rare embellishments, and inexhaustible of precious riches. It spights me, that he is so much exposed unto the pillage of those which haunt him. He can no looner come in my sight, or if I cast but a glance upon him, but I pull some legge or wing from him. For this my disfigurement, it much fitteth my purpose, that I write in mine owne house, in a wild country, where no man helpeth or releeveth me; where I converse with no body that understands the Latine of his *Pater noster* and as little of French. I should no doubt have done it better else where, but then the worke had bene lesse mine: whose principall drift and perfection is to be exactly mine; I could mend an accidentall error, whereof I abound in mine vnwarie course; but it were a kinde of treason to remove the imperfections from me, which in me are ordinary and constant. When any body else, or my selfe have said unto my selfe: Thou art too full of figures or allegories; here is a word meekely-bred Gaskoyne; that's a dangerous phrase: (I refuse none that are used in the frequented streets of *France*; those that will combat use and custome by the strict rules of Grammar do but iest) there's an ignorant discourse, that's a paradoxicall relation: or there's a foolish conceit; thou doest often but dally: one will thinke thou speakest in earnest, what thou hast but spoken in iest. Yea (say I) but I correct vnadvised, not customarie errors. Speake I not so every where? Doe I not liuely display my selfe? that sufficeth: I have will: All the world may know me by my booke, and my booke by me: But I am of an Apish and imitating condition. When I medled with making of verses (and I neuer made any but in Latine) they evidently accused the Poet I came last from reading: And of my first Essayes, some taste a little of the stranger. At *Paris* I speake somewhat otherwise then at *Montaigne*. Whom I behold with attention, doth easily convey and imprint something of his in me. What I heedily consider, the same I usurpe: a foolish countenance, a crabbed looke, a ridiculous manner of speech. And vices more: Because they pricke mee, they take fast hold upon mee, and leaue mee not, vnlesse I shake them off. I have more often bene heard to sweare by imitation, then by complexion.



complexion. Oh injurious and dead-killing imitation: like that of those huge in greatnesse and matchlesse in strength Apes, which *Alexander* met withall in a certaine part of *India*: which otherwise it had beene hard to vanquish. But by this their inclination to counterfeit whatsoever they saw done, they afforded the meanes. For, thereby the Hunters learn't in their sight to put on shooes, and tie them with many strings and knots; to dresse their heads with divers strange attires, full of sliding knots; and dissemblingly to rub their eyes with Glew, or Birde-lime. So did those silly harmelesse beasts indiscreetly employ their Apish disposition. They ensnared, glewed, entameled, haltred and shackled themselves. That other faculty of *Extempore* & wittily representing the gestures and words of another, which often causeth sport and breedeth admiring, is no more in me then in a blocke. When I sweare after mine owne fashion, it is onely by God; the directest of all oathes. They report that *Socrates* swore by a Dogge; *Zeno* by that interjection (now a daies vsed amongst the *Italies*) *Capari*; and *Pishagoras* by water and by aire, I am so apt at vnawares to entertaine these superficiall impressions, that if but for three daies together I vse my selfe to speake to any Prince with your Grace or your Highnesse, for eight daies after I so forget my selfe, that I shall still vse them for your Honour or your Worship: and what I am wont to speake in sport or iest the next day after I shall speake in good serious earnest. Therefore in writing I assume more vnwillingly much beaten arguments, for feare I handle them at others charges. All arguments are alike fertile to me. I take them upon any trifle. And I pray God this were not undertaken by the commandement of a minde as fleeting. Let me begin with that likes me best, for all matters are linked one to another. But my conceit displeaseth me, for so much as it commonly produceth most foolish dotages from deepest studies; and such as content me on a suddaine, and when I least looke for them; which as fast fleete away, wanting at that instant some holde fast. On horse backe, at the table, in my bed; but most on horse-backe, where my amplest meditations and my farthest reaching conceits are. My speech is somewhat nicely jealous of attention and silence; if I be in any earnest talke, who interrupteth me, cuts me off. In travell, even the necessity of waies breakes off discourses. Besides that I most commonly travell without company, which is a great helpe for continued reasonings: whereby I have sufficient leasure to entertaine my selfe. I thereby have that successe I have in dreames: In dreaming I commend them to my memory (for what I dream I doe it willingly) but the next morning, I can well call to minde what colour they were of, whether blith, sad or strange: but what in substance, the more I labour to finde out, the more I overhelme them in oblivion. So of casuall and vnpremeditated conceits that come into my braine, nought but a vaine image of them remaineth in my memory: so much onely, as sufficeth unprofitably to make me chafe, spight and fret in pursuite of them. Well then, leaving bookes aside and speaking more materially and simply: when all is done: I finde that *love is nothing else but an insatiate thirst of enjoying a greedily desired subject*. Nor *Venus* that good huswife, other, then a tickling delight of emptying ones seminary vessels: as is the pleasure which nature giveth vs to discharge other parts: which becommeth faulty by immoderation, and defectiue by indiscretion. To *Socrates*, *love is an appetise of generation by the mediation of beauty*. Now considering oftentimes the ridiculous tickling, or titilation of this pleasure, the absurd, giddy and hare-brained motions wherewith it tosseth *Zeno*, and agitates *Crasippus*: that vnadvised rage, that furious and with cruelty enflamed visage in loues lustfull and sweetest effects: and then a grave, sterne, seuer, surly countenance in so fond-fond an action, that one hath pell-mell lodged our joyes and filthes together, and that the supremest voluptuousnesse both rauisheth and plaineth, as doth sorrow: I beleeve that which *Plato* saies to be true, that *man was made by the Gods for them to toy and play withall*.

—*quanam ista jecandi Senitia?*

What cruelty is this, so set on jeking is?

And that Nature in mockery left us the most troublesome of our actions, the most common: thereby to equall us, and without distinction to set the foolish and the wise, us & beasts all in one ranke: no barrell better Hering. When I imagine the most comtemplative and discreetly wise-men in these tearmes in that humour, I hold him for a cozoner, for a cheater to  
seeme



seene either studiously contemplatiue, or discretely wise. *It is the foulness of the Peacocks feete, which doth abate his pride, and steepe his gloating-eyed sayle;*

— *ridentem dicere verum,*

*Quid vetat?*

What should forbid thee sooth to say, yet be as mery as we may.

*Hor. ser. l. 1. sat.*

2. 24.

Those which in playes refuse serious opinions, do as one reporteth, like unto him who dreads to adore the image of a Saint; if it want a couer, an apron or a tabernacle. We feed full well, and drinke like beasts; but they are not actions that hinder the offices of our mind. In those, we hold good our aduantage ouer them: whereas this brings each other thought vnder subjection, and by it's imperious authority makes brutish and duller all *Platoes* philosophy and diuinity: & yet he complaines not of it. In al other things you may obserue decorum and maintaine some decency: all other operations admit some rules of honesty: this cannot onely be imagined, but vicious or ridiculous. See whether for example sake, you can but find a wise or discrete proceeding in it. *Alexander* said, that he knew himselfe mortall chiefly by this action, and by sleeping: sleepe doth stifie, and suppresseth the faculties of our soule: and that both endeoureth and dissipates them. Surely it is an argument not onely of our originall corruption, but a badge of our vanity and deformity. On the one side nature vrgeth us vnto it: hauing thereunto combined, yea fastned, the most noble, the most profitable, and the most sensually-pleasing, of all her functions: and on the other suffereth us to accuse, to condemne and to shunne it, as insolent, as dishonest, and as lewder to blush at it, and allow, yea and to commend abstinence. *Are not we most brutish, to terme that worke beastly which begets; and which maketh us?* Most people haue concurred in diuers ceremonies of religion, as sacrifices, luminaries, fastings, incensings, offerings: and amongst others, in condemning of this action. All opinions agree in that, besides the so farre-extended use of circumcision. Wee haue peraduenture reason to blame our selues, for making so foolish a production as man, and to entitle both the deed and parts thereto belonging, shamefull (mine are properly so at this instant). The *Esseniens*, of whom *Plinio* speaketh, maintained themselves a long time without nurces, or swathing clothes, by the arriual of strangers that came to their shoates, who seeing their fond humor, did often visit them. A whole nation hazarding rather to consume, then engage themselves to feminine embracements: & rather lose the succession of all men, then forge one. They report that *Zeno* neuer dealt with woman but once in all his life: which he did for ciuility, least he should ouer obstinately seeme to contemne the sex. *Each one auoideth to see a man borne, but all runne hastily to see him dye.* To destroy him we seek a spacious field and a full light: but to construct him, we hide our selues in some darke corner, and worke as close as we may. It is our dutie to conceale our selues in making him: it is our glory, and the originall of many vertues to destroy him, being framed. The one is a manifest iniury, the other a greater fauor: for *Aristotle* saith, that in a certaine phrase, where he was borne, to bonifie or benefit, was as much to say as to kill one. The Athenians, to equall the disgrace of these two actions, being to cleanse the Ile of *Delos*, and iustifie themselves vnto *Apollo*, forbade within that precinct all buriall and births. *Nostri nosmet poenitet, We are weary of our selues.* There are some nations that when they are eating, they cover themselves. I know a Lady (yea one of the greatest) who is of opinion that to chew is an unseemly thing, which much empaireth their grace and beauty: and therefore by hir will she neuer comes abroad with an appetite. And a man that cannot endure one should see him eate, and shunneth all company more when he filleth, then when he emptieth himselfe. In the Turkish Empire there are many, who to excell the rest, will not be seene when they are feeding, and who make but one meale in a weeke: who mangle their face and cut their limmes: and who neuer speake to any body, who think to honour their nature, by dinaturing themselves: oh fantastickall people, that prize themselves by their contempt, and mend their empaireing. What monstrous beast is this: that makes himselfe a horror to himselfe, whom his delights displease, who ryes himselfe unto misfortune? some there are that conceale their life,

*Exilioque domos & dulcia limina mutant.*

They change for banishment. The places that might best content.

*Virg. Geor. l. 1.*

511.

and steale it from the sight of other men: That eschew health, and shunne mirth as hateful qualities and harmefull. Not onely diuysed *Scots*, but many people curse their birth

Vu

and



and blesse their death. Some there be that abhorre the glorious Sunne, and adore the hideous darkenesse. We are not ingenious but to our own vexation: It is the true foode of our spirits: force a dangerous and most unruly implement.

*C. r. Gal. l. 1.*  
188.

*O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent,*

O miserable they, whose joyes in fault we lay.

Alas poore silly man, thou hast but too-too many necessary and vnauidable incommodities, without increasing them by thine owne invention, and art sufficiently wretched of condition without any arte: thou aboundest in reall and essentiall deformities, and needest not forge any by imagination. Doubt thou find thy selfe too well at ease, unless the moire of thine ease molest thee? Findest thou to haue supplied or discharged all necessary offices, whereunto nature engaget thee, and that she is idle in thee, if thou binde not thy selfe unto new offices? thou fearest not to offend hir universall and vndoubted lawes, and art moued at thine owne partiall and fantasticall ones. And by how much more particular, uncertaine and contradicted they are, the more endeouours thou bestowest that way. The positive orders of thy parish tie thee, those of the world do nothing concerne thee. Runne but a little ouer the examples of this consideration; thy life is full of them. The verses of these two Poets, handling lasciuiousnesse so sparingly and so discreetly, as they do, in my conceit seeme to discover, and display it nearer; ladies cover their bolome with networke; priests many sacred things with a vaile, and painters shadow their workes, to giue them the more luster, and to adde more grace unto them. And they say that the streakes of the Sunne, and force of the winde, are much more violent by reflection, then by a direct line. The Egyptian answered him wisely, that asked him, what he had hidden vnder his cloake? it is (quoth he) *hidden vnder my cloake, that thou maiest not know what it is.* But there are certaine other things which men conceale to shew them. Here this fellow more open.

*Quid. Am. l. 1.*  
ch. 5. 24.

*Et nudam preffi corpus adusque meum.*

My body I applide, Euen to her naked side,

Me thinkes he baffles me. Let *Martiall* at his pleasure tuck-up *Venus* he makes her not by much appeare so wholly. *He that speakes all he knows, doth cloy and distaste vs.* Who feareth to expresse himselfe, leadeth our conceits to imagine more then happily he conceiue. There is treason in this kind of modesty: and chiefly as these do, in opening us to faire a path vnto imagination: Both the action and description should taste of parloyning. The loue of the Spaniards, and of the Italians pleaseth me: by how much more respectiue and fearefull it is, the more nicely close and closely nice it is, I wot not who in ancient time wished his throat were as long as a Cranes neck, that so hee might the longer and more leasurely taste what he swallowed. That wish were more to purpose then this suddaine and violent pleasure: Namely in such natures as mine, who am faulty in suddainenesse. To stay her fleeting, and delay her with preambles, with them all serueth for fauour, all is construed to be recompence, a wink, a cast of the eye, a bowing, a word, or a signe, a becke is as good as a Dew guard. *Hee that could dine with the smoake of roste-meat, might he not dine at a cheape rate? would he not soone bee rich?* It is a passion that commixeth with small store of solide essence, great quantity of doating vanity, and febricitant raving: it must therefore be required and served with the like. Let us teach Ladies, to know how to preuaile; highly to esteeme themselves; to amuse, to circumvent and cozen us. We make our last charge the first: we shew our selues right Frenchmen: ever rash, ever headlong. Wire-drawing their fauours, and entalling them by retails: each one, euen unto miserable old age, findes some lifest end, according to his worth and merite. He who hath no iouissance but in enjoying; who shootes not but to hit the marke; who looues not hunting but for the prey; it belongs not to him to entermedle with our schoole. *The more steps and degrees there are: the more delight and honour is there on the top.* We should bee pleased to bee brought vnto it, as unto stately Pallaces, by diuers porches seuerall passages, long and pleasant Galleries, and well contrived turnings. This dispensation would in the end, redound to our benefite; we should stay on it, and longer loue to lie at Racke and Martope; for these marches and away, marre the grace of it. Take away hope and desire, we grow tame in our courtes, we come but lagging after: Our mastery and absolute possession, is infinitely to bee feared of them: After they haue wholly yeilded themselves to the mercy of our will and constancy, they haue hazarded something: They are rare and difficult vertues: so soone as they are ours, we are no longer theirs.

*Postquam*



— *postquam cupida mentis satiata libido est.*  
*Verba nihil metuere, nihil perjuria curant.*

Catull. Arg. v.  
 147.

The lust of greedy minde once satisfied,  
 They feare no words; nor reke othes falsified,

And *Thrasionides* a young Grecian, was so religiously amorous of his loue, that hauing after much sute gained his mistris hart and fauour, he was refused to enjoy hir, lest by that iouissance he might or quench, or satisfie, or languish that burning flame and restless heat wherewith he gloried, and so pleasingly fed himselfe. *Things farre fetcht and dearty bought are good for Ladies. It is the deare price makes viands sauer the better.* See but how the forme of salutations, which is peculiar unto our nation, doth by it's facility bastardize the grace of kisses; which *Socrates* saith, to be of that consequence, waight and danger, to ravish and steale our hearts. It is an vnpleasing and iniurious custome vnto Ladies, that they must afford their lips to any man that hath but three Lackies following him, how unhandsome and lothsome soeuer he be:

*Cuius liuida naribus caninis,*  
*Dependet glacies, rigetque barba:*  
*Centum occurrere malo culis lingis.*

Mart. l. 5. ep. 9.  
 91. 10.

From whose dog-nosthrils black blew Ise depends,  
 Whose beard frost-hardned stands on bristled ends, &c.

Nor do we our selues gaine much by it: for as the world is diuided into foure parts, so for foure faire ones, we must kisse fittie foule: & to a nice or tender stomack, as are those of mine age, one ill kisse doth surpay one good. In *Italy* they are passionate and languishing tutors to very common and mercinarie women; and thus they defend and excuse themselves, saying; *That euén in enjoying there be certaine degrees;* and that by humble seruices, they will endeouour to obtaine that, which is the most absolutely perfect. *They sell but their bodyes, their wiles cannot be put to sale;* that is too free, and too much it's owne. So say these, that it is the will they attempt, and they haue reason: It is the will one must serue and most sollicit. I abhor to imagine mine, a body voide of affection. And meseemeth, this frenzie hath some affinity with that boyes fond humor, who for pure loue would wantonize with that fayre Image of *Venus*, which *Praxiteles* had made: or of that furious *Ægyptian*, who lusted after a dead womans corpes which he was enbaulming and stitching up: which was the occasion of the lawe that afterward was made in *Ægypt*: that the bodies of faire, young and nobly borne women, should be kept three dayes, before they should be delivered into the hands of those who had the charge to prouide for their funerals and burials. *Periander* did more miraculously: who extended his conjugall affection (more regular and lawfull) vnto the enjoying of *Medissa* his deceased wife. Seemes it not to be a lunatique humor in the Moone, being otherwise vnable to enjoy *Endimion* hir fauorite darling, to lull him in a sweete slumber for many moneths together; & feed himselfe with the iouissance of a boye, that stirred not but in a dreame? I say likewise, that a man loueth a body without a soule, when he loveth a body without his consent and desire. All enjoyings are not alike. There are some hotticke, faint and languishing ones, A thousand causes, besides affection and good will, may obtaine us this graunt of women. It is no sufficient testimony of true affection: therein may lurke treason, as else-where: they sometime goe but faintly to worke, and as they say with one buttocke;

*Tanquam tura merumque parent;*  
 As though they did dispense,  
 Pure Wine and Frankincense,  
*Absentem marmore amve putes.*  
 Of Marble you would thinke she were,  
 Or that she were not present there.

*Ibid. l. 11. epi.*  
 145. 12.

*Ibid. epi. 61. 9.*

I knowe some, that would rather lend that, then their coach; and who impart not themselves, but that way: you must also marke whether your company pleaseth them for some other respect, or for that end onely, as of a lustie-strong grome of a Stable: as also in what rank, and at what rate you are there lodged or valued;

— *tibi si datur vni*  
*Quo lapide illa diem candidiore notet.*  
 If it afforded be to thee alone,

Catull. eleg. 4. 149.

V u 2

Where-



Whereby she counts that day of all dayes one.

What if she eate your bread, with the sauce of a more pleasing imagination?

*Tibul. l. 4. el. 5.*  
11.

*Te tener, absentes alios spirat amores.*

Thee she retaines, yet sigheth she  
For other loves that absent be.

What? haue we not seene some in our dayes, to haue made use of this action, for the execution of a most horrible revenge, by that meanes murthering and empoysoning (as one did) a very honest woman? such as know *Italie* will never wonder, if for this subject, I seeke for no examples else where. For the said nation may in that point be termed Regent of the world. They haue commonly more faire women, and fewer foule then we; but in rare and excellent beauties I thinke we match them. The like I judge of their wits; of the vulgar sort they haue evidently many more. Blockishnes is without all comparison more rare amongst them: but for singular wits, and of the highest pitch, we are no whit behinde them. Were I to extend this comparison, I might (me thinkes) say, touching valor, that on the other side, it is in regard of them popular and naturall amongst us: but in their hands one may sometimes finde it so compleate and vigorous, that it exceedeth all the most forcible examples we haue of it. The mariages of that cuntry are in this somewhat defectiue. Their custome doth generally impose so severe obseruances, and slauish lawes upon wiues, that the remotest acquaintance with a stranger, is amongst them as capitall as the nearest. Which law caueth, that all approaches proue necessarily substaiall: and seeing all commeth to one reckoning with them, they haue an easie choise: and haue they broken downe, their hedges? Belceue it, they will haue fire: *Luxuria ipsis vinculis, sicut fera bestia, irritata, deinde emissa: Luxurie is like a wild beast, first made fiercer with tying, and then let loose.* They must haue the reynes giuen them a little.

*Ouid. am. l. 3. el.*  
4. 13.

*Vide ego nuper equum contra sua frena tenacem*

*Ore reluctanti fulminis ire modo.*

I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colt,

Runne head-strong headlong like a thunder-bolt.

They allay the desire of company, by giuing it some liberty. It is a commendable custome with our nation, that our children are entertained in noble houses there, as in a schoole of nobility to be trained and brought up as Pages. And 'tis said to be a kinde of discourtesie, to refuse it a gentleman. I haue obserued (for, so many houses so many severall formes and orders) that such Ladies as haue gone about to giue their waiting women, the most austere rules, haue not had the best successe. There is required more then ordinary moderation: a great part of their government must bee left to the conduct of their discretion: For, when all comes to all no discipline can bridle them in each point. True it is, that she who escapeth safe and unpolluted from out the schoole of fredome, giueth more confidence of herselfe, then she who commeth found out of the schoole of severity and restraint. Our forefathers framed their daughters countenances unto shamefastnesse and feare, (their inclinations and desires alwaies alike) we unto assurance. We vnderstand not the matter. That belongeth to the Sarmatian wenches, who by their lawes may lie with no man, except with their owne hands they haue before killed another man in warre. To me that haue no right but by the eares, it sufficeth, if they retaine me to be of their counsell, following the priuiledge of mine age: I then aduise both them and us to embrace abstinence, but if this season bee too much against it, at least modestie and discretion. For, as *Aristippus* (speaking to some young men who blushed to see him go into a bawdy house) said, the fault was not in entering, but in not comming out again, She that will not exempt hir conscience, let hir exempt hir name: though the substance bee not of worth, yet let the apparance hold still good. I loue gradation and prolonging, in the distribution of their fauours. *Plato* sheweth, that in all kinds of love, facility and readinesse is forbidden to defendants. Tis a trick of greedinesse, which it behoveth them to cloake with their arte, so rashly and fond-hardily to yeeld themselves in grosse. In their distributions of fauours, holding a regular and moderate course, they much better deceiue our desires, and conceale theirs. Let them ever be flying before us: I meane even those that intend to bee ouertaken as the Scythians are wont, though they seeme to runne away, they beate us more, and sooner put us to route. Verily according to the lawe which nature giueth them, it is not fit for them to will and desire: their part is to beare, to obay and to consent. Therefore hath nature bestowed a perpetuall capacity; on us a feld and uncertaine ability. They haue  
alwaies



alwayes their houre, that they may ever be ready to let us enter. And whereas she hath wil-  
led our appetites should make apparant shew and delaration, she caused theirs to bee con-  
cealed and inward: and hath furnished them with parts unfit for ostentation; and onely for  
defence. Such pranks as this, we must leave to the Amazonian liberty. *Alexander* the great  
marching through *Hircania*, *Thalestris* Queen of the Amazones came to meet him with thre  
hundred ladies of her sex, all well mounted and compleately armed; having left the residue  
of a great armie, that followed him, beyond the neighbouring mountaines. And thus aloud,  
that all might heare she bespake him; That the farre-rebounding fame of his victories, and  
matchles valour, had brought him thither to see him, and to offer him his meanes and forces,  
for the advancing and furthering of his enterprises. And finding him so faire, so young and  
strong, she, who was perfectly accomplished in all his qualities, advised him to lye with her  
that so there might be borne of the most valiant woman in the world, and only valiant man  
then living, some great and rare creature for posterity. *Alexander* thanked him for the rest, but  
to take leasure for his last demands accomplishment, he staid thirteene daies in that place, du-  
ring which, he revelled with as much glee, and feasted with as great jollity as possibly could  
be devised, in honour and fauour of so courageous a Princess. We are well-nigh in all things  
parciall and corrupted Iudges of their action, as no doubt they are of ours. I allow of truth as  
well when it hurts me, as when it helps me. It is a foule disorder, that so often vrgeth them  
unto change, and hinders them from setting their affection on any one subject: as wee see in  
this Goddesse, to whom they impute so many changes and severall friends. But withall  
*it is against the nature of love, not to be violent, and against the condition of violence, to be constant.*  
And those who wonder at it, exclaime against it, and in women search for the causes of this  
infirmity, as incredible and unnaturall: why see they not how often, without any amazement  
and exclaiming, themselves are possessed and infected with it? I might happily seeve more  
strange to find any constant stay in them. It is not a passion meerely corporall. *If no end be  
found in conceteousnesse, nor limit in ambition, assure your selfe there is nor end nor limit in lechery.*  
It yet continueth after satiety: nor can any man prescribe it or end or constant satisfaction:  
it ever goeth on beyond it's possession, beyond it's bounds. And if constancy be peraduenture  
in some sort more pardonable in them then in us: They may readily alleage against us,  
our ready inclination unto daily variety and new ware: And secondly alleage without us,  
that they buy a pigge in a poake. *Ione* Queen of *Naples* caused *Andreosse* her first husband to  
be strangled and hang'd out of the barres of his window, with a corde of Silke and golde  
woven with her owne hands; because in bed businesse she found neither his members nor  
endeuours answerable the hope shee had conceiued of him, by viewing his stature, beauty,  
youth, and disposition, by which she had formerly beene surpris'd and abused. That action  
hath in it more violence then passiō: so that on their part at least necessity is ever provided for:  
on our behalfe it may happen otherwise. Therefore *Plato* by his lawes did very wisely esta-  
blish, that before marriages the better to decide it's opportunity, competent Iudges might  
be appointed to take view of yong men which pretended the same, all naked: and of mai-  
dens but to the waster in making triall of us, they happily find us not worthy their choise:

*Experta latas, madidoque similima toro* Marti. l. 7. epig.  
*Inguina, nec lassæ stare coacta manu* 37-3.  
*Deserit imbelles thalamos.*

It is not sufficient, that will keepe a liuely course: weakenesse and incapacity may lawfully  
breake wedlocke;

*Et quærendum aliunde foret nervosus illud* Catul. eleg. 3. 27  
*Quod posset Zonam solvere virginem.*

Why not, and according to measure, an amorous intelligence, more licentious and more  
active?

*Si blandonequeat supereffe labor.*

If it cannot our last labor with pleasure pass.

But is it not great impudency, to bring our imperfections and weakenesse, in place where  
we desire to please, & leave a good report and commendation behind us? for the little, I now  
stand in need of.

*Mollis opus.*

Vaile to hold but one onely busie hour,

Vu 3

I would



I would not importune any one, whom I am to reverence.

Hor. car. l. 2. od.  
4. 22.

*fuge suspicari.  
Cuius undennis inopidavit etas  
Claudere iustum.*

Him of suspicion cleare,  
Whom age hath brought well neare]  
To five and fifty yeare,

Nature should have beene pleased to have made this age miserable, without making it also ridiculous. I hate to see one for an inch of wretched vigor, which enflames him but thrice a week, take-on and swagger as fiercely, as if he hath some great and lawfull dayes-worke in his belly: a right blast or puffe of winde: And admire his itching, so quick and nimble, all in a moment to be lubberly squat and benumbed. This appetite should only belong to the blossom of a prime youth. Trust not unto it, though you see it second that indefatigable, full, constant and swelling heate, that is in you: for truly it will leave you at the best, and when you shall most stand in neede of it. Send it rather to some tender, irresolute and ignorant girle, which yet trembleth for feare of the rod, and that will blush at it,

Virg. Aen. l. 12.  
67.

*Indum sanguineo veluti violaveris ostre,  
Si quis ebur, vel mistarubens ubi lilia, multa  
Alba rosa.*

As if the Indian Yuory one should taint,  
With bloody Scarlet-graine, or Lillies paint,  
White entermixt with red with Roses enter-spread.

Who can stay untill the next morrow, and not die for shame, the disdain of those love sparkling eyes, privie to his faintnesse, dastardise and impertinencie;

Ovid. Am. l. 1.  
el. 7. 28.

*Et taciti fecere tamen conuicia vultu.*

The face though silent, yet silent upbraydes it.

he never felt the sweet contentment, and the sense-mooving earnestnes, to have beaten and tarnished them by the vigorous exercise of and officious and active night. When I have perceived any of them weary of me, I have not presently accused her lightnes: but made questiō whether I had not more reason to quarrell with nature, for handling me so unlawfully and unciually,

Lus. Priap.  
penul. l. 1. 8. 4.

*Si non longa satis, si non bene mentula crassa:  
Nimirum sapiunt videntque parvam  
Matrone quoque mentulam illibenter.*

and to my exceeding hurt. Each of my pieces are equally mine, one as another: and no other doth more properly make me a man then this. My whole pourtraiture I uniuerally owe unto the world. The wisdome and reach of my lesson, is all in truth, in liberty, in essence: Disdaining in the catalogue of my true duties, these easie, faint, ordinary and provinciall rules. All naturall; constant and generall; wherof civility and ceremonie, are daughters, but bastards. We shall easily haue the vices of apparence, when we shall haue had those of essence. When we haue done with these, we run upon others, if we finde need of running. For there is danger, that we deuise new offices, to excuse our negligence toward naturall offices, and to confound them. That it is so, we see that in places where faults are bewirchings, bewitchings are but faults. That among nations, where lawes of seemeliness are more rare and slacke, the primitive lawes of common reason are better obserued: The innumerable multitude of so manifold duties, stifling, languishing and dispersing our care. The applying of our selues unto sleight matters, with-draweth us from such as be just. Oh how easie and plausible a course do these superficial men undertake, in respect of ours. These are but shadowes under which we shroud, and wherewith we pay one another. But we pay not, but rather heape debt on debt, unto that great and dreadfull judge, who tucks up our clouts and rags from about our priuie parts, and is not squeamish to view all over, euen to our most inward and secret deformities: a beneficiall decencie of our maidenly bashfulness, could it debar him of this tainted discovery. To conclude, he that could recouer or un-beset man, from so scrupulous and verball a superstition, should not much prejudice the world. Our life consisteth partly in folly, and partly in wisdome. Hee that writes of it but reuerently and regularly, omits the better moitie of it. I excuse me not unto my selfe, and if I did, I would rather excuse my excuses, then any fault else of mine: I excuse my selfe of certaine humors, which in number I hold stronger, then those



those which are on my side: In consideration of which I will say thus much more (for I desire to please all men, though it be a hard matter, *Esse unum hominem accommodatum ad tantam morum, ac sermonum & voluntatum varietatem*, That one man should be applyable to so great variety of manners, speeches and dispositions) that they are not to blame me, for what I cause authorities received and approved of many ages, to utter: and that it is not reason, they should for want of ryme deny me the dispensation, which ever some of our church-men usurpe & enjoy in this season, whereof behold here two, and of the most pert and cocket amongst them:

*Rimula dispeream, ni mono grammata sua est.*

*Un vit d'amie la contente & bien traitte.*

How many others more? I love modellie; nor is it from judgement that I have made choise of this kinde of scandalous speech; 'tis nature hath chosen the same for me: I commend it no more, then all formes contrary unto received custome: onely I excuse it; and by circumstances as well generall as particular, would qualifie the imputation. Well, let us proceed. Whence cometh also the usurpation of soveraigne authority, which you assume unto your selves, over those that favour you to their cost and prejudice;

*Si furtiva dedit nigra munnuscula nocte,*

If she haue giu'n by night, The stolne gift of delight.

*Calucl. 4. 243*

that you should immediately inuest withall the interest, the coldnes, and a wedlock authority? It is a free bargain, why do you not undertake it on those termes you would have them to keepe? *There is no prescription upon voluntarie things.* It is against forme, yet it is true, that I haue in my time managed this match (so farre as the nature of it would allow) with as much conscience as any other whatsoever, and not without some colour of justice: and haue giuen them no further testimony of mine affection, then I sincerely felt: and haue liuely displaide unto them the declination, vigor and birth of the same; with the fits and deferring of it: *A man cannot alwayes keepe an even pace,* nor ever go to it alike. I haue bin so sparing to promise, that (as I thinke) I haue paid more then either I promised or was due. They haue found mee faithfull, euen to the seruice of their inconstancy: I say an inconstancy avowed, and sometimes multiplied. I never broke with them, as long as I had any hold, were it but by a threds-end: and whatsoever occasion they haue giuen me by their ficklenes, I never fell off unto contempt and hatred: for such familiarities, though I attaine them on most shamefull conditions, yet do they bind me unto some constant good-will. I haue sometime given them a taste of choller and indiscret impatience, upon occasions of their wiles, sleights, close-conuayances, controversies and contestations betweene us: for, by complexion, I am subiect to hastie and rash motions, which often empeach my traffick, and marre my bargaines, though but meane and of small worth. Have they desired to essay the liberty of my judgement, I never dissembled to giue them fatherly counsell and biting aduise, and shewed my selfe ready to scratch them where they itched. If I haue given them cause to complaine of me, it hath bin most for finding a loue in me, in respect of our moderne fashion, foolishly conscientious. I haue religiously kept my word, in things: that I might easily haue bin dispensed with. They then yeelded sometimes with reputation, and under conditions, which they would easily suffer to bee infringed by the conqueror. I haue more then once, made pleasure in hir greatest efforts strike faile unto the interest of their honor: and where reason vrged me, armed them against me, so that they guided themselves more safely & seuerely by my prescriptions, if they once freely yeelded unto them, then they could haue done by their owne. I haue as much as I could endeuored to take on my selfe the charge and hazard of our appointments, thereby to discharge them from all imputation; and ever contriued our meetings in most hard, strange and unsuspected manner, to be the lesse mistrusted, and (in my seeming) the more accessible. They are opened, especially in those parts, where they suppose themselves most concealed *Things left feared are left defended and observed.* You may more securely dare, what no man thinks you would dare, which by difficulty becometh easie. Neuer had man his approaches more impertinently, genitile. This way to loue, is more according to discipline. But how ridiculous unto our people, and of how small effect, who better knowes then I? yet will I not repent me of it; I haue no more to lose by the matter,

*me tabula sacra* *Hor. car. 1. 1. 104*  
*Votina paries, indicat vuida,*  
*Suspendisse potens* *5. 13.*

*Vestimenta*



*Vestimenta maris Deo.*

By tables of the vowes which I did owe  
Fastned thereto the sacred wall doth shewes;  
I haue hung up my garments water-wet,  
Vnto that God whose power on seas is great.

It is now high time to speake plainly of it. But even as to another, I would perhaps say;  
My friend thou dost, the love of thy times hath small affinity with faith and honesty;

*Ter. Eunuc. act.  
1 sc. 1.*

— *hec si tu postules*

*Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,  
Quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.*

It this you would by reason certaine make,  
You do no more, then if the paines you take,  
To be starke mad, and yet, to thinke it reason fit,

*Sen. ept. 95.*

And yet if I were to beginne anew, it should bee by the very same path and progresse, how fruitlesse soever it might prooue unto me, *Insufficiency and sottishnesse are commendable in a discommendable action.* As much as I separate my selfe from their humour in that, so much I approach unto mine owne. Moreover, I did never suffer my selfe to bee wholly given over to that sport; I therewith pleased, but forgot not my selfe. I ever kept that little understanding and discretion, which nature hath bestowed on me, for their seruice and mine; some morion towards it, but no dotage. My conscience also was engaged therein, even unto incontinency and excessse, but never unto ingratitude, treason, malice or cruelty. I bought not the pleasure of this vice at all rates; and was content with it's owne and simple cost. *Nullum in se vitium est, There is no vice contained in it selfe.* I hate almost alike a crouching and dull lasinesse, and a toilesome and thorny working. The one pincheth, the other dulleth mee. I loue wounds as much as bruses, and blood wipes as well as dry-blowes. I had in the practise of this solace, when I was fitter for it, an even moderation betweene these two extremities. *Love is a vigilant, liuely and blithe agitation:* I was neither troubled nor tormented with it, But heated and distempred by it: There wee must make a stay; It is only hurtfull unto fooles. A young man demanded of the Philosopher *Panetius*, whether it would becomme a wise man to be in loue; *Let wisemen alone* (quoth he) *but for thee and me that are not so, it were best not to engage our selues into so stirring and violent a humour, which makes us slaves to others & contemptible unto our selues.* He said true, for we ought not entrust a matter so dangerous, unto a minde that hath not wherewith to sustaine the approaches of it, nor effectually to quail the speach of *Agésilas*; *That wisdom and loue cannot liue together:* It is a vaine occupation (t'is true) vnseemely, shameful and lawlesse: But vsing it in this manner, I esteeme it wholesome and fit to rouze a dull spirit and a heavy body: and as a physitian experienced, I would prescribe the same vnto a man of my complexion and forme, as soone as any other receipt, to keepe him awake and in strength, when he is well in yeares; and delay him from the gripings of old age. As long as we are but in the suburbs of it, and that our pulse yet beateth,

*Juven. Sat. 3. 26*

*Dum nona canities, dum prima & recta senectus,  
Dum superest Lachesis quod torqueat, & pedibus me  
Porto meis, nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.*

While hoarie haire is new, and old-age fresh and straight,  
While *Lachesis* hath yet to spin, while I my waighe  
Beare on my feete, and stand, without staffe in my hand.

VVe had need to bee solicited and tickled, by some biting agitation, as this is. See but what youth, vigour and jollity it restored vnto wise *Anacreon*. And *Socrates*, when hee was elder then I am, speaking of an amorous object: leaning (saies hee) shoulder to shoulder, and approaching my head unto his, as were both together looking upon a booke, I felt, intruth, a sudden tingling or prickling in my shoulder, like the biting of some beast, which more then five daies after tickled mee, whereby a continuall itching glided into my heart. But a casuall touch, and that but in a shoulder, to enflame, to distemper and to distract a minde, enfeeble, tamed and cooled through age; and of all humane mindes the most reformed. And why not I pray you? *Socrates* was but a man, and would neither be nor seeme to bee other. Philosophie contends not against naturall delights, so that due measure bee joyned therewith; and alloweth the moderation, not the shunning of them



them. The efforts of her resistance are employed against strange and bastard or lawlesse ones. She saith, that *the bodies appetites ought not to be increased by the minde*. And wittily aduerteth us, that we should not excite our hunger by satiety; not to stoffe, instead of filling our bellies: to auoide all iouissance that may bring us to want: and shunne all meat and drink, which may make us hungry or thirstie. As in the seruice of love, shee appoints us to take an object, that onely may satisfie the bodies neede, without once mouing the mind, which is not there to haue any doing, but only to follow and simply to assist the body. But haue I not reason to thinke, that these precepts, which (in mine opinion are elsewhere somewhat rigorous) haue reference vnto a body which doth his office; and that a dejected one, as a weakened stomack may be excused if he cherish and sustaine the same by arte, and by the entercourse of fantasie, to restore it the desires, the delights and blithnesse, which of it selfe it hath lost? May we not say, that there is nothing in us, during this earthly prison, simply corporall, or purely spirituall? and that injuriously we dismember a living man? that there is reason we should carrie our selues in the use of pleasure, at least as fauourably as we do in the pangs of griefe? For example, it was vehement, even unto perfection, in the soules of Saints, by repentance. The body had naturally a part therein, by the right of their combination, and yet might haue but little share in the cause: and were not contented that it should simply follow and assist the afflicted soule: they haue tormented the body it selfe with conuenient and sharpe punishments; to the end that one with the other, the body & the soule might a vie plunge man into sorrow so much the more saving, by how much the more smarting. In like case, in corporal pleasures, is it not injustice to quale and coole the minde, and say, it must thereunto be entrained, as vnto a forced bond, or seruile necessity? She should rather hatch and cherish them, and offer and inuite it selfe unto them; the charge of swaying rightly belonging to her. Even as in my conceit, it is her part, in her proper delights, to inspire and infuse into the body all sense or feeling which his condition may beare, and indeavour that they may be both sweet and healthy for him. For, as they say, tis good reason; that the body follow not his appetites to the mindes prejudice or dammage. But why is it not likewise reason, that the minde should not follow hers to the bodies danger and hurt? I haue no other passion that keeps mee in breath. What avarice, ambition, quarels, suites in law, or other contentions worke and effect in others who as my selfe haue no assigned vacation, or certaine leisure, love would performe more commodiously: It would restore me the vigilancy, sobriety, grace and care of my person; and assure my countenance against the wrinkled frowns of age (those deformed and wretched frownes) which else would blemish and deface the same; It would reduce me to serious, to sound and wise studies, whereby I might procure more love, and purchase more estimation: It would purge my minde from despaire of it selfe, and of its use, acquainting the same againe with it selfe: It would diuert me from thousands of irksome tedious thoughts, & melancholy carking cares, wherewith the doring idleness and crazed condition of our age doth charge and comber us: It would restore and heat, though but in a dreame, the blood which nature forsaketh: It would uphold the drooping chinne, and somewhat strengthen or lengthen the shrunk sinewes, decayed vigour, and dulled liues: blithenesse of silly wretched man, who gallops apace to his ruine. But I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to attaine to such a commodity: Through weakenesse and long experience, our taste is growne more tender, more choise and more exquisite. We challenge most, when we bring least; we are most desirous to choose, when we least deserue to be accepted: And knowing our selues to bee such, we are lesse hardy and more distrustfull: Nothing can assure us to be beloved, seeing our condition and their quality. I am ashamed to be in the companie of this greene, blooming and boyling youth;

*Cuius in indomito constantior inguine nerues,  
Quam noua collibus arbor inheret:*

Why should we present our wretchednesse amid this their jollity?

*Possint ut iuuenes viscere feruidi*

*Multo non sine risu,*

*Dilapsam in cineres facem,*

That hot young men may go and see,

Not without sport and mery glee,

Their fire-brands turn'd to ashes bee.

*Hor. Epod. 12.  
19.*

*Hor. car. l. 4. od.  
13. 26.*

They



They haue both strength and reason on their side: let us giue them place: we haue no longer holde fast. This bloome of budding beauty, loues not to be handled by such nummed, and so clomfie hands, nor would it be dealt with by meanes purely materiall or ordinary stuffe. For, as that ancient Philosopher answered one that mocked him, because hee could not obtaine the fauour of a yongling, whom he suingly pursued: *My friend* (quoth he) *the hooke bites not at such fresh cheese.* It is a commerce needing relation and mutuall correspondency: other pleasures that we receiue, may be requitted by recompences of different nature: but this cannot be repaid but with the very same kinde of coyne. Verily, the pleasure I do others in this sport, doth more sweetly tickle my imagination, then that is done unto me. Now if no generous minde, can receive pleasure where he returneth none; it is a base minde that would haue all duty and delights to feed with conference, those under whose charge he remaineth. There is no beauty, nor fauour, nor familiarity so exquisite, which a gallant minde should desire at this rate. Now if women can do us no good but in pittie, I had much rather not to liue at all, then to liue by almes. I would I had the priuiledge to demande of them, in the same stile I haue heard some beg in Italy: *Fate bene per voi, Do some good for your selfe:* or after the manner that *Cyrus* exhorted his souldiers; *Whosoener loveth mee, let him follow mee.* Confort you selfe, will some say to me, with those of your owne condition, whom the company of like fortune will yeeld of more easie access. Oh sortish and wallowish composition;

Mar. h. 10. epig.  
90.9.

— nolo  
*Barbam vellere mortuū leoni.*  
I will not pull (though not a fearde)  
When he is dead a Lions beard.

*Xenophon* vseth for an objection and accusation against *Menon*, that in his loue he dealt with fading objects. I take more sensuall pleasure by enely viewing the mutuall, even proportioned and delicate commixture of two yong beauties; or onely to consider the same in mine imagination, then if my selfe should be second in a lumpish, sad and disproportioned conjunction. I resigne such distasted and fantastick appetites vnto the Emperour *Galba*, who medled with none but cast, worne, hard-old flesh; And to that poore slave,

Ouid. Pont. l. 1.  
st. 5. 49.

*O ego dii faciant talem te cernere possim,  
Charaque mutatis oscula ferre comis,  
Amplectique meis corpus non pingue lacertis.*  
Gods graunt I may beholde thee in such case,  
And kisse thy chang'd locks with my dearest grace,  
And with mine armes thy limmes not [fat embrace.

And amongst blemishing - deformities, I deeme artificiall and forced beautie to bee of the chiefest. *Emanz* a yong lad of *Chios*, supposing by gorgeous attires to purchase the beauty, which nature denied him, came to the Philosopher *Aresilau*, and asked of him, whether a wise man could be in loue, or no? *Tes marrie* (quoth he) *so it were not with a painted and sophisticate beauty, as thine is.* The fowlenesse of an old knowne woman is in my seeming, not so aged nor so ill-fauoured, as one that's painted and sleeked. Shall I bouldly speake it, and not haue my threate cut for my labour? *Loue is not properly nor naturally in season, but in the age next unto infancy,*

Hor. car. l. 2. od.  
3. 12.

*Quam si puellarum infereres choro,  
Mille sagaces falleret hospites,  
Discrimen obscurum salutis  
Crimibus, ambiguoque vultu.*  
Whom if you should in crue of wenches place,  
With haire loose-hanging, and ambiguous face,  
Strangely the vndiscern'd distinction might  
Deceiue a thousand strangers of sharpe sight.

No more is perfect beauty. For, whereas *Horace* extends it untill such time as the chinne begins to bud. *Plato* himselfe hath noted the same for very rare, And the cause for which the Sophister *Dion* termed youthes budding hayres; *Aristogitons* and *Harmodij*, is notoriously knowne. In man-hoode I finde it already to bee somewhat out of date, much more in old age.

Impo



*Importunus enim transuolat aridas*

*Quercus.*

Importune loue doth ouer flie.

The Okes with withered old-age drie.

*lib. 1. 4. ed. 13.*

And Margaret Queen of Nauarre, lengthens much (like a woman) the priuiledge of womē: Ordaining thirty yeares to be the season, for them to change the title of faire into good. The shorter possession we allow it ouer our lines, the better for us. Behold it's behaviour. It is a princeck boy, who in his school, knows not, how far one proceeds against all order: study, exercise, custome and practise, are paths to insufficiency: the novices beare all the sway; *Amor ordinem nefcit*, Love knowes or keeps no order. Surely it's course hath more garbe, when it is commixt with vnacui ednes and trouble: faults and contray successes giue it edge and grace: so it be eager and hungry, it little importeth whether it bee prudent. Obserue but how he staggers, it tumbleth and rooeth; you fetter and shackle him, when you guide him by arte and discretion: and you force his sacred liberty, when you submit him to those bearded, grim and tough-hard hands. Moreover, I often heare them display this intelligence as absolute y spiritual, disdain to draw into consideration the interest which all the senses haue in the same. All serueth to the purpose: But I may say, that I haue often seen some of us execute the weakenesse of their minds, in fauour of their corporall beauties; but I neuer saw them yet, that in behalfe of the mindes-beauties, how sound and ripe soeuer they were, would afford an helping hand unto a body, that neuer so little falleth into declination. Why doth not some one of them long to produce that noble Socraticall brood; or breed that precious gem, between the body and the mind, purchasing with the price of her thighes a Philosophicall and spirituall breed and intelligence? which is the highest rate she can possibly value them at. *Plato* appointeth in his laws, that he who performeth a notable and worthy exploite in warre, during the time of that expedition, should not be denied a kisse or refused any other amorous fauour, of whomsoever he shall please to desire it, without respect either of his ill-fauourdnes, deformity, or age. What he deemeth to just and allowable in commendation of Military valour, may not the same be thought as lawfull in commendation of some other worth? and why is not some one of them possessed with the humor to preoccupate on hir companions the glory of this chaste loue? chaste I may well say;

*—nam si quando ad praelia ventum est,  
Et quondam stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis  
In cassum furit.*

*Virg. Geor. 1. 3.  
28.*

If once it come to handy-gripes; as great,  
But force-lesse fire in stubble; so his heate  
Rageth amaine, but all in vaine.

Vices smothered in ones thought, are not the worst. To conclude this notable commentarie, escaped from me by a flux of babling: a flux sometimes as violent as hurtfull,

*Ve missum sponsi furtiuo munere malum,  
Procurris casto virginis à gremio:  
Quod misera oblita molli sub veste locatum,  
Dum aduentu matris profilit, excutitur,  
Atque illud prono praeceps agitar decursu,  
Huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.*

*Catull. el. 1. 19.*

As when some fruit by stealth sent from hir friend,  
From chaste lap of a virgin doth descend,  
Which by hir, vnder her soft aprone plait,  
Starving at mothers comming thence is cast:  
And trilling downs in hast doth head-long go,  
A guilty blush in hir sad face doth flo.

I say, that both male and female, are cast in one same mould; instruction and custome excepted, there is no great difference betweene them: *Plato* calleth them both indifferently to the society of all studi s, exercises, charges and functions of ware and peace, in his Commonwealth. And the Philosopher *Antisthenes* took away al distinction betweene their vertue and ours. It is much more easie to accute the one sexe, then to excuse the other. It is that which some say prouerbially. *Ill may the Kill call the Owen burnt tails.*

The



CHAP. VI.

Of Coaches.

IT is easie to verifie, that excellent authors, writing of causes do not only make vse of those which they imagine true, but also of such as themselves beleue not: alwayes provided they have some invention and beautie. They speake sufficiently, truly and profitably, if they speake ingeniously. We cannot assure our selves of the chiefe cause: we huddle up a many together, to see whether by chance it shall be found in that number;

Lucret. l. 6. 700

*Namque unam dicere causam,  
Non satis est, verum plures unde una tamen sit.  
Enough it is not one cause to devise,  
But more, whereof that one may yet arise.*

Will you demand of me, whence this custome ariseth, to blesse an say God helpe to those that sneeze? We produce three sortes of winde; that issuing from belowe is too vndeceit; that from the mouth, implieth some reproach of gormandise; the third is sneeling: and because it commeth from the head, and is without imputation, we thus kindly entertaine it: Smile not at this subtilty, it is (as some say) *Aristotles*. Me seemeth to haue read in *Plutarch* (who of all the authors I know, hath best commixt arte with nature, and coupled iudgement with learning) where he yeeldeth a reason, why those which trauell by sea, do sometimes feelee such qualmes and risings of the stomack, saying, that it proceedeth of a kinde of feare: hauing found-out some reason, by which he prooveth, that feare may cause such an effect. My selfe who am much subiect unto it, know well, that this cause doth nothing concerne me. And I know it, not by argument, but by necessary experience, without alleaging what some haue tolde me, that the like doth often happen vnto beasts, namely unto swine, when they are farthest from apprehending any danger: and what an acquaintance of mine hath assured me of himselfe, and who is greatly subiect unto it, that twice or thrice in a tempestuous storme, being surprised with exceeding feare, all manner of desire or inclination to vomit had left him. As to that ancient good fellow; *Peius vexabat quam ut periculum mihi succurreret. I was worse vexed then that danger could helpe me.* I never apprehended feare upon the water; nor any where else (yet haue I often had just cause offred me, if death it selfe may give it) which either might trouble or astonie me. It proceedeth sometimes as well from want of iudgement, as from lacke of courage. All the dangers I haue had, haue bene when mine eyes were wide-open, and my sight cleare, sound and perfect: For, *even to feare, courage is required.* It hath sometimes steaded me, in respect of others, to direct and keepe my flight in order, that so it might be, if not without feare, at least without dismay and astonishment. Indeed it was moued, but not amazed nor distracted. Vndanted mindes march further, and represent flight, not onely temperate, settled and sound, but also fierce and bold. Report we that which *Alcibiades* relateth of *Socrates* his companion in armes. I found (saith he) after the route and discomfiture of our armie, both him and *Laches* in the last ranke of those that ranne away, and with all safety and leasure considered him, for I was mounted upon an excellent good horse, and he on foote, and so had we combated all day. I noted first, how in respect of *Laches*; he shewed both discreet iudgement and vndanted resolution: then I obserued the undismayde brauery of his march, nothing different from his ordinary pace: his looke orderly and constant, duly obseruing and heedily iudging what ever passed round about him: sometimes viewing the one, and sometimes looking on the other both friends and enemies, with so composed a manner, that he seemed to encourage the one and menace the other, signifying, that whosoever should attempt his life, must purchase the same, or his blood at a high-valued rate? and thus they both saved themselves; for, men do not willingly grapple with these; but fallow such as shew or feare or dismay. Lo here the testimony of that renowned Captaine, who teacheth us what wee daily finde by experience, that there is nothing doth sooner cast us into dangers, then an inconsiderate greedinesse to auoide them. *Quo timoris minus est, eo minus ferme periculi est. The lesse feare there is most commonly*



monly, the lesse danger there is. Our people is to blame, to say, such a one feareth death, when it would signifie, that he thinkes on it, and doth foresee the same. Foresight doth equally belong as well to that which concerneth us in good, as touch us in evill. To consider and judge danger, is in some sort, not to bee danted at it. I doe not find my selfe sufficiently strong to withstand the blow and violence of this passion of feare, or of any other impetuosity, were I once therewith vanquished and deterred, I could never safely recover my selfe. He that should make my minde forgoe her footing, could never bring her unto her place againe. She doth over lively sound, and over deeply search into her selfe: And therefore never suffers the wound which pierced the same, to be thoroughly cured and consolidated. It hath beene happy for me: that no infirmity could ever yet displace her. I oppose and present my selfe in the best ward I have, against all charges and assaults that beset mee. Thus the first that should beare me away, would make me unrecoverable. I encounter not two which way soever spoile should enter my hold, there am I open, and remedilessly drowned. *Epicurus* saith, that a wise man can never passe from one state to its contrary. I have some opinion answering his sentence, that he who hath once beene a very foole, shall at no time proove verie wise. God sends my cold answerable to my cloths, and passions answering the meanes I have to indure them. Nature having discovered mee on one side, hath covered mee on the other. Having disarmed me of strength, she hath armed me with insensibility, and a regular or lost apprehension. I cannot long endure (and lesse could in my youth) to ride either in coach or litter, or to go in a boat; and both in the City and country I hate all manner of riding, but a horse-back: And can lesse endure a litter, then a coach, and by the same reason, more easily a rough agitation upon the water, whence commonly proceedeth feare, then the soft stirring a man shall feelee in calme weather. By the same easie gentle motion, which the oares give, conveying the boat under us, I wot not how, I feelee both my head intoxicated and my stomacke distempered: as I cannot likewise abide a shaking stoole under me. When as either the saile, or the gliding course of the water doth equally carry us away, or that we are but towed, that gently gliding and even agitation, doth no whit distemper or hurt me. It is an interrupted and broken motion, that offends mee; and more when it is languishing. I am not able to display its forme. Physicians haue taught mee to bind and gird my selfe with a napkin or swath round about the lower part of my belly, as a remedy for this accident; which as yet I have not tride, being accustomed to wrestle and withstand such defects as are in mee; and tame them by my selfe. Were my memory sufficiently informed of them, I would not thinke my time lost, heere to set down the infinite variety, which histories present unto us, of the use of coaches in the service of warre: divers according to the nations, and different according to the ages: to my seeming of great effect and necessity. So that it is wondrously strange, how we have lost all true knowledge of them; I will onely alledge this, that even lately in our fathers time, the Hungarians did very availably bring them into fashion, and profitably set them a work against the Turks; every one of them containing a Targattier and a Muskettier, with a certaine number of harquebuses or calivers, ready charged; and so ranged, that they might make good use of them: and all over covered with a pavesado, after the manner of a Galliotte. They made the front of their battaile with three thousand such coaches: and after the Cannon had playd, caused them to discharge and shoote off a volie of small shott upon their enemies. before they should know or feelee, what the rest of the forces could doe: which was no small advancement; or if not this, they mainely droue those coaches amide the thickest of their enemies squadrons, with purpose to breake, disrout and make waie through them. Besides the benefit and helpe they might make of them, in any suspicious or dangerous place, to flanke their troupes marching from place to place: or in hast to encompass, to embarricado, to cover or fortifie any lodgement or quarter. In my time, a gentleman of quality, in one of our frontiers, unwealdy and so burly of body, that hee could finde no horse able to beare his waight, and having a quarrell or deadly fude in hand, was wont to travaile up and down in a coach made after this fashion, and found much ease and good in it. But leave we these warlike coaches, as if their nullity were not sufficiently knowne by better tokens; The last Kings of our first race were wont to travell in chariots drawne by foure oxen. *Mark Antonie* was the first, that caused himselfe, accompanied with a ministerell harlot to be drawne by Lyons fitted to a coach. So did *Heliogabalus* after him, naming himselfe *Cri-*



*bele* the mother of the Gods; and also by Tigers, counterfeiting God *Bacchus*: who sometimes would also bee drawne in a coach by two Stagges: and an-other time by foure mastiue Dogs: and by foure naked wenches, causing himselfe to bee drawne by them in pompe and stare, hee being all naked. The emperour *Firmus*, made his coach to bee drawne by Estriges of exceeding greatnesse, so that hee rather seemed to flye, then to roule on wheelles. The strangenesse of these inuentions, doth bring this other thing vnto my fantasie. That it is a kinde of puslanimity in Monarkes, and a testimony that they doe not sufficiently know what they are, when they labour to shew their worth, and endeouour to appeare vnto the world, by excessiue and intolerable expences. A thing, which in a strange country might somewhat bee excused; but amongst his natieue subiects, where hee swayeth all in all, hee draweth from his dignity the extreamest degree of honour, that hee may possible attaine vnto. As for a gentleman, in his owne priuate house to apparel himselfe richly and curiously, I deeme it a matter vaine and superfluous; his house, his household, his traine and his kitchin doe sufficiently answer for him. The counsell which *Isocrates* giueth to his King (in my conceite) seemeth to carry some reason: when hee willet him to bee richly-stored and stately adorned with mooueables and household-stuffe, forsomuch as it is an expence of continuance, and which descendeth euen to his posterity or heires: And to auoyde all magnificences, which presently vanish both from custome and memory. I loued when I was a yonger brother to let my selfe foorth and bee gaye in cloathes, though I wanted other necessaries; and it became mee well: There are some on whose backs their rich Robes weepe, or as wee say their rich cloathes are lyned with heauy debts. We haue diuers strange tales of our auncient Kings frugalitie about their owne persons, and in their gifts: great and farre renowned Kings both in credit, in valour and in fortune. *Demosthenes* mainly combates the law of his Citie, who assigned their publique money to be employed about the stately setting forth of their playes and feasts: He willet that their magnificence should bee scene in the quantity of tall ships well manned and appointed, and armies well furnished. And they haue reason to accuse *Theophrastus*, who in his booke of riches established a contrarie opinion, and vpholdeth such a quality of expences, to be the true fruit of wealth and plenty. They are pleasures (saith *Aristotle*) that onely touch the vulgar and basest communalty, which as soone as a man is satisfied with them, vanish out of minde; and whereof no man of sound judgement or gravity can make any esteeme. The employment of it, as more profitable, just and durable would seeme more royall, worthy and commendable, about ports, hauens, fortifications and walles; in sumptuous buildings, in churches, hospitals, colledges, mending of heighwayes and streetes, and such like monuments: in which things Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth shall leaue aye-lasting and commendable memory vnto his name: and wherein our Queene *Catherin* should winites vnto succeeding ages her naturall liberality and exceeding bounty, if her meanes were answerable to her affection. Fortune hath much spighted mee to hinder the structure and breake-off the finishing of our new-bridge in our great Citie; and before my death to depriue mee of all hope to see the great necessity of it set forward againe. Moreouer, it appeareth vnto subiects, spectators of these triumphs, that they haue a show made them of their owne riches, and that they are feasted at their proper charges: For, the people doe easily presume of their kings, as wee doe of our seruants: that they should take care plenteously to prouide vs of whatsoeuer wee stand in neede of, but that on their behalfe they should no way lay hands on it. And therefore the Emperour *Galba* sitting at supper, hauing taken pleasure to heare a musician play and sing before him, sent for his casket, out of which he tooke a handful of Crowns and put them into his hand, with these wordes, *Take this, not as a gift of the publique money, but of mine owne priuate store.* So is it, that it often cometh to passe, that the common people haue reason to grudge, and that their eyes are fedde, with that which should feede their belly. Liberality it selfe, in a soueraigne hand is not in her owne luster: priuate men haue more right, and in y challenge more interest in her. For, taking the matter exactly as it is, a King hath nothing that is properly his owne; hee oweth euen himselfe to others. Authority is not giuen in fauour of the authorising, but rather in fauour of the authorised. A superiour is neuer created for his owne profit, but rather for the benefit of the inferiour: And a Phisition is instituted for the sicke, not for himselfe. All Magistracie, euen as each arte, reiecteth her end out of her selfe. *Nulla ars in se versatur. No arte is all in it selfe.* Wherefore the gouernours and

over,



overseers of Princes childhood or minority, who so earnestly endeavor to imprint this vertue of bounty and liberality in them; and teach them not to refuse any thing, and esteeme nothing so well imployed, as what they shall give (an instruction which in my dayes I have seene in great credit) either they preferre and respect more their owne profite than their masters; or else they understand not aright to whom they speake. It is too easie a matter to imprint liberality in him, that hath wherewith plenteously to satisfie what he desireth at other mens charges. And his estimation being directed not according to the measure of the present, but according to the quality of his meanes, that exerciseth the same, it cometh to prove vaine in so puissant hands. They are found to bee prodigall, before they be liberall. Therefore it is but of small commendation, in respect of other royall vertues. And the onely (as said the tyrant *Dionysius*) that agreed and squared well with tyrannie it felicitie. I would rather teach him the verse of the ancient labourer,

τῇ χειρὶ δὲ σπείρειν ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅλῳ τῷ θυλακῷ.  
Not whole sackes, but by the hand  
A man should sow his seed i'the land.

Plut. de Aliter.  
Enal. chil. 2.  
cent. 1. ad. 32.

That whosoever will reape any commodity by it, must sow with his hand, and not powre out of the sacke: that come must be discreetly scattered, and not lavishly dispersed: And that being to give, or to say better, to pay and restore to such a multitude of people, according as they have deserved, he ought to be a loyall, faithfull, and advised distributer thereof. If the liberality of a Prince be without heedie discretion and measure, I would rather haue him covetous and sparing. Princely vertue seemeth to consist most in justice. And of all parts of justice, that doth best and most belong to Kings, which accompanieth liberality. For they have it particularly reserved to their charge; whereas all other justice, they happily exercise the same by the intermission of others. Immoderate bounty is a weake meane to acquire them good will: for it reiecteth more people than it obtaineth: *Quo in plures usus sis, minus in multos uti possis.* *Quid autem est stultius, quam, quod libenter facias, curare ut id diutius facere non possis?* The more you have used it to many, the lesse may you use it to many more: And what is more fond than what you willingly would doe, to provide you can no longer doe it? And if it be employed without respect of merit, it shameth him that receiveth the same, and is received without grace. Some Tyrants have been sacrificed to the peoples hatred, by the very hands of those, whom they had rashly preferred and wrongfully advanced: such kinde of men, meaning to assure the possession of goods unlawfully and indirectly gotten, if they shew to hold in contempt and hatred, him from whom they held them, and in that combine themselves unto the vulgar iudgement and common opinion. The subjects of a Prince, rashly excessive in his gifts, become impudently excessive in begging: they adhere, not unto reason, but unto example. Verily we have often just cause to blush, for our impudency. We are over-paid according to justice, when the recompence equaleth our service: for, doe we not owe a kinde of naturall duty to our Princes? If he beare our charge, he doth overmuch; it sufficeth if hee assist it: the over-plus is called a benefite, which cannot be exacted; for the very name of liberality implyeth liberty. After our fashion we have never done, what is received is no more reckoned of: onely future liberality is loved: Wherefore the more a Prince doth exhaust himselfe in giving, the more friends he impoverisheth. How should he satisfie intemperate desires, which increase according as they are replenished? Who so hath his minde on taking, hath it no more on what he hath taken. Covetousness hath nothing so proper, as to bee ungratefull. The example of *Cyrus* shal not ill fit this place, for the behoofe of our kings of these daies, as a touch-stone, to know whether their gifts be wel or ill employed; and make them perceive how much more happily that Emperour did wound and oppresse them, than they doe. Whereby they are afterward forced to exact & borrow of their unknowne subjects, and rather of such as they have wronged and aggrieved, then of those they have enriched and done good unto: and receive no aids, where any thing is gratitude, except the name. *Crasus* upbraided him with his lavish bounty, and calculated what his treasure would amount unto, if he were more sparing and close-handed. A desire surpris'd him to iustifie his liberality, and dispatching letters over all parts of his dominions, to such great men of his estate, whom hee had particularly advanced, intreated every one to assist him with as much money as they could, for an urgent



necessitie of his; and presently to send it him by declaration: when all these count-bookes or notes were brought him, each of his friends supposing that it sufficed not, to offer him no more than they had received of his bounteous liberality, but adding much of their owne unto it, it was found, that the said summe amounted unto much more than the niggardly sparing of *Croesus*. Whereupon *Cyrus* said, *I am no lesse greedy of riches, than other Princes, but I am rather a better husband of them. You see with what small venture I have purchased the unvaluable treasure of so many friends, and how much more faithfull treasurers they are to mee, than mercenary men would be, without obligation and without affection: and my exchequer or treasury better placed than in paltry cofers; by which I draw upon me the hate, the envy and the contempt of other Princes. The ancient Emperours were wont to draw from excuse, for the superfluity of their sports and publike shewes, for so much as their authority did in some sort depend (at least in apparence) from the will of the Romane people; which from all ages are accustomed to be flattered by such kinde of spectacles and exccesse.*

*Cic. Off. l. 1.*

But they were particular ones who had bred this custome, to gratifie their con-citizens & fellowes: especially by their purse, by such profusion and magnificence. It was cleane altered, when the masters and chiefe rulers came once to imitate the same. *Pecuniarum translatio à justis dominis ad alienos non debet liberalis videri.* The passing of money from right owners to strangers should not seeme liberality. *Philip*, because his sonne indeavoured by gifts to purchase the good will of the Macedonians, by a letter seemed to be displeased, and chid him in this manner: What? *Wouldst thou have thy subjects to account thee for their purse-bearer, and not repute thee for their King? Wilt thou frequent and practise them? Then doe it with the benefits of thy vertue, not with those of thy cofers:* Yet was it a goodly thing to cause a great quantity of great trees, all branchie and greene, to bee far brought and planted in plots yeelding nothing but dry gravell, representing a wilde shady forrest, divided in due solemely proportion: And the first day, to put into the same a thousand Estriges, a thousand Stagges, a thousand wilde Boares, and a thousand Buckes, yeelding them over to bee hunted and killed by the common people: the next morrow in the presence of all the assembly to cause a hundred great Lions, a hundred Leopards, and three hundred huge Beares to be baited and tugged in pieces: and for the third day, in bloody manner and good earnest to make three hundred couple of Gladiators or Fencers, to combate and murder one another; as did the Emperour *Probus*. It was also a goodly shew, to see those huge Amphitheatres all enchaied with rich marble, on the outside curiously wrought with curious statues, and all the inner side glittering with precious and rare embellishments.

*Baltheus en gemmis, en illius porticus auro.*  
A belt belcet with gemmes behold,  
Behold a walke bedawb'd with gold.

All the sides round about that great void, replenished and invironed from the ground unto the very top, with three or fourescore rankes of steps and seates, likewise all of marble covered with faire cushions.

*Juven. Sat. 3.*  
153.

—*exeat, inquit,*  
*Sipudor est, & de pulvino surgat equestri,*  
*Cujus res legi non sufficit.*  
If shame there be, let him be gone, he cries,  
And from his knightly cushion let him rise,  
Whose substance to the law doth not suffice.

Where might conveniently bee placed an hundred thousand men, and all sit at ease. And the plaine-ground-worke of it, where sports were to be acted, first by Art to cause the same to open and chap in sunder with gaps and cranishes, representing hollow cavernes which vomited out the beasts appointed for the spectacle: that ended, immediately to overflow it all with a maine deepe sea, fraught with store of sea-monsters and other strange fishes, all over-laid with goodly tall ships, ready rigd and appointed to represent a Sea-fight; and suddenly, suddenly to make it smooth and drie againe, for the combats of Gladiators: and fourthly,



fourthly being forthwith cleansed, to strewe it over with Vermilion and Storax, in steede of gravell, for the erecting of a solemne banket, for all that infinite number of people: the last act of one onely day.

*quoties nos descenditis arena  
Vidimus in parces,ruptaque voragine terra  
Emersisse feras, & iisdem saepe latebris  
Aurea cum croceo creuerunt arbuta libro.  
Nec solum nobis siluestria cernere monstra  
Contigit equoreos, ego cum certantibus orsis  
Spectani vitulos, & equorum nomine dignum,  
Sed deforme pecus.*

How oft haue we beheld wild beasts appeare  
From broken gulfes of earth, upon some parte  
Of sande that did not sinke? how often there  
And thence did golden boughs ore saffron'd starte?  
Nor onely saw we monsters of the wood,  
But I haue scene Sea. calves whom Beares with blood  
And such a kinde of beast as might be named  
A horse, but in most foule proportion framed.

They haue sometimes caused an high steepy mountaine to arise in the midst of the sayd Amphitheaters, all over spred with fruitfull and flourishing trees of all sortes, on the top whereof gushed out streames of water, as from out the source of a purling spring. Other times they haue produced therein a great tall Ship floating up and downe, which of it selfe opened and split a sunder, and after it had disgorged from out it's bulke, foure or five hundred wild beasts to bee baited, it closed and vanished away of it selfe, without any visible helpe. Sometimes from out the bottome of it, they caused streakes and purlings of sweete water to spoute up, bubling to the highest top of the frame, and gently warring, sprinkling and refreshing that infinite multitude. To keepe and couer themselves from the violence of the wether, they caused that huge compasse to be all ouer-spred, sometimes with purple sailes, all curiously wrought with the needle, sometimes of silke, and of some other colour, in the twinkling of an eye, as they pleased, they displaid and spred, or drewe and pulled them in againe.

*Quamuis non modico caleant spectacula solo  
Velar educuntur cum venit Hermogenes.  
Though seruent Sunne make't hotte to see a play,  
When linnen-thieues come, sailes are kept away.*

The nets likewise, which they vsed to put before the people, to save them from harme and violence of the baited beasts, were wouen with golde.

*anro quoque tortare fulgent  
Retia.  
Nets with gold enterlaced,  
Their shewes with glictring graced;*

If any thing bee excusable in such lavish excesse it is, where the invention and strange- nesse breedeth admiration, and not the costlie charge. Euen in those vanities, wee may plainly perceiue how fertile and happy those former ages were of other manner of wittes, then ours are. It hapneth of this kinde of fertilitie as of all other productions of nature. Wee may not say what nature employed then the vtmost of hir power. Wee goe not, but rather creepe and stagger here and there: we goe our pace, I imagine our knowledge



knowledge to bee weake in all senses: wee neither discern far forward, nor see much backward. It embraceth little, and liueth not long: It is short both in extension of time, and in ample-  
nesse of matter or invention.

Hor. car. l. 4. od.  
p. 25.

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
Multi, sed omnes illachrymabiles  
Vrgentur, ignotique longa  
Nocte.*

Before great Agamemnon and the rest,  
Many liv'd valiant, yet are all suppress'd,  
Vnmoan'd, unknowne, in darke oblivions nest.

Lucr. l. 5. 316.

*Et supera bellum Trojanum & funera Troia,  
Multi alias alij quoque res cecinerunt poeta.  
Beside the Troia warre, Troyes funerall night,  
Of other things did other Poets write.*

Cic. Nat. Deo. l. 1

And Solons narration concerning what he had learned of the Ægyptian Priests, of their states, long-life, and manner how to learne and preserve strange or forraine histories, in mine opinion is not a testimony to bee refused in this consideration. Si interminatam in omnes partes magnitudinem regionum videremus, & temporum, in quam se iniiciens animus & intendens, ita late longeque peregrinatur, ut nullam oram ultimi videat, in qua possit insistere: In hac immensitate infinita, vis innumerabilium appareret formarum. If we behold an unlimited greatnesse on all sides both of regions and times, whereupon the mind casting it selfe and intentione doth travell farre and neare, so as it sees no bounds of what is last, whereon it may insist; in this infinite immensity there would appeare a multitude of innumerable formes. If whatsoeuer hath come unto us by report of what is past were true, and knowne of any body, it would be lesse then nothing, in respect of that which is vnkowne. And even of this image of the world, which whilest we live therein, gliderh and passeth away, how wretched, weake and how short is the knowledge of the most curious? Not onely of the particular euent, which fortune often maketh exemplar and of consequence: but of the state of mighty common-wealths, large Monarkies and renowned nations, there escapeth our knowledge a hundred times more, then cometh unto our notice. We keepe a coile, and wonder at the miraculous inuention of our artillerie, and amazed at the rare deuise of Printing: when as unknowne to us, other men, and an other end of the world named China, knew and had perfect use of both, a thousand yeares before. If we sawe as much of this vaste world, as we see but a least part of it, it is very likely we should perceiue a perpetuall multiplicity, and ouer-rouling vicissitude of formes. Therein is nothing singular, and nothing rare, if regard bee had unto nature, or to say better, if relation bee had unto our knowledge: which is a weake foundation of our rules, and which doth commonly present us a right-false Image of things. How vainely do we now-adayes conclude the declination and decrepitude of the world, by the fond arguments wee drawe from our owne weakenesse, drooping and declination:

Lucr. l. 5. 1159.

*Iamque adeo affecta est ætas, affectaque tellus:  
And now both age and land  
So sicke affected stand.*

And as vainly did another conclude it's birth and youth, by the vigour he perceiueth in the wits of his time, abounding in novelties an invention of diuers Arts:

Ibid. l. 5. 330.

*Verum ut opinor, habet nouitatem summa, recensque  
Natura est mundi, neque pridem exordia cepit:  
Quare etiam quadam nunc artes expoliuntur,*



*Nunc etiam augeſcunt, nunc addita nauigijs ſunt  
Multa.*

But all this world is new, as I ſuppoſe,  
Worlds nature freſh; nor lately it aroſe  
Whereby ſome arts refined are in faſhion,  
And many things now to our navigation  
Are added, daily growne to augmentation.

Our world hath of late diſcovered another (and who can warrant us whether it be the laſt of his brethren, ſince both the *Damons*, the *Sibylles*, and all we have hitherto been ignorant of this?) no leſſe-large, fully-peopled, all-things-yeelding, and mighty in ſtrength, than ours: nevertheleſſe ſo new and infantine, that he is yet to learne his A. B. C. It is not yet full fifty yeeres that he knew neither letters, nor waight, nor meaſures, nor apparell, nor corne, nor vines. But was all naked, ſimply-pure, in Natures lappe, and liued but with ſuch meanes and food as his mother-nurce afforded him. If wee conclude aright of our end, and the foreſaid Poet of the infancy of his age, this late-world ſhall but come to light, when ours ſhall fall into darkneſſe. The whole Vniuerſe ſhall fall into a paſſey or conuulſion of ſinnowes: one member ſhall be maimed or ſhrunken, another nimble and in good plight. I feare, that by our contagion, we ſhall directly haue furthered his declination, and haſtened his ruine; and that we ſhall too dearly have ſold him our opinions, our new-fangles and our Arts. It was an unpolluted, harmeleſſe infant world; yet haue we not whipped and ſubmitted the ſame unto our diſcipline, or ſchooled him by the advantage of our valour or naturall forces, nor haue wee inſtructed him by our juſtice and integrity; nor ſubdued by our magnanimity. Moſt of their answers, and a number of the negotiations we haue had with them, witneſſe that they were nothing ſhort of vs, nor beholding to us for any excellency of naturall wit or perſpicuitie, concerning pertinency. The wonderfull, or as I may call it, amazement-breeding magnificence of the never-like ſcene Cities of *Cusco* and *Mexico*, and amongst infinite ſuch like things, the admirable Garden of that King, where all the Trees, the fruits, the Hearbes and Plants, according to the order and greatneſſe they haue in a Garden, were moſt artificially framed in gold: as alſo in his Cabiner, all the liuing creatures that his Countrey or his Seas produced, were caſt in gold; and the exquisite beauty of their workes, in precious Stones, in Feathers, in Cotton and in Painting: ſhew that they yeelded as little unto us in cunning and induſtrie. But concerning unfained deuotion, aweſull obſeruance of lawes, unſpotted integrity, bounteous liberality, due loyalty and free liberty, it hath greatly auailed us, that we had not ſo much as they: By which aduantage, they haue loſt, caſt-away, ſold, vndone and betraied themſelves.

Touching hardineſſe and undaunted courage, and as for matchleſſe conſtancie, vnmoued aſſuredneſſe, and vndiſmaied reſolution againſt paine, ſmarter, famine and death it ſelfe; I will not feare to oppoſe the examples which I may eaſily finde amongſt them, to the moſt famous ancient examples, we may with all our induſtrie diſcover in all the Annales and memories of our known old World. For, as for thoſe which haue ſubdued them, let them lay aſide the wiles, the policies and ſtratagems, which they haue employed to cozen, to cunmy-catch, and to circumvent them; and the juſt aſtoniſhment which thoſe nations might juſtly conceive, by ſeeing ſo unexpected an arriuall of bearded men; diuers in language, in habite, in religion, in behauiour, in forme, in countenance; and from a part of the world ſo diſtant, and where they neuer heard any habitation was: mounted upon great and vnknown monſters; againſt thoſe, who had had never ſo much as ſcene any horſe, and leſſe any beaſt whatſoever apt to beare, or taught to carry either man or burden; covered with a ſhining and hard ſkinne, and armed with ſlicing-keene weapons and glittering armour: againſt them, who for the wonder of the gliftring of a looking-glaſſe or of a plaine knife, would haue changed or giuen ineſtimable riches in Gold, Precious Stones and Pearles; and who had neither the ſkill nor the matter wherewith at any leaſure, they could  
haue



haue pierced our Steele: to which you may adde the flashing - fire and thundring roare of shotte and Harguebuses; able to quell and daunt even *Cesar* himselfe, had he beene so suddenly surprised and as little experienced as they were: and thus to come unto, and assault silly-naked people, sauing where the inuention of weauing of Cotton cloath was knowne and vsed: for the most altogether vnarmed, except some bowes, stones, staues and wooden bucklers: unsuspecting poore people, surprised under colour of amity and well-meaning faith over-taken by the curiosity to see strange and unknowne things: I say, take this disparity from the conquerors, and you depriue them of all the occasions and cause of so many vnexpected victories. When I consider that sterne-vntamed obstinacy, and undanted vehemence, wherewith so many thousands of men, of women and children, do so infinite times present themselves unto inevitable dangers, for the defence of their Gods and liberty: This generous obstinacy to endure all extremities, all difficulties and death, more easily and willingly, then basely to yeelde unto their domination, of whom they haue so abominably beene abused: some of them choosing rather to starue with hunger and fasting, being taken, then to accept food at their enemies hands, so basely victorious: I perceauie, that whosoever had undertaken them man to man, without ods of armes, of experience or of number, should haue had as dangerous a warre, or perhaps more, as any we see amongst us.

Why did not so glorious a conquest happen under *Alexander*, or during the time of the ancient Greekes and Romanes? or why befell not so great a change and alteration of Empires and people, vnder such hands as would gently haue polished, reformed and incivilized, what in them they deemed to be barbarous and rude: or would haue nourished and fostered those good feedes, which nature had there brought forth: adding not onely to the manuring of their grounds and ornaments of their cities, such artes as we had; and that no further then had beene necessary for them, but therewithall joyning unto the originall vertues of the country, those of the ancient Grecians and Romanes? What reputation and what reformation would all that farre spreading world haue found, if the examples, demeanors and pollicies, wherewith we first presented them, had called and allured those vncorrupted nations, to the admiration and imitation of vertue, and had established betweene them and us a brotherly society and mutuall correspondency? How easie a matter had it beene, profitably to reforme, and christianly to instruct, minds yet so pure and new, so willing to bee taught, being for the most part endowed with so docile, so apt and so yeelding naturall beginnings? whereas contrarywise, we haue made use of their ignorance and inexperience, drawe them more easily unto treason, fraude, luxurie, auarice and all manner of inhumanity and cruelty, by the example of our life and patterne of our customes. Who ever raised the seruice of marchandize and benefit of traffick to so high a rate? So many goodly citties ransacked and razed; so many nations destroyed and made desolate; so infinite millions of harmelesse people of all sexes, states and ages, massacred, ravaged and put to the sword; and the richest, the fairest and the best part of the world topsiturned, ruined and defaced for the traffick of Pearles and Pepper: Oh mechanickall victories, oh base conquest. Never did greedy revenge, publik wrongs or generall enmities, so moodily enrage, and so passionately incense men against men, vnto so horrible hostilities, bloody dissipation, and miserable calamities.

Cerraine Spaniardes coasting alongst the Sea in search of mines, fortun'd to land in a very fertile, pleasant and well peopled country: unto the inhabitants whereof they declared their intent, and shewed their accustomed perswasions; saying: That they were quiet and well-meaning men, comming from farre-countries, being sent from the King of *Castile*, the greatest King of the habitable earth, unto whom the Pope, representing God on earth, had given the principality of all the *Indies*. That if they would become tributaries to him, they should bee most kindly used and courteously entreated: They required of them victualles for their nourishment; and some gold for the behoofe of certaine Physicall experiments. Moreouer, they declared unto them, the beleeuing in one onely God, and the trueth of our religion, which they perswaded them to embrace, adding thereto some minatorie threats. Whose answer was this: That happily they might be quiet and well meaning, but their co-

ntenance



countenance shewed them to be otherwise: As concerning their King, since he seemed to beg, he shewed to be poore and needy: And for the Pope, who had made that distribution, he expressed himselfe a man louing dissention, in going about to giue vnto a third man, a thing which was not his owne: so to make it questionable and litigious amongst the ancient possessors of it. As for vicuallcs, they should haue part of their store: And for gold, they had but litle, and that it was a thing they made very small account of, as merely vnprofitable for the seruice of their life, whereas all their care was but how to passe it happily and pleasantly: and therefore, what quantity soeuer they should finde, that onely excepted which was employed about the seruice of their Gods, they might boldly take it. As touching one onely God, the discourse of him had very well pleased them: but they would by no meanes change their religion, vnder which they had for so long time liued so happily: and that they were not accustomed to take any cornsell, but of their friends and acquaintance. As concerning their menaces, it was a signe of want of iudgement, to threaten those, whose nature, condition, power and meanes was to them unknowne. And therefore they should with all speed hasten to avoid their dominions (for so much as they were not wont to admit or take in good part the kindnes and remonstrances of armed people, namely of strangers) otherwise they would deale with them as they had done with such others, shewing them the heads of certaine men sticking vpon stakes about their Citie, which had lately bene executed. Lo here an example of the stammering of this infancy.

But so it is, neither in this, nor in infinite other places, where the Spaniards found not the marchandise they sought for, neither made stay or attempted any violence, whatsoeuer other commodity the place yielded: witnesse my Canibales. Of two the most mighty and glorious Monarkes of that world, and peradventure of all our Westerne parts, Kings ouer so many Kings: the last they deposed and overcame: He of *Peru*, hauing by them been taken in a battell, and set at so excessive a rancome, that it exceedeth all beliefe, and that truly paid: and by his conversation having given them apparant signes of a free, liberall, undaunted and constant courage, and declared to be of a pure, noble, and well compoted understanding; a humour possessed the conquerors, after they had most insolently exacted from him a Million, three hundred five and twenty thousand, and five hundred waights of golde; besides the silver and other precious things, which amounted to no lesse a summe (so that their horses were all shod of massive gold) to discover (what disloyalty or treachery soeuer it might cost the) what the remainder of this Kings treasure might be, and without controlment enjoy what ever he might have hidden or concealed from them. Which to compasse, they forged a false accusation and prooffe against him; That hee practised to raise his provinces, and intended to induce his subjects to some insurrection, so to procure his liberty. Whereupon, by the very iudgement of those who had complotted this forgery and treason against him, hee was condemned to be publikely hanged and strangled: having first made him to redeeme the torment of being burned alive, by the baptisme which at the instant of his execution, in charity they bestowed upon him. A horrible and the like never heard of accident: which nevertheless he undisturbedly endured with an unmoved manner, and truly-royall gravity, without ever contradicting himselfe either in countenance or speech. And then, somewhat to mitigate and circumvent those silly unsuspecting people, amazed and astonished at so strange a spectacle, they counterfeited a great mourning and lamentation for his death, and appointed his funeralls to bee solemnely and sumptuously celebrated.

The other King of *Mexico*, having a long time manfully defended his besieged City, and in the tedious liege, shewed what ever pinching-sufferance, and resolute-peleverance can effect, if ever any couragious Prince or warre-like people shewed the same; and his disastrous successe having delivered him alive into his enemies hands, upon conditions to be used as becomed a King: who during the time of his imprisonment, did never make the least shew of any thing unworthy that glorious title. After which victory, the Spaniards not finding that quantitie of gold, they had promised themselves, when they had ransacked and ranged all corners, they by meanes of the cruellest tortures and horriblest torments they could possibly devise, beganne to wrest and draw some more from such prisoners as they had in keeping. But unable to profit any thing that way, finding stronger hearts than their torments, they in the end fell to such moody outrages, that contrary to all law of nations, and against their solemn vowes and promises, they condemned the King himselfe and one of the chiefeest Princes of his Court, to the

Racke.



Racke, one in presence of another: The Prince environed round with hot burning coales, being overcome with the exceeding torment, at last in most pitious sort turning his dreary eyes toward his Master, as if hee asked mercy of him for that hee could endure no longer: The king fixing rigorously and fiercely his lookes upon him, seeming to upbraid him with his remissness and pusillanimity, with a sterne and seald voyce vttered these few words unto him: *What? supposest thou I am in a cold bath? am I at more ease than thou art?* Whereas the silly wretch immediately fainted under the torture, and yeelded up the ghost. The king half-rosted, was carried away: Not so much for pity (for what ruth could ever enter so barbarous mindes, who upon the surmised information of some odde piece or vessell of golde, they intended to get, would broyle a man before their eyes, and not a man onely, but a king, so great in fortune and so renowned in desert?) but for as much as his unmatched constancy did more and more make their inhumane cruelty ashamed: They afterward hanged him, because he had courageously attempted by armes to deliver himselfe out of so long captivity and miserable subjection; where he ended his wretched life, worthy an high minded and never danted Prince. At another time, in one same fire, they caused to be burned all alive foure hundred common men, and threescore principall Lords of a Province, whom by the fortune of warre they had taken prisoners. These narrations we have out of their owne bookes: for they doe not onely avouch, but vauntingly publish them. *May it bee, they doe it for a testimony of their justice or zeale toward their religion?* verily they are wayes over-different and enemies to so sacred an ende. Had they proposed unto themselves to enlarge and propagate our religion, they would have considered, that it is not amplified by possession of lands, but of men: and would have beene satisfied with such slaughters, as the necessity of warre bringeth, without indifferently adding therunto so bloody a butchery, as upon savage beasts; and so universall as fire or sword could ever attaine unto; having purposely preierved no more than so many miserable bond slaves, as they deemed might suffice for the digging, working and service of their mines: So that divers of their chieftains have beene executed to death, even in the places they had conquered, by the appointment of the Kings of *Castile*, justly offended at the ill scene horror of their barbarous demeanours, and well nigh all disesteemed, contemned and hated. God hath meritoriously permitted, that many of their great pillages, and ill gotten goods, have either beene swallowed up by the revenging Seas in transporting them, or consumed by the intestine warres and civill broiles, wherewith themselves have devoured one another; and the greatest part of them have been overwhelmed and buried in the bowels of the earth, in the very places they found them, without any fruit of their victory. Touching the objection which some make, that the receipt, namely in the hands of so thirtiety, way and wise a Prince, doth so little answer the fore-conceived hope, which was given vnto his predecessors, & the said former abundance of riches, they met withall at the first discovery of this new-found world, (for although they bring home great quantity of gold and silver, we perceive the same to be nothing, in respect of what might be expected thence) it may be answered, that the use of money was there altogether unknowne; and consequently that all their gold was gathered together, serving to no other purpose, than for shew, state and ornament, as a moovable reserved from father to sonne by many puissant Kings, who exhausted all their mines, to collect so huge a heape of vessels or statues for the ornament of their Temples, and embellishing of their Pallaces: whereas all our gold is employed in commerce and trafficke betweene man and man. Wee mince and alter it into a thousand formes: wee spend, wee scatter and disperse the same to severall uses. Suppose our Kings should thus gather and heape up all the gold they might for many ages hoard up together, and keepe it close and untouched. Those of the kindome of *Mexico* were somewhat more encivilized, and better artists, than other nations of that world. And as wee doe, so judged they, that this Universe was neare his end: and tooke the desolation wee brought amongst them as an infallible signe of it. They beleevved the state of the world, to bee divided into five ages, as in the life of five succeeding Sunnes, whereof foure had already ended their course or time; and the same which now shined upon them, was the fifth and last. The first perished together with all other creatures, by an universall inundation of waters. The second by the fall of the heavens upon us which stifled & overwhelmed every living thing: in which age they affirmed the Giants to have beene, and shewed the Spaniards certaine bone



bones of them, according to whose proportion the stature of men came to bee of the height of twenty handfuls. The third, was consumed by a violent fire, which burned and destroyed all. The fourth by a whirling emotion of the ayre and windes, which with the violent fury of it selfe, remooued and ouerthrew diuers high mountaines: saying, that men dyed not of it, but were transformed into Munkeis. (*Oh what impressions doth not the weaknesse of mans beliefe admit?*) After the consummation of this fourth Sunne, the world continued fife and twenty yeares in perpetuall darkenesse: in the fifteenth of which one man and one woman were created, who renewed the race of man-kinde. Ten yeares after, vpon a certaine day, the Sunne appeared as newly created: from which day beginneth euer since the calculation of their yeares. On the third day of whose creation, died their ancient Gods, their new ones haue day by day bene borne since. In what manner this last Sunne shall perish, my author could not learne of them. But their number of this fourth change, doth iumpe and meete with that great coniunction of the Starres, which eight hundred and odd yeares since, according to the Astrologians supposition, produced diuers great alterations and strange novelties in the world. Concerning the proud pompe and glorious magnificence, by occasion of which I am fallen into this discourse, nor *Grece*, nor *Rome*, nor *Egipt*, can (bee it in profit, or difficultie or nobility) equall or compare sundrie and diuers of their workes. The cawcy or high-way which is yet to bee scene in *Peru*, erected by the Kings of that countrie stretching from the city of *Quito*, vnto that of *Cusco* (containing three hundred leagues in length) straight, euene, and fine, and twentie paces in breadth curiously paved, rayed on both sides with goodly, high masonrie-walles, all along which, on the inner side there are two continuall running streames, pleasantly beset with beautilous trees, which they call *Moly*. In framing of which, where they metre any mountaines or rockes, they haue cut, rated and leuelled them, and filled all hollow places with lime and stone. At the end of euery days journey, as stations, there are built stately great pallaces, plentifully stored with all maner of good victuals, apparrell and armes, as well for daylie way-fairing men, as for such amies that might happen to passe that way. In the estimation of which worke I haue especilly considered the difficultie, which in that place is particularly to bee remembered. For thy built with no stones that were lesse then ten foote square: They had no other meanes to cary or transport them, then by meere strength of armes to draw and dragge the carriage hey needed: they had not so much as the arte to make scaffolds; nor knew other deuise, hen to raise so much earth or rubbish, against their building, according as the worke riseth, and afterward to take it away againe. But retorne we to our coaches. In steade of them, and of all other carrying beastes they caused themselues to be carryed by men, and vpon their houlders. This last King of *Peru*, the same day hee was taken, was thus carried vpon rafters or beames of massiue Golde, sitting in a faire chaire of state, likewise all of golde, in the middle of his battaile. Looke how many of his porters as were slaine, to make him fall (for all heir endeavour was to take him aliue) so many others, and as it were aye, tooke and vnier-went presently the place of the dead: so that they could never be brought down or made to falle, what slaughter so ever was made of those kinde of people, vntill such time as a horsetman furiously ranne to take him by some part of his body, and so pulled him to the ground.

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the incommodie of greatnesse.*

SINCE we cannot attaine vnto it, let vs reuenge our selues with railing against it: yet is it not absolute ailing, to finde fault with any thing: *There are defects found in all things, how faire soeuer in show, and desirable they be.* It hath generally this evident aduantage, that when ever pleaseth it will decline, and hath well-nigh the choise of one and other



other condition. For a man doth not fall from all heights; divers there are, whence a man may descend without falling. Verily, me seemeth, that we value it at too high a rate: and prize over-deare the resolution of those, whom we have either seene or heard, to have condemned, or of their owne motion rejected the same. Her essence is not so evidently commodious, but a man may refuse it without wonder. Indeed I finde the labour very hard in suffering of evils; but in the contentment of a meane measure of fortune, and shunning of greatnesse, therein I see no great difficulty. In my conceit, it is a vertue, whereunto my selfe, who am but a simple ninny, might easily attaine, and without great contention. What shall they doe, who would also bring into consideration, the glory, which accompanieth this refusall, wherein may fall more ambition, then even in the desire and absolute enjoying of greatnesse? *For so much as ambition is never better directed according to it selfe, then by a straying and infrequented path.* I sharpen my courage toward patience, and weaken the same against desire. I have as much to wish for as another, and leave my wishes as much liberty and indiscretion: but yet, it never came into my minde, to wish for Empire, for Royalty or eminency of high and commanding fortunes. I aime not that way: I love my selfe too well. When I thinke to grow, it is but meanly; with a forced and coward advancement; fit for me; yea in resolution, in wisdom, in health, in beauty, and also in riches. But this credite, this aspiring reputation, this overswaying authority, suppresseth my imagination. And cleane opposite to some other, I should peradventure love my selfe better, to be the second or third man in *Perigot*, then the first in *Paris*: At least, without faining, I had rather be the third man in *Paris*, then the first in charge. I will neither contend with an *Vsher* of a doore, as a silly unknowen man; nor with gaping and adoration make a Lane through the throng as I passe. I am enured to a meane calling; mediocrity best fitteth me, as well by my fortune, as by mine owne humor. And have shewec by the conduct of my life and course of my enterprises, that I have rather sought to avoid then otherwise to embrace beyond the degree of fortune that at my birth it pleased God to call me unto. *Each naturall constitution, is equally just and easie.* My minde is so dull and slowe, that I measure not good fortune according to her height, but rather according to her faculty. And if my hart be not great enough, it is ratably free and open, and who biddeth me, buldly to publish my weaknesse. Should any will me, on the one part, to conferre and consider the life of *L. Thurius Balbus*, a worthy gallant man, wise, faire, goodly, healthy, of good understanding, richly-plentious in all maner of commodities and pleasures, leading a quiet easull life, altogether his owne, with a minde armed, and well prepared against death, superstition, griefes, cares and other encombrances of humane necessity; dying in his old age, in anhonourable battell, with his weapons in his hand, for the defence of his cuntry; and on the other side the life of *M. Regulus*, so high and great, as all men know, together with his admirable and glorious end: the one unmentioned and without dignity, the other exēplar: and wonderfull renowned: truly I would say what *Cicero* saith of it, had I the gift of well-speaking as hee had. But if I were to sute them unto mine, I would also say, that the former is as much agreing to my quality, and to the desire I endeavour to conforme my quality unto, as the seconcis farre beyond it. That to this I cannot attaine but by veneration; and to the other I would willingly attaine by custome. But returne we to our temporall greatnesse, whence we have digressed. I am distastet of all mastery, both active and passive. *Otaues* one of the seaven that by right might challenge the Crowne, or pretend the Kingdome of *Persia*, resolved upon such a resolution as I should easily have done the like: which was, that he utterly renounced all maner of claime he might in any sort pretend unto that crowne, to his fellow comperitores, wex it either by election or chance: alwayes provided that both himselfe and all his, might live in that Empire, free from all subjections, and exempted from all maner of commandement, except that of the ancient lawes: and might both challenge all liberty, and enjoy all immunities, that should not prejudice them: being as impacient to command, as to be commaded. *The sharpest and most difficile profession of the world, is (in mine opinion) worthily to act and play the King.* I excuse more of their faults, then commonly other men doe: and that in consideration of the downe-bearing waight of their immense charge, which much astonisheth us: *It is a very hard task to keep a due measure, in so unmeasurable a power.* Yet is it, that even win those, that are of a lesse excellent nature, it is a singular incitation to vertue, to be seated in such a place, where you shall doe no maner of good, that is not registred and recorded: And where the least well-doing, extendeth to so many persons: And where your sufficiency as that of Preachers)



is principally directed to the people; a weake and partiall iudge, easily to be beguiled, and easie to be pleased. *There are but few things, of which we may give a sincere iudgement:* for there be very few, wherein in some sort or other, we are not particularly interessed. Superiority and inferiority, maistry and subiection, are joyntly tied vnto a naturall kinde of enuy and contestation; they must perpetually enter-spoile one another. I beleue neither the one nor the other, concerning his companions rights: let vs suffer reason to speake of it, which is inflexible and impassible, when or how we shall make an end. I was not long since reading of two Scottish bookes striving upon this subiect. The popular makes the King to be of worse condition then a Carter: and he that extolleth Monarchy, placeth him both in power and sovereignty, many steps above the Gods. Now the incommodity of greatnesse, which here I have undertaken to note and speake of, (upon some occasion lately befallne mee) is this. There is peradventure nothing more pleasing to the commerce of men, then the *Essays*, which we through ieaousie of honour or valour, make one against another, be it in the exercise of the body or minde: wherein soveraigne greatnesse, hath no true or essentiall part. Verily, it hath often seemed unto me, that through over much respect, Princes are therein used disdainfully and treated iniuriously: For, the thing whereat (in my youth) I was infinitely offended, was, that those which were trained and schooled with mee, should forbear to doe it in good earnest, because they found me unworthy to bee withstood or to resist their endeavours. It is that we dayly see to happen unto them; every man finding himselfe unworthy to force himselfe against them. If one perceiue them never so little affected to have the victory, there is none but will strive to yeeld it them, and that will not rather wrong his glory, then offend theirs: No man imployeth more diligence then needs he must to serve their honour. What share have Princes in the throng, where all are for them? Mee thinks I see those *Paladines* of former ages, presenting themselves in ioustes, tiltings and combats, with bodies and armes enchanted. *Brissot* running against *Alexander*, counterfeited his course: *Alexander* chid him for it: but he should haue caused him to be whipt. For this consideration, was *Carneades* wont to say, that *Princes children learn'e nothing aright but to mannage and ride horses; for so much as in all other exercises, every man yeeldeth, and giveth them the victory: but a horse who is neyther a flatterer nor a Courtier, will as soone throw the child of a King as the son of a base porter.* *Homer* hath beene forced to consent that *Venus* (so sweet a saint and delicate a Goddesse) should be hurt at the siege of *Troy*, thereby to ascribe courage & hardinesse unto her qualities never seene in those that are exempted from danger. The Gods themselves are fained to be angry, to feare, to be jealous, to grieve, to shew passion, and be subiect to mortall sense, thereby to honour them with the vertues which the Poets and Philosphers invent amongst vs: Nay, they are supposed to runne away, and to have a feeling of all our imperfections. *Who doth not participate both hazard and difficulties, cannot justly pretend interest in the honor, or challenge share in the pleasure, that followeth dangerous actions or hazardous attempts.* It is pittie a man should be so powerfull, that all things must yeeld and give place unto him. Such as are in so high eminency of greatnesse, their fortune rejects society and conversation too farre from them; she placeth them in over remote and uncouth places. This easfull life and plausible facility to bring all under, and subiect mens mindes, is an enemy to all manner of pleasure. It is a kinde of sliding, and not a going: It is to sleepe, and not to live. Conceive man accompanied with omnipotency, you overhelme him: he must in begging manner crave some empeachment and resistance of you. His being and his good, is in want and indigence. Their good qualities are dead and lost: for, they are not heard but by comparison, and they are excluded: they have little knowledge of true praise, being beaten with so continuall and uniforme an approbation. Have they to doe with the simplest of their subiects? they have no meane to take advantage of him, if he but say; It is because he is my King, he supposeth to have sufficiently expressed, and you must understand, that in so saying, he hath lent a helping hand to overthrow himselfe. This quality suppresseth and consumeth all other true and essentiall qualities: they are even drowned in the Royalty; which gives them no leave, to make the offices of their charge to prevaile, except in such actions as directly concerne and stead the same. *To be a King, is a matter of that consequence, that onely by it be is so.* That strange glimmering and eye-dazeling light, which round about environeth, overcasteth and hideth from us: our weake sight is thereby bleared and dissipated, as being filled and obscured by that greater and further-spredding brightnesse. The



Senate allotted the honor and prize of eloquence unto *Tiberius*; he refused it, supposing that if it hath beene true, he could not revenge himselfe of so limited and partiall judgement. As we yeeld Princes all advantages of honor, so we authorize their defects and sooth-up their vices: not onely by approbation, but also by imitation. All *Alexanders* followers bare their heads sideling, as he did. And such as flattered *Dionysius*, in his owne presence did run and jussle one another, and either stumbled at, or over-threw what ever stood before their feete, to inferre; that they were as short-sighted or spur-blinde, as he was. Naturall imperfections have sometimes served for commendation and favour. Nay I have seene deafnesse affected. And because the master hated his wife, *Plutarch* hath seen courtiers to sue a divorce of theirs, whom they loved very well. And which is more paillardise and all maner of dissolution hath thereby beene held in credit; as also disloyalty, blasphemy, cruelty, heresie, superstition, irreligion, wantonnesse and worse, if worse may be. Yea by an example more dangerous, then that of *Mithridates* his flatterers, who for so much as their master pretended to have skill in phisick and aspired to the honor of a good Physitian, came to him to have their members incized and cauterized. For these others suffer to have their soules cauterized; a much more precious and nobler part then the body. But to end where I began: *Adrian* the Emperour debating with *Favorinus* the Philosopher about the interpretation of some word; *Favorinus* did soone yeeld the victory unto him, his friends finding fault with him for it; you but jest, my masters (quoth he) *would you not haue him to be much wiser then I, who hath the absolute command over thirty legions?* *Augustus* writ some verses against *Asinius Pollio*, which *Pollio* hearing, he said, I will hold my peace; for, it is no wisdom to content in writing with him, who may proscribe. And they had reason: For *Dionysius*, because he could not equall *Philostratus* in Poesie, nor match *Plato* in discourse, condemned the one to the stone-quarries, and sent the other to bee sold as a slave in the Ile of *Egina*.

## CHAP. VIII.

## Of the Art of conferring.

IT is a custome of our law, to condemne some, for the warning of others. To condemne them because they have misdone, were folly, as saith *Plato*. For what is once done can never be undone: but they are condemned to the end that they should not offend againe, or that others may avoide the example of their offence. *He who is hanged is not corrected, but others by him*. Even so doe I. My errors are sometimes naturall, incorrigible and remediable. But whereas honest men profit the Common wealth in causing themselves to be imitated, I shall happily benefit the same, in making my selfe to be evitated.

Hor. Ser. lib. 1.  
Sed. 4. 109.

*Nonne vides Albi ne male vivat filius, neque  
Barrus inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem  
Perdere quis velit.*

Doe you not see, how that mans sonne lives badly,  
That man's a begger by his spending madly?  
A lesson great, that none take joy: His patrimony to destroy.

By publishing and accusing my imperfections, some man may peradventure learne to feare them. The parts I most esteeme in my selfe, reape more honor by accusing, then by commending my selfe. And that's the cause I more often fall into them againe, and rest upon them. But when all the cardes be told, a man never speaks of himselfe, without losse. A mans own condemnations are ever increased: praise ever decreased. There may be some of my complexion, who am better instructed by contrariety then by similitude; and more by escaping then by following. *Cato* senior had a speciall regard to this kind of discipline, when he said, that wisemen have more to learne of fooles then fooles of wisemen. And that ancient player on the Lyra, whom *Pausanias*



*mis* reporteth, to have beene accustomed to compell his schollers sometimes to goe heare a  
 bad Player, who dwelt right over-against him; where they might learne to hate his discords  
 and false measures. The horror of cruelty drawes me neerer unto clemency, then any  
 patterne of clemency can possibly win me. A cunning rider or skilfull horseman doth not so  
 properly teach me, to sit well on horsebacke, as doth one of our Lawyers, or a Venetian by  
 seeing him ride. And an ill manner of speeche doth better reforme mine, then any well pra-  
 ctised forme of speaking. The sottish countenance of another, doth daily advertise and fore-  
 warne me. That which pricketh, toucheth and rouzeth better, then that which delighteth.  
 These times are fit to reforme us backward, more by dissenting, then by consenting; more  
 by difference then by accord. Being but little instructed by good examples, I make use of  
 bad: the lesson of which is ordinary. I have endeavoured, nay I have laboured to yeeld my  
 selfe pleasing and affable, as I saw others peevish and froward: as constant, as I saw others  
 variable; as gentle and milde, as I perceived others intractable and wild: and as good and  
 honest, as I discerned others wicked and dishonest. But I proposed certaine invincible mea-  
 sures vnto my selfe. The most fruitfull & naturall exercise of our spirit, is, in my selfe-pleasing  
 conceit, conference. The use whereof, I finde to be more delightfome, then any other action  
 of our life: And that's the reason, why, if I were now forced to chooise, (being in the minde  
 I now am in) I would rather yeeld to lose my sight, then forgoe my hearing or my speech.  
 The Athenians and also the Romans, did ever hold this exercise in high honor and reputa-  
 tion, namely in their *Academies*. And at this day, the Italians doe yet keepe a kinde of forme  
 and trace of it, to their great profit, as may apparantly be discerned by comparing their wits  
 unto ours. The study and plodding on bookes, is a languishing and weake kinde of motion,  
 and which heateh or earnesteth nothing; whereas conference doth both learne, teach and  
 exercise at once. If I conferre with a stubborne wit, and encounter a sturdy wrestler, he tou-  
 cheth me to the quicke, hits me on the flanks, and pricks me both on the left and right side:  
 his imaginations vanquish and confound mine. Ielousie, glory and contention drive, cast  
 and raise me above my selfe. And an union or consent, is a quality altogether tedious and  
 wearisome in conference. But as our minde is fortified by the communication of regular and  
 vigorous spirits; it cannot well be exprest, how much it loseth and is bastardized, by the  
 continuall commerce and frequentation, we have with base, weake and dull spirits. No con-  
 tagion spreads it selfe further then that I know by long experience what an ell of it is worth.  
 I love to contest and discoure, but not with many, and onely for my selfe. For, to serve as  
 a spectacle unto great men, and by way of contention, for one to make a glorious shew of his  
 ready wit and running tongue: I deeme it a profession farre unfitting a man of honor. Sot-  
 tishnes is an ill quality, but not to be able to endure it; and to fret and vex at it, as it hapneth  
 to me, is another kinde of imperfection, which in opportunity is not much behinde sottish-  
 nes: and that's it I will now accuse in my selfe: I doe with great liberty and facility, enter  
 into conference and disputation: forsomuch as opinion findes but a hard soile to enter and  
 take any deepe roote in me. No propositions amaze me, no conceit woundeth me, what  
 contrariety soever they have to mine. There is no fantazie so frivolous or humor so extrava-  
 gant, that in mine opinion is not sortable to the production, of humane wit. Wee others,  
 who debarre our judgement of the right to make conclusions, regard but negligently the di-  
 verse opinions: and if we lend it not our judgement, we easily affoord it our eares. Where  
 one scale of the ballance is altogether empty, I let the other waver too and fro, under an old  
 wives dreames. And me seemeth, I may well be excused, if I rather accept an odde number,  
 than an even: Thursday in respect of Friday, if I had rather make a twelfth or fourteenth at  
 a table, then a thirteenth: if when I am travelling I would rather see a Hare coasting, then  
 crossing my way: and rather reach my left, then my right foote, to be shed. All such fond  
 concerns, now in credit about us, deserve at least to be listned unto. As for me, they onely  
 beare away iniquity, and surely they do so. Vulgar and casuall opinions are yet of some weight,  
 which in nature are something els then nothing. And who wadeth not so far into them, to  
 avoid the vice of superstition, falleth happily into the blame of wilfulnesse. The contradic-  
 tion then of judgements, doe neither offend nor move, but awaken and exercise me. Wee com-  
 monly shunne correction whereas we should rather seeke and present our selves unto it, chie-  
 fly when it cometh by the way of conference, and not of regency. At every opposition,  
 we consider not whether it be just; but be it right or wrong, how we may avoide it: In stead



of reaching our armes, we stretch forth our clawes vnto it. I should endure to bee rudely handled and checked by my friends, though they should call me foole, coxcombe, or say I rauced. I loue a man that doth stoutly expresse himselfe, amongst honest and worthy men, & whose words answere his thoughts. We should fortifie and harden our hearing, against the rendernesse of the ceremonious sound of words. I loue a friendly society and a virile and constant familiarity: An amitie, which in the earnestnesse and vigor of it's commerce, flattereth it selfe: as loue in bitings and bloody scratchings. It is not sufficiently generous or vigorous, except it be contentious & quarrelous: If she be civilised and a skilfull artist: if it feare a shooke or free encounter, and haue hir starting holes or forced by wayes. *Neque enim disputari sine reprehensione potest. Disputation cannot be held without reprehension.* When I am impugned or contraried, then is mine attention and not mine anger, stirred up: I aduance my selfe toward him, that doth gaine say and instruct me. *The cause of truth, ought to be the common cause, both to one and other.* What can he answer? The passion of choller hath already wounded his judgement: trouble, before reason hath seized vpon it. It were both profitable and necessary, that the determining of our disputatiōs, might be decided by way of wagers; & that there were a materiall marke of our losses: that we might better remember & make more accompt of it: and that my boy might say unto me: Sir, if you call to minde; y our contestation, your ignorance and your selfe-wilfulnesse, at seuerall times, cost you a hundred crownes the last yeare: I feast, I cherish and I embrace truth, where and in whom soeuer I finde it, and willingly and merily yeeld my selfe vnto her, as soone as I see but her approach, though it be a farre-off, I lay downe my weapon and yeeld my selfe vanquished. And alwayes provided, one persist not or proccede therein, with an ouer imperious stiffness or commanding furlinesse, I am well pleased to be reprooved. And I often accommodate my selfe unto my accusers more by reason of civility, then by occasion of amendment: louing by the facility of yeelding, to gratifie and foster their libertie, to teach or aduertise me. It is notwithstanding no easie matter to draw men of my times unto it. They haue not the courage to correct, because they want the heart to endure correction: And ever speake with dissimulation in presence one of another. I take so great a pleasure to be judged and knowne, that it is indifferent to me, in whether of the two formes I be so. Mine owne imagination doth so often contradict and condemne it selfe, that if another do it, all is one vnto me; especially seeing, I giue his reprehension no other authority then I list. But I shall breake a straw or fall at odds with him, that keepe himselfe so aloft; as I know some, that will fret and chafe if their opinions be not believed, and who take it as an injury, yea and fall out with their best friends, if they will not follow it. And that *Socrates* euer smiling, made a collection of such contradictions as were opposed to his discourse, one might say, his force was cause of it, and that the advantage being assuredly to fall on his side, he tooke them as a subject of a new victory; nevertheless we see on the contrary, that nothing doth so nicely yeeld our sense vnto it as the opinion of preheminance and disdain of the aduersary. And that by reason, it rather befits the weakest to accept of opposition in good part, which restore and repaire him. Verily I seeke more the conuersation of such as curbe me, then of those that feare me. It is an unsavory and hurtful pleasure, to haue to doe with men, who admire and giue us place. *Antisthenes* commanded his children, neuer to be beholding unto, or thanke any that should commend them. I feele my selfe more lusty and cranke for the victory I gaine ouer my selfe, when in the heate or fury of the combate, I perceiue to bend and fall under the power of my aduersaries reason, then I am pleased with the victory, I obtaine of him by his weakenesse. To conclude, I receiue all blowes and allow all attaints giuen directly, how weake soeuer: but am very impatient at such as are stricken at randan and without order, I care but little for the matter, and with me opinions are all one, and the victory of the subject in a manner indifferent. I shall quietly contest a whole day, if the conduct of the controuersie be followed with order and decorum. It is not force nor subtilty, that I so much require, as forme and order. The forme and order, dayly seene in the altercations of Shepheards, or contentions of shop-prentise boyes: but never amongst us? If they part or giue one another ouer, it is with incivillitie: and so doe we. But their wrangling, their brawling and impatience, cannot make them to forgoe or fogot their theame.

Their discourse holds on his course. If they preuent one another, if they stay not for, at least they understand one another. A man doth ever answere sufficiently well for me, if he

answer



anſwere what I ſay. But when the diſputation is counfounded and orderleſſe, I quit the matter, and betake me to the forme, with ſpight and indifcretion: and embrace a kinde of debating, reaſty, headlong, malicious and imperious, whereat I afterward bluſh. *It is impoſſible to treat quietly & diſpute orderly with a ſoole.* My judgement is not onely corrupted under the hand of ſo imperious a maifter, but my conſcience alſo. Our diſputations ought to be forbidden and puniſhed, as other verball crimes. What vice raiſe they not, and heape up together, being ever ſwayed and commanded by choller? Firſt we enter into enmity with the reaſons, & then with the men. We learne not to diſpute, except it be to contradict: & every man contradicting and being contradicted, it commonly followeth, that the fruit of diſputing, is to looſe and to diſannull the trueth. So *Plato* in his common wealth, forbiddeth fooliſh, unapt and baſe-minded ſpirits, to undertake that exerciſe. To what purpoſe goe you about to queſt or enquire that which is with him, who hath neither good pace nor proceeding of woorth? No man wrongs the ſubject, when he quits the ſame, for want of meanes to treat or manage it. I meane not a ſcholastiſticall and artiſt meane, but intend a naturall meane, and of a ſound underſtanding. What will the end be? one goeth Eaſtward, and another Weſtward: They looſe the principall, and ſtray it in the throng of incidents. At the end of an houres wrangling, they wor not what they ſeeke for: one is high, another low, and another wide. Some take hold of a word, ſome of a ſimilitude. Some forget what was objected againſt them ſo much are they engaged in the purſuite and thinke to follow themſelves, and not you. Some finding themſelves weake-backe, feare all, reſuſe all, and at the very entrance mingle the ſubject and confound the purpoſe: or in the heate of the diſputation, mutine to hold their peace altogether: through a ſpightfull ignorance, affecting a proud kinde of contempt, or a fooliſh modeſty aveyding of contention. Provided that one ſtrike and hit, he careth not how open he lye. Another competh his words, and wayeth them for reaſons; Another employeth nothing but the advantage of his voyce and winde. Here one concludeth againſt himſelfe; here another wearyeth you with idle prefaces, and frivolous digreſſions. Another armeth himſelfe afore hand with injuries, and ſeekes after a Dutch quarrell, to rid himſelfe of the ſociety, and ſhake off the conference of a ſpirit, that preſſeth and overbearth him. This laſt hath no inſight at all in reaſon, but ſtill beleagreth you with the dialecticall or logicall cloſe of his claule, and ties you to the rule of his arte or forme of his ſkill. Now who doth not enter into diſtruſt of ſciences, and is not in doubt, whether in any neceſſity of life he may reape ſolid fruit of them; if he conſider the uſe we have of them? *Nihil ſanantibus lueris. Since learning doth not cure. Who hath learnt any wit or underſtanding in Logique? Where are her faire promiſes? Nec ad melius vivendum, nec ad commodius differendum. Neſther to live better or to diſpute fitter.* Shall a man heare more brabbling or confuſion in the rittie rattle of fiſh wives or ſcoulding fluts, then in the publike diſputations of men of this profeſſion? I had rather my child ſhould learne to ſpeake in a Taverne, then in the ſchools of well ſpeaking Art. Take you a maifter of arts, and conferre with him, why doth hee not make us perceive his artiſticall excellency, and by the admiration of his reaſons-ſtancy, or with the beauty of his quaint order, and grace of his method, raviſh ſilly women, and bleare ignorant men as we are? Why doth he nor ſway, winde and perſwade us as hee liſt? Why ſhould one ſo advantageous in matter and conduct, entermixe injuries, indifcretion and chollericke rage with his ſence? Let him pull of his twofaced hooſe, his gowne and his latine, let him not fill our eares with meereley beleevd *Ariſtotele*, you will diſcover and take him for one of vs, and worſe if may be. Methinks this implication and entangling of ſpeech, wherewith they doe ſo much importune us, may fitly be compared unto juglers play of faſt and looſe: their nimbleneſſe combats and forceth our ſences, but it nothing ſhakeſh our beliefe: Take away their jugling, what they doe is but baſe, common and ſlight. Though they be more witty and nimble ſpirited, they are not the leſſe fooliſh, ſimple and unapt. I love wit, and honour wiſedome, as much as them that have it. And beeing rightly uſed, it is the nobleſt, the moſt forcible, yea and richeſt purchaſe men can make. But in ſuch (of which kinde the number is infinit) that upon it eſtabliſh their fundamentall ſufficieny and worth: that from their wit refer themſelves to their memory, *ſub aliena umbra latentes: reſoſing them under another mans protection*, and can do nothing but by the booke (if I may be bold to ſay ſo) I hate the ſame, a little more then ſottiſhnes. In my country, and in my dayes, learning and bookiſhnes, doth much mend purſes, but minds nothing at all. If it chance



to finde them empty, light and dry, it filleth, it over-burthens and swelleth them: a raw and indigested masse: if thinne, it doth easily purifie, clarifie, extenuate and subtilize them even unto exinanition or evacuation. It is a thing of a quality very neare indifferent: a most profitable accessory or ornament unto a wel borne mind, but pernicious and hurtfully damageable unto any other. Or rather a thing of most precious use, that will not basely be gotten, nor vily possessed. In some hands a royall scepter, in other some a rude mattocke. But let us proceed. *What greater or more glorious victory can you expect, then teach your enemy, that hee cannot withstand you?* When you gaine the advantage of your proposition, it is Truth that winneth: when you get the advantage of the order and conduct, it is you that winne. I am of opinion, that both in *Plato* and in *Xenophon*, *Socrates* disputeth more in favour of the disputers, then in grace of the disputation: and more to instruct *Euthydemus* and *Protagoras* with the knowledge of their impertinency of their art. He takes hold of the first matter, as he who hath a more profitable end, then to cleare it; that is, to cleare the spirits he undertaketh to manage and to exercise. Agitation, stirring and hunting is properly belonging to our subject or drift; wee are not excusable to conduct the same ill and impertinently, but to misse the game, and faile in taking, that's another matter. *For wee are borne to quest and seeke after truth; to possesse it belongs to a greater power.* It is not (as *Democritus* said) hidden in the deepes of abiss: but rather elevated in infinite height of divine knowledge. *The world is but a Schoole of inquisition.* The matter is not who shall put in, but who shall runne the fairest courtes. As well may hee play the foole that speaketh truly, as hee that speaketh falsely: for wee are upon the manner, and not upon the matter of speaking. My humour is, to have as great a regard to the forme, as to the substance; as much respect to the Advocat, as to the cause; as *Alcibiades* appointed we should doe. And I dayly amuse my selfe to read in authors, without care of their learning: therein seeking their manner, not their subject. Even as I pursue the communication of some famous wit, not that he should teach me, but that I may know him; and knowing him (if he deserve it) I may imitate him. Every one may speake truly, but to speake orderly, methodically, wisely and sufficiently, few can doe it. So falsehood proceeding of ignorance doth not offend mee; ineptnesse and trifling doth. I have broken off divers bargaines, that would have beene very commodious unto me, by the impertinency of their contestation, with whom I did bargain. I am not mooved once a yeare, with the faults or oversights of those, over whom I have powers: but touching the point of the sottishnesse and foolishnes of their allegations, excuses, and defences, rude and brutish, we are every day ready to goe by the eares. They neither understand what is said nor wherefore, and even so they answer; a thing able to make one de paire. I feele not my head to shooke hard but by being hit with another. And I rather enter into composition with my peoples vices, then with their rashnesse, importunity and foolishnesse. Let them doe lesse, provided they be capable to doe. You live in hope to enflame their will: But *of a blocke there is nothing to be hoped for, nor any thing of worth to be enjoyed.* Now, what if I take things otherwise then they are? So it may bee: And therefore I accuse my impatience. And first I hould, that it is equally vicious in him, who is in the right, as in him, that is in the wrong: For, it is ever a kinde of tyrannicall sharpenesse, not to be able to endure a forme different from his: and verily, since there is not a greater fondnesse, a more constant gullishnesse, or more heteroclite insipidity then for one to move or vex himselfe at the fondnesse, at the gullishnesse, or insipidity of the world: For it principally formalizeth and moveth ns against our selves: and that Philosopher of former ages should never have wanted occasion to weepe, so long as he had considered himselfe. *Miso*, one of the seven sages (a man of a Timonian disposition and Democraticall humour) being demanded, where-at he laughed alone; he answered, because I laugh alone; How many follies doe I speake and answer every day, according to my selfe; and then how much more frequent according to others? And if I bite mine owne lips at them, what ought others to doe? *In fine, wee must live with the quicke, and let the water runne under the brudge, without any care, or at least without alteration to us.* In good tooth, why meet we sometimes with crooked, deformed, and in body mishapen men, without falling into rage and discontent, and cannot endure to light-upon a froward, skittish, and ill ranged spirit, without falling into anger and vexation? This vicious austerity is rather in the ludge, then in the fault. Let us ever have that saying of *Plato* in our mouthes: *What I finde unwholsome, is it*



not to be unhealthy my selfe? Am not I insaine my selfe? May not mine owne advertisement be retorted against my selfe? Oh wise and divine restraint, that curbeth the most universall and common error of men: Not onely the reproches, wee doe one to another, but our reasons, our arguments and matter controverted, are ordinarily retortable unto us: and wee pinch our selves up in our owne armes. Whereof antiquity hath left me divers grave examples. It was ingeniously spoken and fit to the purpose, by him that first devised the same.

*Stercus cuique suum bene olet.*

Ev'ry mans ordure well, To his owne sense doth smell.

*Eras. chil. 3.*

*cent. 4. ad. 2.*

Our eyes see nothing backward. A hundred times a day we mocke our selves, upon our neighbours subject, and deride some defects in others, that are much more apparant in us; yea and admire them with a strange impudency and unheedinesse. Even yesterday, I chanced to see a man of reasonable understanding, who no lesse pleasantly then justly flouted at anothers fond fashion, and yet upon every silly occasion doth nothing but molest all men with the impertinent bedrowle and register of his pedigrees, genealogies and alliances, more then halfe false and wrested in; (for it is the manner of such people, commonly to undertake such foolish discourses, whose qualities are more doubtfull and lesse sure) who if he had impartially considered and looked upon himselfe, should doubtlesse have found himselfe no lesse intemperate, indiscreet, and tedious, in publishing and extolling the prerogative of his wives pedigree and descent. Oh importunate presumption, wherewith the wife seeth her selfe armed by the hands of her own husband. If he understand Latin, a man should say to him,

*Age, si hac non insanis satis sua sponte, insiga.*

Goe too, if of her owne accord before,

She were not mad enough, provoke her more.

*Ter. And. act. 4.*

*sc. 2.*

I say not, that none should accuse, except hee bee spotlesse in himselfe: For then none might accuse: no not spotlesse in the same kinde of fault. But my meaning is, that our judgement charging and blaming another, of whom there is then question, spareth us nothing, of an inward and severe jurisdiction. It is an office of charity, that he who cannot remove a vice from himselfe, should nevertheless endeavour to remove it from others, where it may have a lesse hurtfull and froward seed. Nor doe I deeme it a fit answer, for him that warneth me of my fault, to say, the same is likewise in him. But what of that? Well meaning warning is alwayes true and profitable. Had we a good and sound nose, our owne ordure should be more unsavory unto our selves, forasmuch as it is our owne. And Socrates is of opinion, that he, who should find himselfe, and his son, and a stranger guilty of any violence or injury, ought first begin by himselfe, and present himselfe to the sentence and condemnation of the law, and for his owne discharge and acquittal implore the assistance of the executioners hand: secondly for his son, and lastly for the stranger: If this precept take his tune somewhat too high: it should at least be first presented to the punishment of ones owne conscience. Our senses are our proper and first judges, who distinguish not things, but by externall accidents; and no marvell, if in all parts of the service belonging to our society, there is so perpetuall and universall commixture of ceremonies and superficial apparances: so that the best and most effectually part of policies, consists in that. It is man with whom we have alwayes to doe, whose condition is marvellously corporall. Let those; who in these latter dayes have so earnestly laboured, to frame and establish unto us, an exercise of Religion and Service of God, so contemplative and immateriall, wonder nothing at all, if some be found, who thinke, it would have escaped and mouldered away betweene their fingers, if it had not held and continued amongst us, as a marke, a title and instrument of division and faction, more then by it selfe. As in conference: The gravity, the gowne and the fortune of him that speaketh, doth often adde and winne credit unto vaine, trifling and absurd discourses. It is not to bee presumed, that one of these gowne-Claires or quoised Serjants, so followed, and so redoubted, have



have not some sufficiency within him, more then popular: and that a man so fullen so grim and so disdainfull, to whom so many commissions, charges and authorities are given, be not more sufficient and worthy, then another, who saluteth and vaileth to him so farre-off, and whom no man employeth. Not onely the words, but the powtings of such people, are considered and registred, every one applying himselfe to give them some notable and solide interpretation. If they stoope to common conference, and that a man afford or shew them other then reverence and approbation, they overthrow you with the authority of their experience: they have read, they have heard, seene and done goodly things, you are cleane overwhelmed with examples. I would faine tell them, that the fruit of a Chirurgions experience, is not the story of his practises, or the remembrance that hee hath cured foure who had the Plague, and healed as many that had the Goute, except hee know and have the wit, from his use and experience, to draw a methode how to frame his judgements and by his skill and practise make us perceave, hee is become wiser in his art. As in a consort of instruments, one heares not severally a Lute, a Vyol, a Flute, or a paire of Virginalles, but a perfect-full harmony: the assembly and fruit of all those instruments in one. If their travels and charges have amended them, it is in the production of their understanding to make it appeare. It sufficeth not to number the experiments; they ought to bee well poised and orderly sorted: and to extract the reasons and conclusions they containe, they should be well digested and thorowly distilled. There were never so many Historians. It is ever good and profitable to heare them: for out of the magazin of their memory, they store us with divers good instructions and commendable documents. Verily a chiefe part, for the assistance of our life. But now a dayes wee seeke not after that, but rather whether the Collectors and reporters of them be praise worthy & directing themselves. I hate a manner of tyranny, both verball and effectuall. I willingly band and oppose my selfe against these vaine and frivolous circumstances, which by the fences delude our judgement; and holding my selfe aloofe of from these extraordinary greatneses, have found, that for the most part, they are but men as others be:

*Inven. Sat. 8. 73.*

*Rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa  
Fortuna.  
For common sense is seldome found  
In fortunes that so much abound.*

They are peradventure esteemed and discerned lesse then they bee, forsomuch as they undertake more, and so shew themselves; they answer not the charge they have taken. *There must necessarily be more vigour and strength in the bearer, then in the burden.* He who is not growne to his full strength, leaves you to ghesse, whether he haue any left him beyond that, or have beene tried to the utmost of his power. He who fainteth under his burden, bewrayeth his measure and the weaknesse of his shoulders. Thats the reason, why amongst the wiser sort, there are so many foolish and unapt minds seene, and more then of others. They might happily have beene made good husbandmen, thriving merchants, and plodding artificers. Their naturall vigour was cut out to this proportion. Learning is a matter of great consequence: they faint under it. To enstall and distribute, so rich and so powerfull a matter, and availefully to employ the same, their wit hath neither sufficient vigour, nor conduct enough to manage it. It hath no prevailing vertue but in a strong nature; and they are very rare: and such as are but weake (saith *Socrates*) corrupt and spoilingly deface the dignity of Philosophy, in handling the same. She seemeth faulty and unprofitable, being ill placed and unorderedly disposed. Lo how they spoyle and entangle themselves.

*Claud. Entrop. 1  
303:*

*Humani qualis simulator finis oris,  
Quem puer arridens, pretioso stamine serum  
Velavit, nudaque nates ac terga reliquit,  
Ludibrium mensis.  
Such counterfets as Apes are of mans face,  
Whom children sporting at, featly incase*



In costly coates, but leave his backside bare  
For men to laugh at, when they feasting are.

To those likewise, who sway and command us, and haue the world in their owne hands, 'tis no sufficient to haue a common vnderstanding, and to be able to doe, what we can effect. They are farre beneath us, if they be not much aboue vs. As they promise more, so owe they more. And therefore silence is in them, not onely a countenance of respect and grauitie, but often of thrift and profit: *Megabysus* going to visite *Apelles* in his worke-house, stood still a good while without speaking one word, and then began to discourse of his workes. Of whom he received this rude and nipping chcke: *So long as thou heldest thy peace, by reason of thy garish clothes, goodly chaines and state; pompe, thou seemedst to be some worthy gallant: but now thou hast spoken, there is not the simplest boy of my shop, but scorneth and contemns thee.* That great state of his, those rich habilliments, and goodly traine, did not permit him to be ignorant with a popular ignorance, and to speake impertinently of painting. He should haue kept mute, and concealed his externall and presuming sufficiency. Vnto how many fond and shallow minds, hath in my dayes, a fullen, cold and sterner countenance, serued as a title of wisdom and capacity? Dignities, charges & places, are necessarily giuen, more by fortune then by merit: and they are often to blame, that for it lay the blame on Kings. Contrariwise it is a wonder, that being so untoward, they should therein haue so good lucke: *Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.* Chiefe vertue it is knowne, In Kings to know their owne. For Nature hath not given them so perfect a sight, that it might extend it selfe and overlooke so many people, to discern their pre-excellency; and enter their breasts, where lodgeth the knowledge of our will and better worth. It is by coniectures, and as it were groping they must try us: by our race, alliances, dependences, riches, learning, and the peoples voice: all over-weake arguments. He that could devise a meane, how men might be judged by law, chosen by reason, and advanced by desert, should establish a perfect forme of a commonwealth. Yea but hee hath brought that great businesse unto a good passe. It is to say something: but not to say sufficiently. For, this sentence is justly received, That counsels ought not to be judged by the events. The Carthaginians were wont to punish the ill counsels of their Captaines, although corrected by some fortunate successe. And the Roman people hath often refused triumphes to famous, succesfull, and most profitable victories, forsomuch as the Generals conduct, answered not his good fortune. It is commonly perceived by the worlds actions, that fortune, to teach us, how farre hir power extendeth vnto all things; & who taketh pleasure to abate our presumption, having not bin able to make silly men wise, she hath made them fortunate, in envy of vertue: And commonly gives hir selfe to favour executions, when as their complot & devise is meetly hers. Whence we dayly see, that the simplest amongst us, compasse diuers great and important affaires, both publike and private. And as *Sirannes* the Persian Prince, answered those, who seemed to wonder how his negotiations succeeded so ill, his discourses being so wise: That he was onely maister of his discourses, but fortune mistress of his affaires successe. These may answer the like; but with a contrary bias. Most things of the world are made by themselves.

*Fata viam inveniunt.*

Fates finde and know, which way to goe.

*Vir. Encl. 3.*  
356

The issue doth often authorize a simple conduct. Our interposition is in a manner nothing els but an experience, and more commonly a consideration of use and example then of reason. And as one amazed at the greatnesse of some businesse, I haue sometimes understood by those who had atchieued them, both their motiues and addressees: wherein I haue found but vulgar advices: and the most vulgar and used, are peradventure the surest and most commodious for the practise, if not for the shew. And what if the plainest reasons are the best seated: the meanest, basest & most beaten, are best applied unto affaires? To maintaine the authority of our Kings counsel, it is not requisite, that prophane persons should be partakers of it, and looke further into it, then from the first barre. To uphold it's reputation, it should be revered vpon credit, and at full. My consultation doth somewhat roughly hew the matter, and by it's first shew, lightly consider the same: the maine and chiefe point of the worke, I am wont to resigne to heauen.

*Permitte*



Hor. l. 1. od. 9.

*Permitte divis cetera,  
How all the reu shall goe,  
Give leave to Gods to know.*

Good and bad fortune, are in my conceit two soveraigne powers. T'is folly to thinke, that humane wisdom may act the full part of fortune. And vaine is his enterprize, that presumeth to embrace both causes and consequences, and lead the progresse of his fact by the hand. And above all, vainest in military deliberations. There was never more circumspection and military wisdom, then is sometimes seene amongst us: May it be that man feareth to lose himselfe by the way, reserving himselfe to the catastrophe of that play? I say moreover, that even our wisdom and consultation for the most part followeth the conduct of hazard. My will and my discourse, is sometimes mooved by one ayre, and sometimes by another: and there be many of these motions, that are governed without me. My reason hath daily impulsions and casuall agitations:

Vir. Geo. l. 4. 20

*Vertuntur species animorum. & pectora motus  
Nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,  
Concipiunt.  
The shoves of mindes are chang'd, and breasts conceive  
At one time motions, which anon they leave,  
And others take againe, As winds drive clouds amaine.*

Let but a man looke who are the mightiest in Cities and who thrive best in their businesse: he shall commonly find, they are the filiest and poorest in wit. It hath hapned to simple women, to weake children, and to mad men, to command great states, as well as the most sufficient Princes. And the gullish or shallow-pated (saith *Thucydides*) doe more ordinarily come unto them, then the wisest and subtlest. We ascribe their good fortunes effects, unto their prudence.

Plin. Psc. ad. 5.  
sc. 4.

*ut quisq; fortuna utitur,  
Ita praeclit: atq; exinde sapere illum omnes dicimus.  
As men their fortune use, so they excell,  
And so we say, they are wise and doe well.*

Wherefore I say well, that howsoever, events are but weake testimonies of our worth and capacity. I was now upon this point, that we need but looke upon a man advanced to dignity; had we but three daies before knowne him to bee of little or no worth at all: an image of greatnesse, and an Idea of sufficiency, doth insensibly glide and creepe into our opinions; and we perswade our selves, that increasing in state, and credit, and followers, hee is also increased in merit. We judge of him, not according to his worth; but after the maner of casting-counters, according to the prerogative of his ranke. But let fortune turne her wheele, let him againe decline and come down amongst the vulgar multitude; every one with admiration enquireth of the cause, and how he was raised so high. Good Lord is that he? will some say. What? knew he no more? had he no other skill when he was so aloft? Are Princes pleased with so little? Now in good sooth we were in very good hands, will others say. It is a thing my selfe have often seene in my daies. Yea the very maske of greatnesse, or habit of Majesty, represented in Tragedies, doth in some sort touch and beguile us. The thing I adore in Kings, is the throng of their adorators. All inclination and submission is due unto them, except the mindes. My reason is not framed to bend or stoop: my knees are. *Melanthis* being demanded, what he thought of *Dionysius* his tragedy, answered I have not seene it, so much was it over-clouded with language. So should those say, that judge of great mens discourses: I have not understood his discourse, so was it over-darkned with gravity, with greatnes and with Majesty. *Antisthenes* one day perswaded the Athenians, to command that their asses should as well be employed about the manuring of grounds, as were their horses: who answered him that the asse was not borne for such service: that's all one (quoth he) there needs but your allowance for it: for the most ignorant and incapable men you imploy about the directing of  
your



your warres, leave not to become out of hand most worthy, onely because you employ them. Whereupon depends the custome of so many men, who canonize the King, whom they have made amongst them, and are not contented to honor him, unlesse they also adore him. Those of *Mexico*, after the ceremonies of his consecration are finished, dare no more looke him in the face: but as if by his Royalty, they had deified him, they afterward deeme him to bee a God: amongst the oathes, they make him sweare *to maintaine their Religion, to keepe their Lawes, to defend their liberties, to be valiant just and debonaire*; he is also sworne to make the Sun march in his accustomed light: in time of need to cause the clouds shewre downe their waters; to enforce rivers to runne in their right wonted chanel; and compell the earth to produce all necessary things for his people. I differ from this common fashion, and more distrust sufficiency, when I see it accompanied with the greatnes of fortune, and applauded by popular commendation. Wee should heedfully marke, of what consequence it is, for a man to speake in due time, to choosẽ fit opportunity, to breake or change his discourse with a magistrall authority: to defend himselfe from others oppositions, by a nod or moving of the head, by a smile, a shrug or a silence, before an assembly, trembling with reverence and respect. A man of monstrous fortune, chancing to shoore his boult, and give his opinion upon a frivolous subject, which but jestingly was tossed too and fro at his table, began ever thus; he cannot choosẽ but be a lyer, or an ignorant asse, that will say otherwise then, &c. Follow this Philosophicall point, out commeth a dagger, and there is some mischief. Loe here another advertisement; from whence I reape good use: Which is, that in disputations and conferences, all good seeming words, ought not presently to be allowed and accepted. Most men are rich of a strange sufficiency. Some my chance to speake a notable saying, to give a good answer, to use a witty sentence, and to propound it, without knowing the force of it. That a man holdeth nor all he borroweth, may peradventure be verified in my selfe. A man should not alwayes yeeld, what truth or goodnes soever it seemeth to containe. A man must either combat the same in good earnest, or draw back, under colour of not understanding the matter: to try on all parts, how it is placed in it's author. It may fortune, that we shut our selves up and further the stroake, beyond its bearing. I have sometimes in necessity and throng of the combat, employed some reviradoes or turnings, which beyond my intent, have prooved false offers. I but gave them by tale, and they were received by waight. Even as when I content with a vigorous man; I please my selfe to anticipate his conclusions: I ease him the labour to interpret himselfe, I endeavour to prevent his imperfect and yet budding imagination: the order and pertinency of his understanding forwarneth and menaceth a farre off: of these others I do cleane contrary; a man must understand or presuppose nothing but by them. If they judge in generall termes: *This is good, that's naught*; and that they jump right, see whether it be fortune, that jumpeth for them. Let them a little circumscribe and restrain their sentence wherefore it is, and which way it is. These universall judgements, I see so ordinarily say nothing at all. They are men, that salute a whole multitude, in throng and troupe. Such as have true knowledge of the same, salute and marke it by name and particularly. But it is a hazardous enterprife. Whence I have oftner & daily scene, to happen that wits weakly grounded, intending to shew themselves ingenious, by observing in the reading of some work, the point of beauty: stay their admiration with so bad a choise, that in lieu of teaching us the authors excellency, they shew us their owne ignorance. This maner of exclamation is safe: *Loe this is very excellent: Surely this is very good*, having heard a whole page of *Virgil*. And that's the shift whereby the subtrill save themselves, But to undertake to follow him by shrugs and crinches, and with an expresse selected judgement to goe about to marke which way a good author surmounteth himselfe: pondring his words, his phrases, his inventions, and his severall vertues one after another: *Away, goe by: It is not for you. Videndum est non modo, quid quisq; loquatur, sed etiam quid quisq; sentiat, atq; etiam qua de causa quisq; sentiat. Man must take heed not onely what he speakes, but what he thinkes, and also why he thinkes*. I dayly heare tooles utter unfoolish words. Speake they any good thing: let us understand whence they know it, how farre they understand and whereby they hold it. Wee helpe them to employ this fine word and this goodly reason, which they possesse not, and have but in keeping: they have happily produced the same by chance and at random, our selves bring it in credit and esteeme with them. You lend them your hand: what to doe? to konne you no thanks, and thereby become more simple, and more foolish. Doe not second them: let them goe on: they will handle



handle this matter as men affraid to bewray themselves, they dare neither change her seate or light, nor enter into it. Shake it never so little, it escapeth them; quit the same how strong and goodly soever it be. They are handsome weapons, but ill hasted. How often have I seene the experience of it? Now if you come to expound and confirme them, they take hold of you, and presently steale the advantage of your interpretation from you. *It was that which I was about to say: It was just my conceit: If I have not so exprest it, it is but for want of speech.* Handy-dandy, what is this? Malice it selfe must be employed to correct this fierce rudenesse. *Hegesias* his position, that a man must neither hate nor accuse, but instruct, hath some reason else where. But here, it is injustice to assist, and inhumanity to raise him up againe, that hath nothing to doe with it, and is thereby of lesser worth. I love to have them entangle and bemire themselves more then they are, and if it be possible, to wade so deepe into the gulph of error, that in the end they may recall and advise themselves. *Sottishnesse and distraction of the senses, is no disease curable by a trick of advertisement.* And we may fitly say of this reparation, as *Cyrus* answered one, who urged him to exhort his army in the nicke when the battell should begin: *That men are not made warlike and couragious in the field, by an excellent oration; no more then one becommeth a ready cunning Musition, by hearing a good song.* They are prentisages that must be learned a forehand, by long and constant institution. This care we owe to ours, and this assiduity of correction and instruction: but to preach to him that first passeth by, or sway the ignorance or fondnesse of him we meete next, is a custome I cannot well away with. I sel-dome use it, even in such discourses as are made to me; and I rather quit all, then come to these far-fetched and magistrall instructions. My humour is no more proper to speake, then to write, namely for beginners. But in things commonly spoken, or amongst others, how false and absurd soever I judge them, I never crosse or gibe them, neither by word nor signe. Further, nothing doth more spight me in sottishnesse then that it pleaseth it selfe more, then any reason may justly bee satisfied. It is ill lucke that wisdom forbids you to please and trust your selfe, and sends you alwayes away discontented and fearefull: whereas wilfulnesse and rashnesse, fill their guests with gratulation and assurance. It is for the simplest and least able, to looke at other men over their shoulders, ever returning from the combat full of glory and gladnesse. And most often also, this outrecuidance of speech and cheerefulness of countenance, giveth them the victory over the by-standers, who are commonly weake, and incapable to judge a right and discern true advantage. *Obstinacy and earnestnesse in opinion, is the surest tryall of folly and selfe conceit.* Is there any thing so assured, so resolute, so disdainfull, so contemplative, so serious and so grave, as the Ass: May we not commixe with the title of conference and communication, the sharpe and interrupted discourses, which mirth and familiarity introduceth amongst friends, pleasantly dallying and wittily jesting one with another? An exercise, to which my naturall blichnesse makes me very apt. And if it be not so wire-drawne and serious, as this other exercise I now speake of, yet is it no lesse sharpe or ingenious, no lesse profitable, as it seemed to *Lycurgus*. For my regard I bring more liberty then wit unto it, and have therein more lucke then invention: but I am perfect in sufferance; for I endure the revenge, not onely sharpe but also indiscreete, without any alteration. And to any assault given me, if I have not presently or stoutly wherewith to worke mine owne amends, I amuse not my selfe to follow that ward or point, with a tedious and selfe-wild contestation, enclining to pertinacy: I let it passe, and hanging downe mine eares, remit my selfe to a better houre to right my selfe. *He is not a marchant that ever gaineth.* Most men change both voice and countenance, where might faileth them: And by an importunate rage, instead of avenging themselves, they accuse their weaknesse and therewith bewray their impatience. In this jollity we now and then harpe upon some secret strings of our imperfections; which settled or considerate we cannot touch without offence and we profitably enter-advertise our selves of our defects. There are other handy-sports indiscreete, fond and sharpe, just after the French maner; which I hate mortally: I have a tender and sensible skinned: I have in my daies seene two Princes of our Royall blood brought to their graves for it. *It is an ill seeming thing for men, in jest to hitte, or in sport to strike on another.* In other matters, when I shall judge of any body, I demaund of him, how farre or how much he is contented with himselfe: how farre his speech or his worke pleaseth him. I will avoyd these goodly excuses, *I did it but in jest:*



*Ablatum medijs opus est incendibns sistud,*  
This worke away was brought,  
Halfe hammered, halfe wrought.

*Ovid. Trist. l. 1.  
l. 1. eleg. 6. 29.*

*I was not an boure there : I have not scene him since.* Now I say, let us then leave these partes; give me one that may represent you whole and entire, by which it may please you to be measured by another. And then; what finde you fairest in your owne worke? is it that or this part? the grace or the matter, the invention, the judgement, or the learning? For I ordinarily perceive, that *a man misseeth as much in judging of his owne worke, as of anothers.* Not onely by the affection, he therein employeth; but because he hath not sufficiencie to know, nor skill to distinguish it. The worke of it's owne power and fortune, may second the worke-man, and transport him beyond his invention and knowledge. As for me, I judge not the worth of anothers worke more obscurely then of mine owne: and place my Essayes sometime lowe, sometimes high, very unconstantly and doubtfully. There are divers bookes profitable by reason of their subjects of which the author reapeth no commendations at all: And good bookes, as also good workes, which make the workeman ashamed. I shall write the manner of our bankets, and the fashion of our garments, and I shall write it with an ill grace: I shall publish the Edicts of my time, and the letters of Princes that publikely passe from hand to hand: I shall make an abridgement of a good booke (and every abridgement of a good booke, is a foole abridged) which booke shall come to be lost, and such like things. Posterity shall reape singular profit by such compositions: but I, what honour except by my good fortune? Many famous bookes are of this condition.

When I read *Philip de Commynes*, (now divers yeares since) a right excellent author, I noted this speech in him, as a saying not vulgar: *That a man should carefully take heed, how he do his master so great or much service, that he thereby be hindred from finding his due recompence for it.* I should have commended the invention, but not him. After that I found it in *Tacitus*: *Beneficia eo usque lata sunt. dum videntur exolveri posse, ubi multum antevenera pro gratia odium red-* *Corn. Tacit. Annal. l. 4.*  
*distur.* Benefits are so long wel-come, as wee thinke they may be requited, but when they much exceede all power of recompence, hate is returned for thanks and good will. And *Seneca* very stoutly. *Nam quis putat esse turpe non reddere, non vult esse cui reddat.* For he that thinkes it a shame not to requite, could wish, he were not whom he should requite. *Q. Cicero* with a looser byas: *Qui se non* *Son. epist. 81. f. Cicero.*  
*putat satisfacere, amicus esse nullo modo potest.* He that thinkes he doth not satisfie, can by no means be a friend. The subiect according as it is, may make a man be judged learned, wise and memorius: but to judge in him the parts most his owne and best worthy, together with the force and beautie of his minde; tis very requisite we know first what is his owne, and what not: and in what is not his owne, what we are beholding to him for, in consideration of his choise, disposition, ornament, and language he hath thereunto furnished. What if he have borrowed the matter and empaired the forme? as many times it cometh to passe. Wee others that have little practise with bookes, are troubled with this, that when wee meet with any rare or quaint invention in a new Poet, or forcible argument in a Preacher, we dare not yet commend them, untill we have taken instruction of some wise man, whether that part be their owne or another bodies. And untill then I ever stand upon mine owne guard, I come lately from reading over, (and that without any intermission) the story of *Tacitus* (a matter not usuall with me; it is now twenty yeares, I never spent one whole houre together upon a booke) and I have now done it, at the instant request of a gentleman, whom *France* holdeth in high esteeme; as well for his owne worth and valour as for a constant forme of sufficiencie and goodnes, apparantly scene in divers brethren of his. I know no author, that in a publike register entermixeth so many considerations of manners, and particular inclinations. And I deeme cleane contrary, to what hee thinketh: who being especially to follow the lues of the Emperours of his time, so divers and extreme in all manner of forme, so many notable and great actions, which, namely their cruelty produced in their subjects. he had a more powerfull and attractive matter, to discourse and relate, then it hee had beene to speake or treat of battels and universall agitations. So that I often find him barren, sleightlie running over those glorious deaths, as if he feared to attediate and molest us with their multitude and continuance. This forme of historie is much more profitable: *Publike innovations, depend more on the conduct of fortune: private on ours.* It is rather a judgement, then



a deduction of an history : therein are more precepts, then narrations : It is not a booke to reade, but a volume to study and to learne: It is so fraught with sentences, that right or wrong they are huddled up : It is a seminary of morall, and a magazine of polittique discourses, for the provision and ornament of those, that possesse some place in the managing of the world. He ever pleadeth with solid and forcible reasons; after a sharpe and witty fashion : following affected and laboured stile of his age : They so much loved to raise and puffe themselves up, that where they found neither sharpenesse nor subtilty in things, they would borrow it of wordes. He draweth somewhat neare to *Senecas* writing. I deeme *Tacitus*, more sinnowy, *Seneca* more sharpe. His service is more proper to a crazed troubled state, as is ours at this present : you would often say, he pourtrayeth and toucheth us to the quicke. Such as doubt of his faith, doe manifestly accuse themselves to hate him for somewhat else. His opinions be found, and enclining to the better side of the Romane affaires. I am neverthelesse something greeved, that he hath more bitterly judged of *Pompey*, then honest mens opinions, who lived and conversed with him, doe well allow off : to have esteemed him altogether equall to *Marius* and *Silla*, saving that he was more close and secret. His intention and canvassing for the government of affaires, hath not beene exempted from ambition, nor cleared from revenge : and his owne friends have feared, that had he gotten the victory, it would have transported him beyond the limits of reason ; but not unto an unbridled and raging measure. There is nothing in his life that hath threatned us with so manifest a cruelty, and expresse tyranny. Yet must not the suspicion be counterpoised to the evidence: So doe not I beleue him.

That his narrations are naturall and right, might happily be argued by this : That they doe not alwaies exactly apply themselves to the conclusions of his judgement ; which hee pursueth according to the course he hath taken, often beyond the matter he sheweth us ; which he hath daied to stoope unto with one onely glance. He needeth no excuse to have approved the religion of his times, according to the lawes which commanded him, and beene ignorant of the true and perfect worship of God, That's his ill fortune, not his defect. I have principally considered his judgement, whereof I am not every where throughly resolved. As namely these words contayned in the letter, which *Tiberius* being sicke and aged, sent to the Senate. *What shall I write to you my masters, or how shall I write to you, or what shall I not write to you in these times ? May the gods and goddesse loose me worse, then I dayly feele my selfe to perish, if I can tell. I cannot perceive why he should so certainly apply them unto a stinging remorse, tormenting the conscience of Tiberius: At least when my selfe was in the same plight, I saw it not.* That hath likewise seemed somewhat demisse and base unto me, that having said, how he had exercised a certaine honourable magistracy in Rome, he goeth about to excuse himselfe, that it is not for ostentation, he spake it : This one trick, namely in a minde of his quality, seemeth but base and course unto me : For, not to dare speake roundly of himselfe, accuseth some want of courage : A constant, resolute and high judgement, and which judgeth soundly and surely, every hand while useth his owne examples, as well as of any strange thing ; and witnesseth as freely of himselfe as of a third person : A man must overgoe these popolare reasons of civility, in favour of truth and liberty. I dare not onely speake of my selfe : but speake alone of my selfe. I stragle when I write of any other matter, and digresse from my subject. I doe not so discreetly love my selfe, and am so tied and commixt to my selfe, as that I can not distinguish and consider my selfe a part : as a neighbour, as a tree; it is an equall error, either nor to see how farre a mans worth stretcheth, or to say more of it then one seeth good cause. *We owe more love to God, then to our selves, and know him lesse, and yet we talke our fill of him.* If his writings relate any thing of his conditions he was a notable man, upright and couragious, not with a superstitious vertue, but Philosophicall and generous : He may be found over hardy in his testimonies. As where he holdeth, that a souldier carrying a burden of wood, his hands were so stiffly benumbed with cold, that they stucke to his wood, and remained so fast unto it, that as dead flesh they were divided from his armes. In such cases I am wont to see the favour of the God *Serapis*, healed in the citie of *Alexandria* a blinde woman, with the rubbing and anointing her eyes with fasting spottle, and some other miracles, which I remember not well now, he doth it by the example and devoire of all good historians. They keepe a register of important events : among pub-  
like



like accidents, are allso popular reports and vulgar opinions. It is their part to relate common conceits, but not to sway them. This part belongeth to Divines and Philosophers, directors of consciences. Therefore that companion of his, and as great a man as hee, said most wisely: *Equidem plura transcribo quam credo: Nam nec affirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere que accepi: I write out more then I beleeve: for neither can I bide to affirm what I doubt of, nor to withdraw what I have heard: And that other: Hec neque affirmare neque refellere opera precium est: fama verum standum est. It is not worth the talke, or to avouch, or to refuse these things wee must stand to report.* And writing in an age, wherein the beleefe of prodigies began to decline, he saith, he would notwithstanding not omit to insert in his Annals, and give footing to a thing received and allowed of so many honest men, and with so great reverence by antiquity. It is very well said: That they yeelde us the history, more according as they receive, then according as they esteeme it. I who am king of the matter I treat of, and am not to give accompt of it to any creature living, doe neverthelesse not altogether beleeve my selfe for it: I often hazard upon certaine outslips of my minde, for which I distrust my selfe; and certaine verball wilie-beguilies, whereat I shake mine eares: but I let them runne at hab or nab; I see some honour them selves with such like things: T'is not for me alone to judge of them. I present my selfe standing and lying, before and behinde, on the right and left side and in all by naturall motions. *Spirits alike in force, are not ever alike in application and taste.* Loe here what my memory doth in grose, and yet very uncertainly present unto me of it. In breefe, all judgments are weake, demisse and imperfect.

## CHAP. IX.

## Of Vanitie.

There is peradventure no vanity more manifest, then so vainely to write of it. What Divinity hath so divinely exprest thereof unto us, ought of all men of understanding to be diligently and continually meditated upon. Who seeth not, that I have entred so large a field, and undertaken so high a pitch, wherein so long as there is either Inke or Paper in the world, I may uncessantly wander and fly without encombrance? I can keepe no register of my life by my actions: fortune placeth them to lowe: I should them of my fantasies. Yee have I seen a gentleman, who neuer communicated his life, but by the operations of his belly you might have scene in his house, set out for a show, a row of basins for seaven or eight dayes. It was all his study, it was all his talke: All other discourses were unsavory to him. These are somewhat more civile, the excrements of an ould spirit, sometimes hard, sometimes laxative; but ever indigested. And when shall I come unto an end of representing a continuall agitation or uncessant alteration of my thoughts, what subject soever they happen upon; since *Diomedes* filled six thousand bookes only with the subject of Grammar? What is idle babbling like to produce, since the saltring and liberty of the tongue hath stufte the world with so horrible a multitude of volumes? So many words onely for words. Oh *Pythagoras*, why didst not thou conjure this tempest? One *Galba* of former ages, being accused for living idlie; answered, that all men ought to give an account of their actions, but not of their abiding. He was deceived: for justice hath also knowledge and animadversion over such as gather stubble (as the common saying is) or looke about for gape-feed. But there should be some correction appointed by the lawes, against foolish and unprofitable writers, as there is against vagabonds and loiterers: so should both my selfe and a hundred others of our people be banished. It is no mockerie: Scribbling seemeth to be a Symptome or passion of an irregular and licentious age. When writ we ever so much as we have done since our intestine troubles? or whē filled the Romans so many volumes, as in the times of their ruine? Besides that, the refining of wits in a common wealth, doth seldome make them the wiser: this idle working proceedeth of this that all men doe over slowly give themselves to the office of their function, and are easily withdrawne from it. The corruption of the times we live in, is wrought by the particullar contribution of every



one of us: some conferre treason unto it, some injustice, other some irreligion, tyranny, avarice and cruelty; according as they are more or lesse powerfull: the weaker sort, whereof I am one imparte foolishnesse, vanity and idlenesse unto it. It seemeth to bee the leason of vaine things; when the damageable presse us. *In a time, where to doe euill is common: to doe nothing profitable, is in a manner commendable.* One thing comforts me, that I shall be of the last, that shall be attached: whilst they shall provide for the worser sort and the most hurtfull, I shall have leasure to amend my selfe: For, mee thinkes it would bee against reason busily to insist and pursue petty inconveniences, when great ones infect us. And the Physicion *Philotimus*, to one that offred his finger to dresse, by whose face, looke and breath he apparantly perceaved, that he had an impostume in his loonges; My friend (quoth he) *It is now no time to busie your selfe about your nayles.* Yet concerning this purpose, I saw not many yeares since a friend of mine, whose name and memory (for diuers respects,) I hold in singular account, who in the midst of our troublous mischiefs: when, no more then at this time, neither lawe, nor justice, nor magistrate was executed or did his office, published certaine silly reformatiōs, concerning the excesse of apparell gluttony and dyer, and abuses committed among petty-fogging lawiers. They be ammusings wherewith a people in a desperate taking is fed, that so men may say they are not cleane forgotten. Even to doe these others, who mainly apply them selves to forbid certaine manners of speach, dances and vaine sports, unto a people wholly given over to all licentiousnesse and execrable vices. *It is then no convenient time for a man to wash and netifie himselfe when he is assailed by a violent feuer.* It onely belongs to Spartans, to trick, to combe and wash themselves at what time they are ready to cast them selves into some extreame hazard of life. As for for me, I am subject to this ill custome, that if but a pump sit not handsomly upon my foot, I shall also neglect my shirt and my cloake: for I disdain to correct my selfe by halves: when I am in bad estate, I flecth my selfe on euill and abandon my selfe through despaire, and run to downefall, and (as the saying is) cast the haft after the hatcher. I grow obstinate in empaireing; and esteeme my selfe no more worthy of my care, eyther all well or all euill. It is a favour to me, that the desolation of our state doth sutably meet with the desolation of my age: I rather endure that my evils should thereby be surcharged, then if my goods had thereby beene troubled. The words I utter against misfortune, are words of spite. My courage instead of yeelding, doth grow more obstinate; and contrary to others, I finde my selfe more given to devotion, in prosperous then aduerse fortune: according to *Xenophons* rule, if not according to his reason. And I rather looke on heaven with a chearefull eye, to thanke it, then to begge any thing. I am more carefull to encrease my health when it smiles upon me, then to recover it when I have lost it. Prosperities are to me as discipline and instruction, as aduersities and crosses are to others. As if good fortune were incompatible with a good conscience, men never become honest but by aduerse and crosse chances. Good fortune is to me a singular motive unto moderation, and forcible spurre unto modesty. Prayers winne me, menaces reject me, favours relent me, feare imperverseth me. Amongst humane conditions, this one is very common, that we are rather pleased with strange things then with our owne: we love changes, affect alterations, and like innovations.

*Ipsa dies ideo nos grato perluit hians,  
Quod permutatis hora recurrit equis.*

Times therefore us refresh with welcome ayre,  
Because their houres on chang'd horse doe repayre:

And my share is therein. Such as follow the other extremity, onely to bee well pleased with and in themselves; and selfe-conceitedly to over-esteeme what they possesse above others: and acknowledge no forme fayrer, then that they see: if they bee not more aduised then we, they are indeed more happy. I envie not their wisdom, but grudge their good fortune: This greedy humour of new and unquenchable desire of unknowne things dooth much increase and nourish in me a desire to travell: but diuers other circumstances conferre unto it. I am well pleased to neglect and shake of the government of mine owne household. *It is some pleasure to command, were it but a mole-hill, and a delight to be obaid.* But it is a pleasure over-ur. iforme and languishing. Besides that it is ever necessarily intermixed with troublous cares,



cares, and hart-wearing thoughts. Sometimes the indigence and oppression of your owne people; sometimes the contentions and quarrels of your neighbours, and other times their insulting and usurpation over you, doth vex, doth trouble and afflict you,

*Aut verberata grandine vinea,  
Fendusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas  
Culpante, nunc torrentia agros  
Sydera, nunc hyemes iniquas.*

*Hor. car. l.  
3. od. 1. 29.*

Or Vineyards beate and wet with haile and rain,  
Or grounds defrauding hope, while trees complaine;  
Sometime of waters, sometime of those starres,  
That scorch the fields, sometime of winters warres,

And that God will hardly once in halfe a yeare send you a season, that shall thoroughly please your Bayly, and content your Reccaver: and that if it be good for your vines, it be not hurtfull for your meddowes.

*Aut nimis torret feruoribus aetherius Sol,  
Aut subiti perimus imbres, gelidaque pruina  
Flabraque ventorum violento turbant vocent.  
Or with excessive heate heavens Sunne doth toast,  
Or sodaine stormes do kill, and chilling frost,  
Or violent whirle-wind blasts doe vex the coast.*

*Lucret. l. 5.  
215.*

As that new and well-shapen shoe of that man of former ages, which hurts and wrings your foote: and that a stranger knowes not what it costes you, and what you contribute to maintaine the show of that order, which is seene in your houtholde: and which peradventure you purchase at too high a rate. It was very late before I betooke my selfe to husbandrie. Those whom nature caused to be borne before mee, haue long time ridde mee of that carefull burthen: I had already taken another habite more suitable to my complexion. Nevertheless by that I haue observed therein, I finde it to be rather a troublesome, then a hard occupation. Whosoever is capable of any other thing, may easily discharge that, If I would seeke to grow rich; that way would seeme ouer-long and tedious to mee: I would then haue serued our kings, a trade more beneficiall then all others; since I pretend but to get the reputation, that as I haue gotten nothing, so haue I not wasted any thing; suitable to the rest of my life; as unfit to affect any good, as improper to worke any euill or consequence; and that I onely seeke to weare out my life, I may (God bee thanked) doe it without any great attention: if the worst come to passe, before pouerty assaile you, seeke by preuention to cut of your charges, and by husbanding your expences keepe aforehand with it; that is it I trust unto, and hope to reforme my selfe before it come neare or enforce me to it. As for other matters, I haue forestalled many degrees and established sundry wayes in my minde, to live and rubbe out with lesse then I haue. I say to live with contentment. *Non estima-* Cic. *Paradi-*  
*tione census, verum victu atque cultu, terminatur pecunie modus.* The measure of money is limited not by the estimate of wealth or place, but by the manner of lining and other furniture. My very neede doth not so precisely possesse my whole estate, but that without touching to the quick or empaireing the maine, fortune shall finde something to play upon, or take hold of. My very presence as ignorant and grim as it is, affordeth much helpe to my houthould affaires: I apply my selfe thereunto but somewhat dispightfully: considering the manner of my houle, which is, that severally to burne my candle at one end, the other is thereby nothing spared. Travels do not much hurt me, were it not for the charges, which are exceeding great and beyond my ability: haue ever beene accustomed to journey not only with nec flay, but also decent equipage: and that's the reason I make but short journeis and travel not to often: wherein I employ but the scumme and what I can well spare, temporising and differing, according as it commeth more or lesse. *I will not have the pleasure of my wandering to corrupt, the delight of my retiring.* Contrary-wise my intent is, that they nourish and fauor one another. Fortune hath steaded me in this, that since my chiefeest profession in this life, was to  
live



liue delicately and quietly, and rather negligently then seriously, it hath deprived me of need to hoard up riches, to provide for the multitude of my heires. For one, if that be not sufficient for him, wherewith I haue liued so plentifully, at his owne perill be it. His indiscretion shall not deserue, that I wish him more. *And euery man* (according to the example of *Phocion*) *provideth sufficiently for his children, that provideth they be not unlike to him.* I should by no meanes be of *Crates* his mind, or commend his proceeding. He left his mony with a banquier upon this condition: That if his children were fooles he should deliuer it them: but proving wise and able to shift for themselves, he should distribute the same amongst the greatest fooles. As if fooles being least capable to make shift without it, were more capable to use riches. So it is, that the hurt proceeding from my absence, doth not (in mine opinion) deserue, so long as I shall haue meanes to beare it, I should refuse to accept the occasions that offer themselves, to distract mee from this toyle some assistance. There is euer some peece out of square. Sometimes the businesse of one house, and other times the affaires of another, doe hurry you. You pry too neare into all things: herein, as well as elsewhere, your perspicuity doth harme you. I steale from such occasions as may moue me to anger; and remooue from the knowledge of things, that thrive not: yet can I not so use the matter, but still I stumble (being at home) upon some inconvenience, which displeaseth me. And slight knaveries, that are most hidden from mee are those I am best acquainted with. Some there are, which to avoyd a further mischiefe, a man must helpe to conceale himselfe: vaine prickings (vaine sometimes) but yet ever prickings. The least and sleightest hindrances, are the sharpest. *And as the smallest letters hurt our eyes most, so the least affaires grieve us most:* A multitude of slender euils offendeth more, then the violence of one alone, how great soeuer. Euen as ordinary thornes being small and sharpe pricke us more sharply and sans threatening, if on a sudden we hit upon them. I am no Philosopher: Euils oppresse me according as they waigh; and waigh according to their forme, as well as according to the matter, and often more. I haue more insight in them, then the vulgar sort; and so haue I more patience. To conclude, if they hurt me not, they lie heauie upon me. Life is a tender thing, and easie to be distempered. Since I began to grow towards peevish age, and by consequence toward frowardnes, *nemo enim resistit sibi cum ceperit impelli;* For no man stayes himselfe when he is set on going. What ever fond cause hath brought me to it; I prouoke the humour that way: which afterward by his owne motion is fostred and exasperated, attracting and heaping up one matter upon another, to feede it selfe withall.

*Sen. ep. 1. 13. f.*

*Stillicidij casus lapidem canat.*  
By often falling on,  
Even water breakes a stone.

These ordinary distilling drops consume and ulcerate me. Ordinary inconueniences are neuer light. They are continuall and irreparable, if they continually and inseparably arise from the members of husbandry. When I consider my affaires a farre off, and in grosse, I finde, be it because I haue no exact memory of them, that hitherto they haue thrived beyond my reasons and expectation. Me thinks I draw more from them, then there is in them: their good successe betraieeth me. But am I waded into the businesse? See I all these parcels march?

*Virg. Aen. l. 5.*  
720.

*Tum vero in curas animum deducimus omnes.*  
Then we our minde divide,  
To cares on euery side,

A thousand things therein give me cause to desire and feare. Wholy to forsake them is very easie vnto me; without toying and vexation altogether to apply my selfe unto them, is most hard. It is a pittiful thing, to be in a place, where whatsoever you seedoeth set you a worke and concerne you. And me thinkes, I enioy more blithly and taste more choisely the pleasures of a stranger house, then of mine owne: and both my minde and taste runne more freely and purely on them. *Diogenes* answered according to my humor, when being demanded what kinde of Wine he liked best: *Another mans,* said he. My father delighted to build at *Montaigne* where he was borne: & in al this policy of domestick affaires, I love to make vse of his examples and rules; unto which I will as much as possibly I can tie my successors. Could I doe



doe better for him, I would performe it. I glory his will is at this day practised by mee, and doth yet worke in me. God forbid I should ever suffer any image of life to perish vnder my hands, that I may yeeld unto so good and so kinde a father. If I haue undertaken to finish any old peece of wall, or repaire any building either imperfect or decayed : it hath certainly beene, because I had rather a respect to his intention, then a regard to my contentment. And I blame my negligence or licherneffe, that I have not continued to perfect the foundations he had laid, or beginnings he had left in his house : by so much the more because I am in great likelihood to be the last possessor of it, namely of my race, and set the last hand unto it. For, concerning my particular application, neither the pleasure of building, which is said to be so bewitching, nor hunting, nor hawking, nor gardens, nor such other delights of a retired life, can much embusie or greatly amuse me. It is a thing for which I hate my selfe, as of all other opinions, that are incommodious to me. I care not so much to have them vigorous and learned, as I labour to haue them easie and commodious unto life. They are indeed sufficiently true and sound, if they be profitable and pleasing. Those, who hearing mee relate mine owne insufficiencie in matters pertaining to husbandry or thrift, are still whispering in mine eares, that it is but a kinde of disdain, and that I neglect to know the implements or tooles belonging to husbandry or tillage, their seasons and orders, how my wines are made, how they graft, and understand or know the names and formes of hearbes, of simples, of fruits, and what belongs to the dressing of meats wherewith I liue and whereon I feede ; the names and prices of such stuffes I cloath my selfe withall, onely because I doe more seriously take to heart some higher knowledge; bring me in a manner to deaths doore. That is meree sottishnesse; and rather brutishnesse then glory : I would rather be a cunning horseman, then a good Logician.

*Quin tu aliquid saltem potius quorum indiget usus;  
Viminibus mollique parvis detexere iuuenco?*  
Why rather with soft wings make you not speed,  
To worke-up something, whereof there is need?

*Virg. Buc. l. 3.  
71.*

Wee hinder our thoughts from the generall and maine point, and from the causes and universall conducts : which are very well directed without us, and omit our owne businesses; and *Michael*, who concernes us neerer then man. Now I most commonly stay at home, but I would please my selfe better there, then any where else.

*Sis mea sedes utinam fenestra,  
Sis modus lassio maris, & viarum,  
Militiaque.*

Some repaire and rest to mine old age I crave;  
Journeying, sailing, with a weary warring,  
O let an end have.

*Hor. car. 1.  
od. 6. 6.*

I wot not whether I shall come to an end of it. I would that in lieu of some other part of his succession, my father had resigned that passionate loue and deare affection, which in his aged yeeres he bare unto his household husbandry. He was very fortunate, in conforming his desires unto his fortune, & knew how to be pleased with what he had. Politike Philosophy may how it list accuse the basenesse and blame the sterilitie of my occupation, if as he did, I may but once finde the taste of it. I am of this opinion, that the honorablest vacation, is to serue the Common-wealth, and be profitable to many. *Fructus enim ingenij & virtutis, omnisq; praestantia, tum maximis accipitur, cum in proximum quemq; confertur.* For then is most fruit reaped, both *Cicero*. *Amicus* of our wisd vertue, and all other excellencie, when it is bestowed upon our neighbours. As for me, I depart from it: partly for conscience sake: (for whence I discern the waight, concerning such vacations, I also discover the slender meanes I haue to supply them withall : And *Plato* a master workeman in all politike gouernment, omitted not to abstaine from them) partly for licherneffe. I am well pleased to enjoy the world, without troubling or pressing my selfe with it : to liue a life, onely excusable : and which may neither bee burthentome to mee, nor to any other. Neuer did man goe more plainly and carelesly to worke in the



the care and government of a third man, then I would, had I a ground to worke upon. One of my wishes at this instant, should be to finde a sonne in law, that could handsonely allure and discreetly beguile my old yeeres, and lull them asleepe: into whose hands I might dispose, and in all sovereignty resigne the conduct and managing of my goods: that he might dispose of them as I doe, and gaine upon them what I gaine: alwaies provided he would but carry a truly-thankfull and friendly minde. But what? we live in a world, where the loyalty of our owne children is not knowen. Whosoever hath the charge of my purse when I travel, hath it freely and without controll: as well might he deceive me in keeping of reckonings. And if he be not a Divell, I bind him to deale well and honestly, by my carelesse confidence. *Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, & alijs in peccando suspicando fecerunt.* Many have taught others to deceive, while themselves feare to be deceived, and have given them just cause to offend, by suspecting them unjustly. The most ordinary assurance I take of my people, is a kinde of disacknowledge or neglect: I never presume vices, but after I have scene them: and trust more yoong men, such as I imagine to be least debauched and corrupted by ill examples. I had rather heare at two months end, that I have spent foure hundred crownes, then every night when I should goe to my quiet bed, have mine eares tired and my minde vexed with three, five, or seven. Yet in this kinde of stealing, have I had as little stolne from mee as any other: True it is, I lend a helping hand to ignorance. I wittingly entertaine a kinde of troubled and uncertaine knowledge of my money: untill it come to a certaine measure I am content to doubt of it. It is not amisse if you allow your boy or servant some small scope for his disloyalty and indiscretion. If in grosse we have sufficiently left to bring our matters to passe, this excelsse of fortunes-liberalitie, let us somewhat more suffer it to stand to her mercie, It is the gleaners fee. After all, I esteeme not so much my peoples fidelity, as I disesteeme their injurie. Oh base and absurd study, for a man to study his money, and please himselfe with handling and counting the same: for that's the way whereby covetousnesse maketh her approaches. Since eightene yeeres, that I have had the full disposing of my goods in mine owne hands, I could never yet be brought to overlooke, neither titles nor bookes, no not so much as the principall affaires, that should necessarily passe thorow my knowledge and care.

It is no Philosophicall contempt, to neglect worldly and transitorie things: my taste is not so exquisitely nice; for I value them according to their worth at least: but truly it is an inexcusable slothfulness and childish negligence. What would I not rather doe, then reade a contract? And more willingly, as a slave to my businesse, with carke to over-looke, and care to survey a company of old-dusty bookes, and plod upon musty writings? and which is worse, other mens, as so many doe daily for money? I have nothing so deare as care and paine: and I onely endeavour to become carelesse and retchlesse. I had, in mine opinion, been fitter (if it might be) to live by others fortune, without bounden duty or bondage. And yet I wot not (the matter being thorowly sifted) whether according to my humour and fortune, what I must endure with my affaires, and pocker up at my servants and familiars hands, hath not more abjection, importunitie and sharpenesse, then the following of another man should have, better borne then my selfe, and who should give me somewhat at mine ease. *Servitus obedientia est fracti animi & abjecti, arbitrio carentis suo:* Service is an obedience of an abject broken heart, that cannot dispose of selfe. Crates did worse, who voluntarily cast himselfe into liberties of povertie, only to ridd himselfe of the inconveniences, indignities and cares of his house. Which I would not doe, I hate pouertie as much as griefe, yet could I finde in my heart to change this manner of life with another lesse glorious and not so troublesome. Being absent, I dischrg my selfe of all such carefull thoughts, and should lesse feelee the ruinous downe-fall of a Towne, then being present, the fall of a Tile. Alone my minde is easily freed but in company it indureth as much as a Plough-mans. My horse uncurb'd, his reines misplaced, or a stirrup or a strap hitting against my legge, will keepe me in a checke a whole day long. I rouze my courage sufficiently against inconvenience; mine eyes I cannot.

*Cic. Parad. 5.*

*Sensu ò superi sensus!*

At home I am ever answerable for whatsoever is amisse. Few masters (I speake of meane condition, as mine is; whereof if any be, they are the more happie) can so fully rely upon a second, but still a good part of the burden shall lie upon them. That doth peradventure take something from my fashion, in entertaining of guests or new commers; and happily I have beene



beene able to stay some, more by my kitchen, then by my behaviour or grace : as doe the pcevish and fantastickall: and I greatly diminish the pleasure I should take in my house, by the visitations and meetings of my friends. No countenance is so foolish, or so ill beleeving a gentleman in his owne house, as to see him vexed or troubled about his household or domesticke affaires: to see him whisper one of his servants in the eare, and threaten another with his looke. It should insensibly glide-on, and represent an ordinary course. And I utterly dislike, that a man should entertaine his guest with either excusing, or boasting of the entertainment he affordeth them. I love order and cleanlinesse,

— *& cantharus & lano,*

*Ostendunt mihi me.*

My dish, my drinking kanne,  
Shew me what kinde of man.

*Hor. l. 1. c. 1.*  
*5. 23.*

well nigh as much as plentie. In mine owne house I exactly looke unto necessitie, little unto state, and lesse unto ornament. If your neyghours servant be fighting with his companion, if a dish be overthrowen, you but laugh at it, you sleepe quietly whilst Sir such a one is busie casting up of accounts, and over-seeing his stocke with his steward, and all about your provision for to morrow. I speake according to mine opinion: omitting not in generall to thinke, how pleasing an amusemēt it is to certaine natures, to see a quiet and prosperous household, directed by a small and guided by a regular order. But not intending to fasten mine owne errors and inconveniences to the matter: Nor to gaine-say *Plato*, who deemeth that the happiest occupation any man can follow, is, to apply himselfe to his owne private businesse, without injustice. When I journey, I have nothing to care for but my selfe, and how my money is laid out, which is disposed with one onely precept. Over-many parts are required in hoarding and gathering of goods: I have no skill in it. In spending, I have some knowledge, and how to give my expences day: which indeed is it's principall use. But I attend it over ambitiously, which makes it both unequall and deformed: and besides that immoderate in one and other vsage. If it appeare and make a good shew, if it serve the turne, I indiscreetly goe after it: and as indiscreetly restraints my selfe, if it shine or smile not upon mee. Whatsoever it bee, either Art or nature, that imprints this condition of life into us, by relation to others, it doth us much more hurt then good. In going about to frame apparances according to the common opinion, wee defraud our selves of our owne profits. Wee care not so much, what our state, or how our being is in us, and in effect, as wee doe how and what it is, in the publike knowledge of others. Even the goods of the minde, and wisdomē it selfe, seeme fruitlesse unto us, if onely enjoyed by us: except it be set forth to the open view and approbation of strangers. There are some, whose gold runnes by streames in places underground, and that imperceptible: others extend the same in plates and leaves: So that to some, pence are worth crownes, to others the contrary: the world judging the employment and value, according to the outward shew. All over-nice care and curious heed about riches, hath a touch or a taste of avarice. Even their dispending and over regular and artificiall liberalities are not worth a warie heed taking, and countervails not a painefull diligence. Who so will make his expence even and just, makes it strict and forced: either close-keeping or employing of money, are in themselves things indifferent, and admit no colour of good or evill, but according to the application of our will. The other cause that drawes me to these Journeyes or Vagaries, is the dissent or disparitie in the present manners of our state. I could easily comfort my selfe with this corruption, in regard of the publike interest,

— *pejoraque secula ferri,*

*Temporibus, quorum scelere non invenit ipsa*

*Nomen, & a nullo posuit natura metallo.*

Times worse then times of Iron, for whose bad frame  
And wickednesse even nature findes no name,  
Nor hath from any metall set the same.

*Juv. sat. 13.*  
*29.*

*Eu.*



But not for mine owne: I am in particular over-pressed by it. For round about where I dwell we are, by the over-long licentiousnesse of our intestine civill warres, almost grown old, in so licentious and riotous a forme of state,

Virg. Geor. l. 1.  
505.

*Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas,  
As where of good and bad,  
There is no difference had.*

That in good truth, it were a wonder, if it should continue and maintaine it selfe.

Virg. Aen. l. 9.  
511.

*Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes  
Convellere iuvat pradas, & vivere rapto.  
They armed plow the land, and joy to drive,  
And draw new booties, and on rapine live.*

To conclude, I see by our example, that the societie of men doth hold and is sewed together; at what rate soever it be: where ever they be placed, in mooving and closing, they are ranged and stowed together; as uneven and rugged bodies, that orderlesse are huddled in some close place, & themselves finde the way to be united and joyned together one with another: and many times better, then Art could have disposed them. King Philip assembled a rabble of the most leaud, reprobate and incorrigible men he could finde out, all which he placed in a Citie, which of purpose he had caused to be built for them, of whom it bare the name. I imagine, that even of their vices, they erected a politike contexture amongst themselves, and a commodious and just societie. I see not one action, or three, or a hundred, but even divers manners, admitted and commonly used: so extravagant (namely in disloyalty) and so barbarous in inhumanitie, which in my conceit, are the worst and most execrable kinde of vices, that I have not the heart so much as to conceive them without horreur: All which I in a manner admire as much as I detest. The exercise of these egregious villanies, beareth a brand of vigour and hardinesse of minde, as much as of error and irregular confusion. *Necessitas compo-*  
*seth, and assembles men together.* This casuall combining is afterward framed into lawes. For, there have been some as barbarously-savage as humane opinion could possible produce, which notwithstanding have kept their bodies in as good health and state, in long life, as those of *Plato* or *Aristotle* could doe. And to say true, all these descriptions of policie, fained by Art and supposition, are found ridiculous and foolish, to bee put in practise. These great and long continuing altercations, about the best forme of societie, and most commodious rules to unite us together, are altercations onely proper for the exercise of our wit: As in arts, divers subjects are found, that have no essence but in agitation & disputing, without which they have no life at all. Such an Idea of policie, or picture of government, were to be established in a new world; but we take a world already made and formed to certaine customes: wee engender not the same as *Pyrrha*, nor beget it as *Cadmus*. By what meanes soever we have the privilege to re-erect and range the same anew, we can very hardly wrest it from the accustomed habit and fold it hath taken, except we breake all. *Solon* being demanded, whether hee had established the best lawes he could for the Athenians: answered, yea of those they would have received: with such a shife doth *Varro* excuse himselfe; saying, that if he were newly to beginneto write of religion, he would plainly tell what his beleefe were of it: But being already received, he will speake more of it according to custome, then to nature. Not to speake by opinion, but consonant to truth, the most excellent and best policie, for any nation to observe, is that under which it hath maintained it selfe, its forme and essentiall commoditie doth much depend of custome. We are easily displeased with the present condition: yet doe I hold that to wish the government of few, in a popular estate: or in a Monarchie, another kinde of policie, it is a manifest vice and meere follie.

Pibrac:

*Ayme l'estat tel que tu le vois estre,  
S'il est royall, ayme la royauté,  
S'il est de peu, ou bien communante,  
Ayme l' aussi, car Dieu t'y a fait naistre.*



Love thou the state, as thou seest it to be,  
 If it be Regall, love the royall race,  
 If of a few, or Common-weale, embrace  
 It as it is, borne there God pointed thee.

So was the good Lord of *Pibrac* wont to speake of it, whom we have lately lost, a man of so quaint and rare wit, of so sound judgement, and of so milde and affable behaviour. The untimely losse of whom, with that of the Lord of *Foix*, both fatally happning to us at one time, are surely losses of great consequence unto our crowne. I wot not well, whether *France*, amongst all the men it hath left, is able to afford us two such other Gentlemen, as may either in sincerity and woorth, or in sufficiency and judgement, for the counsell of our Kings match these two Gascoynes. They were two mindes diversly faire, and verily, if we respect the corrupted age wherein we live, both rare and gloriously shining, every one in her forme. But alas, what destiny had placed them on the Theater of this age, so dissonant and different in proportion from our deplorable corruption, and so farre from agreeing with our tumultuous stormes? Nothing doth so neerely touch and so much overlay an estate, as innovation: *Onely change doth give forme to injustice, and scope to tyranny*. If some one peece be out of square, it may be underpropt: one may oppose him'selfe against that, which the alteration incident; and corruption, naturall to all things, doth not too much elonge and draw us from our beginnings and grounded principles: But to undertake to re-erect and found againe so huge a masse, and change or remoove the foundations of so vast a frame, belongeth onely to them, who instead of purging, deface and in lieu of cleansing, scrape out: that will amend particular faults by an universall confusion, and cure diseases by death: *Non tam commutandum quam evertendum rerum cupidi*. Not so desirous to have things altered, as overthrowen. The world is fondly unapt to cure it selfe: So impatient with that which vexeth or grieveth it, that it only aimeth to ridd it selfe of it, never regarding at what rate. Wee see by a thousand examples, that it doth ordinarily cure it selfe at it's owne charges: *To be freed from a present evill, is no perfect cure, except there be a generall amendment of condition*. The end of a skiltull Chirurgeon, is not to mortifie the bad flesh, it is but the beginning and addressing of his cure: he aimeth further, that is, to make the naturall to grow againe, and reduce the partie to his due being and quality. Who ever proposeth onely to remoove what gnaweth him, shall be to seeke: for good dooth not necessarily succeed evill: another, yea a worse evill may succeed it. As it hapned unto *Cesars* murderers, who brought the common-weale to so distressed a plunge, that they repented themselves they ever medled with the same. The like hath since fortun'd to divers, yea in our daies. The French that live in my times, know very well what to speake of such matters. *All violent changes and great alterations, disorder, distemper and shake a state very much*. He that should rightly respect a sound recovery or absolute cure, and before all other things thorowly consult about it, might happily grow slacke in the businesse and beware how he set his hand unto it, *Pacuvius Calavius* corrected the vice of this manner of proceeding by a notable example. His fellow Citizens had mutined against their magistrates, He being a man of eminent authority in the cittie of *Capua*, found one day the meanes to shut up the Senate in the Guildhall or Palace, then calling the people together in the market place, told them. That the day was now come, wherein with full and unresisted liberty, they might take vengeance of the tyrants, that had so long and so many waves oppressed them, all which he had now at his mercy, alone and unarmed. His opinion was, that orderly by lots, they should be drawne out one after another: which done they might particularly dispose of every one: and whatsoever should be decreed of them, should immediately be executed upon the place; provided they should therewithall presently advise and resolve to nominate and establish some honest and underelected man, to supply the roome of the condemned, lest their cittie should remaine void of due officers. To which they granted, and heard no sooner the name of a Senatour read, but a loud exclamation of a generall discontent was raised against him: which *Pacuvius* perceiving, he requested silence, and thus bespake them. My country-men, I see very well, that man must be cut off, hee is a pernicious and wicked member; but let us have another sound good man in his place; and whom would you name for that purpose? This unexpected speech bred a distracted silence; each one finding him'selfe to seeke and much confounded in the choise. Yet one,

who



who was the boldest impudent amongst them, nominated one whom he thought fittest; who was no sooner heard, but a generall consent of voices, louder then the first, followed, all refusing him: as one taxed with a hundred imperfections, lawfull causes and just objections, utterly to reject him. These contradicting humours growing more violent and hot, every one following his private grudge or affection, there ensued a farre greater confusion and hurly-burly in drawing of the second and third Senatour, and in naming and choosing their successours, about which they could never agree. As much disorder and more confusion about the election, as mutuall consent and agreement about the demission and displacing. About which tumultuous trouble, when they had long and to no end laboured and wearied themselves, they began some here, some there, to scatter and steale away from the assemblie: every one with this resolution in his minde, that *the oldest and best knowne evil, is ever more tolerable, then a fresh and unexperienced mischiefe*. By seeing our selves piteously tossed in continuall agitation: for what have we not done?

Hor. car. l. 1.  
ed. 9533

*Eben cicatricum & sceleris pudet,  
Fratrumq; quid nos dura refugimus  
Ætus? quid intactum nefasti  
Liquimus? unde manus inventus  
Metu Deorum continuit? quibus  
Pepercit aris?  
Alas for shame of wickednesse, and scarres  
Of brother-country-men in civill warres.  
We of this hardned world, what doe we shunne?  
What have we execrable left undone?  
To set their hand whereto hath youth not dared  
For feare of Gods? what altars hath it spared?*

I am not very sudden in resolving or concluding.

Ter. Adel. act. 4.  
sc. 7.

*— ipse velis salus,  
Servare propterea non potest hanc familiam:  
This familie if safetie would  
Keepe safe, I doe not thinke it could.*

Plaut. capt.  
Prolog.

Yet are we not peradventure come unto our last period. The preservation of states, is a thing in all likelihood exceeding our understanding. A civill policie (as *Plato* saith) is a mighty and puissant matter, and of very hard and difficult dissolution; it often endureth against mortall and intestine diseases: yea against the injury of unjust lawes, against tyrannie, against the ignorance and debordement of Magistrates, and against the licentiousnesse and sedition of the people. In all our fortunes, we compare our selves to that which is above us, & looke toward those that are better. Let us measure our selves by that which is beneath us, there is no creature so miserably wretched, but findes a thousand examples to comfort himselfe withall. It is our fault, that we more unwillingly behold what is above us, then willingly what is beneath us. And *Solon* said, that should a man heape up in one masse all evils, together, there is none, that would not rather chuse to carry back with him such evils as he already hath, then come to a lawfull division with other men of that chaos of evils and take his allotted share of them. Our Common-wealth is much crazed, and out of tune. Yet have divers others beene more dangerously sicke, and have not died. The gods play at hand-ball with us, and toss us up and downe on all hands. *Enim vero dii nos homines quasi pilas habent. The gods perdie doe reckon and racket us men as their tennis-balles.* The destinies have fatally ordained the state of *Rome*, for an exemplar patterne of what they can doe in this kinde. It containeth in it selfe all formes and fortunes that concerne a state: whatsoever order trouble, good or bad fortune may in any sort effect in it. What man may justly despair of his condition, seeing the agitations, troubles alterations, turmoiles and motions, wherewith it was tossed to and fro, and which it endured? If the extension of rule, and far-spreading domination, be the perfect health of a state, of which opinion I am not in any wise (and *Isocrates* doth greatly



greatly please me, who instructeth *Niccoles*, not to envie those Princes, who have large dominations, but such as can well maintaine and orderly preserve those that have beene hereditarily escheated unto them) that of *Rome* was never so sound, as when it was most sicke and distempered. The worst of it's forme, was to it the most fortunate. A man can hardly distinguish or know the image of any policie under the first Emperors: it was the most horrible and turbulent confusion that could be conceived, which notwithstanding it endured and therein continued, preserving, not a Monarchie bounded in her limits, but so many nations, so different, so distant, so evill affected, so confusedly commanded, and so unjustly conquered.

*nec gentibus ullis  
Commodat in populum terra pelagijs potentem,  
Invidiam fortuna suam.*

*Lucret. l. 1. 82.*

Fortune doth to no other nation lend  
Envie, against that people force to bend,  
Which both by land and sea their force extend.

*All that shaketh doth not fall* : The contexture of so vast a frame holds by more then one naile. It holds by it's antiquity : as olde buildings, which age hath robbed of foundation, without loame or morter, and neverthelesse live and subsist by their owne waight,

*nec iam validis radicibus barrens  
Pondere tuta suo est,*

*Ibid 138.*

Though now to no strong roote it sticke so fast,  
Yet is it safe by selfe-waight, and will last.

Moreover he goes not cunningly to worke, that onely survayes the flankes and dykes : to judge well of the strength of a place; he must heedily marke how, and view which way it may be approached, and in what state the assailant stand. *Few vessels sinke with thier owne waight, and without some extraordinary violence.* Cast we our eyes about us, and in a generall survey consider all the world; all is tottring, all is out of frame. Take a perfect view of all great states by in Christendome and where ever else we have knowledge-of, and in all places you shall finde a most evident threatning of change and ruine :

*Et sua sunt illis incommoda, parque per omnes  
Tempestas.*

Their discommodities they know :  
One storme alike ore all doth grow.

Astrologers may sport themselves, with warning us, as they doe of imminent alterations and succeeding revolutions: their divinations are present and palpable, wee need not prie into the heavens to finde them out. Wee are not only to draw comfort from this universall aggregation of evill and threats; but also some hope for the continuance of our state : forso-much as naturally *nothing falleth, where all things fall* : a generall disease is a particular health : *Conformitie is a qualitie enemy to dissolution.* As for me, I nothing despaire of it, and me thinks I already perceive some starting holes to save us by :

*Dem hac fortasse benigna  
Reducet in sedem vice.*

*Hor. epod.  
13. 10.*

It may be, God with gracious entercourse  
Will re-establish these things in their course.

Who knowes, whether God hath determined it shall happen of them, as of bodies that are purged, and by long grievous sicknesses brought to a better and sounder state; which thoroughly purged diseases do afterward yeeld them a more entire and purely-perfect health, then that they tooke from them ? That which grieveth me most, is, that counting the symptoms or affects of our evill, I see as many meerely proceeding of nature, and such as the heavens send us, and which may properly be termed theirs, as of those that our owne suffer, or excessse, or misse-diet, or humane indiscretion confer upon us. The very Planets seeme orderly to declare unto us, that we have continued long enough, yea and beyond our ordinary limits. This also grieves me, that the neereft evill threatning us, is not a distemper or alteration in the whole and solide masse, but a dissipation and divulsion of it : the extreamest of our feares. And even in these fantastickall humors or dotings of mine, I feare the treason of my memory, least unwarily it have made me to register somethings twice. I hate to correct



and agnize my selfe, and can never endure but grudgingly to review and repolish what once hath escaped my pen. I heere set downe nothing that is new or lately found out. They are vulgar imaginations; and which peradventure having beene conceived a hundred times, I feare to have already enrolled them. Repetition is ever tedious, were it in *Homer*: But inke-some in things, that have but one superficiall and transitorie shew, I am nothing pleased with invocation or wresting-in of matters, be it in profitable things, as in *Seneca*. And the manner of his Stoike schoole displeaseth me, which is, about every matter, to repeat at large, and from the beginning to the end, such principles and presuppositions, as serve in generall: and every hand-while to re-allege anew the common arguments, and universall reasons. My memorie doth daily grow worse and worse, and is of late much empai red:

*Hor. Epod. 14.3*

*Pocula lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos,*

*Arente fauce traxerim.*

As though with drie lips I had drunke that up,  
Which drawes oblivious sleepe in drowisie cup,

I shall henceforward be faine (for his herto thanks be to God, no capitall fault hath hapned) whereas others seeke time and occasion, to premeditate what they have to say, that I avoid to prepare my selfe, for feare I should tie my selfe to some strict bond, on which I must depend. To be bound and tied doth somewhat distract me: namely when I am wholly to rely and depend on so weake an instrument, as is my memory. I never read this story, but I feele a certaine proper and naturall offence. *Lyncestes* being accused of a conspiracie against *Alexander*, the very same day, that according to custome, he was led forth in presence of all the armie, to be heard in his owne defence, had in his minde a premeditated oration, which he had studiously learn't by rote, whereof, stammering and faltering, having uttered some words: And wrestling with his memory, and striving to run it over againe, he was sodainly charged by the souldiers that were about him and slaine with pikes, as they who held him to be convicted. His amazement and silence, served them as a confession. For they supposed that having had so long leasure in prison to prepare himselfe, it was not (as they thought) his memory failed him, but his guilty conscience bridled so his tongue and deprived him of his wonted faculties. It was truly wel spokē. The very place, the company and expectation astonieth a man, when he most aimeth at an ambition of well-speaking. What can a man doe, when a meere oration shall bring his life into consequence? As for mee, if I bee ride unto a prescript kinde of speaking, what bindes me to it, dooth also loose me from it, when I have committed and wholly assigned my selfe unto my memory: I so strongly depend on the same, that I overwhelme it: she faints under her owne burthen. So much as I refer my selfe unto her, so much am I divided from my selfe: untill I make tryall of my countenance. And I have sometimes beene in paine, in concealing the bondage whereunto I was engaged: whereas my designe, in speaking, to represent a maine carelesnesse of accent and countenance, suddaine and unpremeditated, or casuall motions as rising of present occasions; rather loving to say nothing of any worth, then make shew I came provided to speake well: a thing above all unseemely, to men of my profession, and of over strict an obligation, to one that cannot hold much: Preparation gives more to hope, then it brings with it. A man doth often strip himselfe into his doublet, to leape shorter then he did in his gowne. *Nihil est his, qui placere volunt, tam adversarium, quam expectatio.* There is none so great an enemy, to them that would please, as expectation. It is written of *Curio* the Orator, that when he proposed the distribution of the parts of his oration, into three or foure, or the number of his arguments and reasons, it was his ordinary custome, either to forget some one, or adde one or two more unto it. I have ever shunned to fall into such an inconvenience: as one hating these selfe-promises and prescriptions: Not onely for the distrust of my memory, but also because this forme drawes over neare unto an artifice. *Simpliciora militares decent.* Plaine wordes and manners become *Martialists*. Sufficeth, I have now made a vow unto my selfe, no more to undertake the charge, to speake in any place of respect: For to speake in reading what one hath written: besides that it is most foolish and absurde, it is a matter of great disadvantage to such as by nature were interrested or might do any thing in the action. And wholly to rely or cast my selfe to the mercy of my present invention, much lesse: I have it by nature so dull and troubled, that it cannot in any wise supply me in suddaine, and stead me in important necessities. May it please the gentle reader, to suffer this one part of Essay to run on, and this third

straine



straine or addition of the rest of my pictures peeces. I adde, but I correct not: First, because he who hath hypotheked or engaged his labour to the world, I finde apparance, that he hath no longer right in the same: let him, if hee be able, speake better els where, and not corrupt the worke he hath already made sale off; Of such people, a man should buy nothing, but after they are dead: let them thoroughly thinke on it, before they produce the same. Who hastens them? My booke is alwaies one: except that according as the Printer goes about to renew it, that the buyers depart not altogether empty-handed; I give my selfe law to adde thereto (as it is but uncoherent checky, or ill joined in laid worke) some supernumerall embleme. They are but over-weights, which disgrace not the first forme, but give some particular price unto every one of the succeeding, by an ambitious pety subtilty. Whence notwithstanding, it may easily happen, that some transposition of chronology is thereto commixt: my reports taking place according to their opportunity, and not ever according to their age. Secondly, for so much as in regard of my selfe, I feare to loose by the exchange: My understanding doth not alwaies goe forward, it sometimes goes also backward: I in a manner distrust mine owne fantasies as much, though second or third as I doe when they are the first, or present, as past. *We many times correct our selves as foolishly, as we taxe others unadvisedly.* I am growne aged by a number of yeares since my first publications, which were in a thousand five hundred and foure score. But I doubt whether I be encreased one inch in wisdom. My selfe now, and my selfe anon, are indeede two; but when better, in good sooth I cannot tell. *It were a goodly thing to bee old, if wee did onely march towards amendment.* It is the motion of a drunkard, stumbling, reeling, giddie-brain'd, formeles, or of reedes, which the ayre dooth casually wave to and fro, what way it blowe h. *Antiochus* in his youth, had stoutly and vehemently written in favor of the Academy, but being olde he changed copy, and writ as violently against it: which of the two I should follow, should I not ever follow *Antiochus*? Having once established a doubt, to attempt to confirme the certaintie of humane opinions, were it not an establishing of a doubt, and not of the certaintie? and promise, that had he had another age given him with assurance to live, he should ever have beene in termes of new agitations; not so much better, as other and different? Publike favor hath given me some more boldnes, then I hoped for: but the thing I feare most, is to breed a glutting satiety: I would rather spur, then bee weary. As a wiseman of my time hath done. Commendation is ever pleasing, from whom, from whence, or wherefore soever it come yet ought a man to be informed of the cause, if he will iustly please and applaud himselfe therewith. Imperfections themselves have their meanes to be recommended. Vulgar and common estimation, is little happy if it come to encounter: And I am deceived, if in my dayes, the worst compositions and absurdst bookes have not geined the credit of popular breath. Verily I am much beholding to divers honest men, and I thanke them, that vouchsafe to take my endeavours in good parte. There is no place where the defects of the fashion doe so much appeare, as in a matter, that in it selfe hath nothing to recommend it. Good reader blame not me, for those that passe here, either by the fantazie or unwarinesse of others: for every hand, each workeman, brings his owne unto them I neither meddle with orthography (and would onely have them follow the ancient) nor with curious pointing: I have small experience in either. Where they altogether breake the fence, I little trouble my selfe therewith; for at least they discharge me. But where they will wrett-in and substitute a false fence (as often they doe) and wyre draw me to their conceits, then they spoyle me. Nevertheless, when the sentence is not strong or sinnowy according to my meaning, an honest man may reject it to be mine. He that shall know how little laborious I am and how framed after mine owne fashion, will easily beleieve, I would rather endite anew, as many more other Essayes, then subject my selfe to trace these over againe, for this childish correction. I was saying erewhile that being plunged in the deepest mine of this new kinde of metall, I am not onely deprived of great familiarity with men of different custome from mine; and other opinions, by which they holde together by a knot, commanding all other knots: but am not also without some hazard, amongst those, with whom all things are equally lawfull: most of which cannot now adayes empaire their market towarde our justice: whence the extreme degree of licentiousnesse proceedeth. Casting over all the particular circumstances that concerne mee, I finde no one man of ours, to whome the inhibition of our lawes costeth any thing, eyther in gaine ceasing, or



in losse appearing (as Lawyers say) more then unto my selfe. And some there be, that in chollericke heate and humorous fury will cracke and vaunt much, that will performe a great deale lesse then my selfe, if once wee cometo an equall ballance. As a house at all times freely open, much frequented, of great haunt and officious in entertaining all sorts of people (for I could never bee induced, to make an implement of warre thereof: which I perceive much more willingly to bee sought-out and flocked unto, where it is furthest from my neighbours) my house hath merited much popular affection: And it were a hard matter to gourmandize my selfe upon mine owne dung-hill: And I repute it a wonderfull and exemplar strangenesse, that having undergone so many stormy wrackes, so divers charges & tumultuous-neighbour agitations, it doth yet this day continue free, & (as I may say) an undefiled virgin from shedding of blood, spoile or sacking. For, to say true, it was possible for a man of my disposition to escape from a constant and continuall forme, whatsoever it was. But the contrary invasions, hostile incursions, alterations and vicissitudes of fortune, round about me, have hitherto more exasperated, then mollified the humour of the country: and recharge mee with dangers and invincible difficulties. I have escaped But it grieveth me that it is rather by fortune, yea and by my discretion, then by justice: And it vexeth me, to bee without the protection of the lawes and under any other safeguard, then theirs. As things now stand, I live more then halfe by the favour of others; which is a severe obligation. I would not be endeared for my safety, neither to the goodnesse, nor to the good will of our great men, which applaude themselves with my liberty and legalities; nor to the facilitie of my predecessours, or mine owne manners: for, what if I were other then I am? If my demeanour, the libertie of my conversation, or happilie alliance binde my neighbours; It is a cruelty that they should acquit themselves of it, in suffering me to live, and that they may say; wee give him a free and an undisturbed continuation of divine service, in the chapele of his house, whilst all other Churches round about are by us prophaned and deserted: and we freely allow and pardon him the fruition of his goods, and use of his life, as hee maintaineth our wives, and in time of need keepeth our cattle. It is long since that in my house, we have a share in *Lycurgus* the Athenians praise, who was the generall storier, depositary and guardian of his fellow-citizens goods and purses. I am now of opinion, that a man must live by law and authoritie, and not by recompence or grace. How many gallant men have rather made choise to lose their life, then be indebted for the same? I shunne to submit my selfe to any manner of obligation: But above all, to which bindes me by duty of bonds of honour. *I finde nothing so deare, as what is given mee: and that because my will remaines engaged by a title of ingratitude:* And I more willingly receive such offices, as are to be sold. A thing easie to bee beleaved; for these I give nothing but money; but for those, I give my selfe. The bond that holdes me by the law of honestie, seemeth to me much more urgent and forcible, then that of civill compulsion. I am more gently tyed by a Notarie, then by my selfe. Is it not reason, that my conscience bee much more engaged to that, wherein she hath simply and onely beene trusted? Els, my faith oweth nothing; for she hath nothing lent her. Let one helpe himselfe with the confidence or assurance he hath taken from me. I would much rather breake the prison of a wall or of the lawes, then the bond of my word. I am nicely scrupulous in keeping of my promises, nay almost superstitious; and in all subjects I commonly passe them uncertaine and conditionall. To such as are of no weighty consequence, I adde force with the jealousie of my rule: shee rackes and chargeth me with her owne interest. Yea, in such enterprises as are altogether mine owne and free, if I speake the word, or name the point, mee thinkes I prescribe the same unto me: and that to give it to anothers knowledge, it is to preordaine it unto himselfe. Me seemes I absolutely promise, when I speake. Thus I make but small bragge of my propositions. The condemnation I make of my selfe, is more mooving, forcible and severe, then that of the judges, who onely take me by the countenance of common obligation: the constraint of my conscience is more rigorous and more strictly severe: I faintly follow those duties, to which I should bee haled, if I did not goe to them. *Hoc ipsum est a justum est quod recte fit, si voluntarium. This is so just, as it is well done, if it be voluntary.* If the action have no glimps of libertie, it hath neither grace nor honour.

Cuius off. l. 1. c.

Quod



*Quid me ius cogit, vix voluntate impetrent.*

What law enforceth me to doe,

By will they can scarce winne me to.

*Ter. Ad. act. 3.*

*Sc. 4.*

Where necessitie drawes me, I loue to relent my will. *Qua quicquid imperio cogitur, exigenti magis, quam præsanti acceptum refertur.* For whatsoeuer is enforced by command, is more imputed to him that exacteth then in him that performeth. I know some, that follow this aire even vnto iniustice: They will rather giue, then restore; sooner lend, then pay; and more sparingly doe good to him, to whom they are bound to doe it. I bend not that way, but am mainly against it. I loue to much to disoblige and discharge my selfe, that I have sometimes esteemed as profit, the ingratitude, the offences, and indignities I had receiued of those, to whom either by nature or accidents, I was by way of friendship somewhat beholding: taking the occasion of their fault for a quittance and discharge of my debt. Although I continue to pay them the apparent offices with common reason; I notwithstanding finde some sparing in doing that by iustice, which I did by affection; and somewhat to ease my self with the attention and diligence of my inward will. *Est prudentis sustinere ut cursum, sic impetum benevolentia.* It is a wisemans part to keepe a hand as on the course, so on the career of his goodwill: Which where ever I apply my selfe, is in me too vrgent and over pressing: at least for a man that by no means would be enthroned. Which husbandrie stands mee in stead of some comfort, about the imperfections of those that touch me. Indeed I am much displeased, they should thereby be of lesse worth: but so it is that I also save something of my engagement and application towards them, I allow of him that loves his childe so much the lesse, by how much more he is either deformedly crooked, or scald-headed: And not onely when he is knavish or shrewd, but also being vnluckie or ill borne (for God himselfe hath in that abated of his worth and naturall estimation) alwaies provided, that in such a cold and sleight affection, hee beare himselfe with moderation and exact iustice. In mee, proximity of blood doth nothing diminish, but rather aggravate defects. After all according to the skill I have in the knowledge of benefites and thankfulness, which is a knowledge very subtile and of great vse, I see no man more free and lesse indebted, then hitherto I am my selfe. What ever I owe, the same I owe simply to common and naturall obligations. There is no man more absolutely quit and cleare else whence.

*nec sunt mihi nota potentum*

*Munera.*

With gifts I am not much acquainted;

Of mighty men, and much lesse tainted.

Princes give mee sufficiently, if they take nothing from me, and doe me much good, if they doe me no hurt: it is all I require of them. Oh how much am I beholding to God, forsomuch as it hath pleased him, that whatsoeuer I enjoy, I have immediately received the same from his grace: that he hath particularly reserved all my debt vnto himselfe. I most instantly beseech his sacred mercy, that I may never owe any man so much as one essentiall God amercie. Oh thrife fortunate libertie, that hath brought me so farr. May it end successfully. I endeavour to have no manner of need of any man. *In me omnis spes est mihi.* All my hope for all my helpe is my selfe. It a thing that every man may effect in himselfe: but they more easily, whom God hath protected and sheltered from naturall and vrgent necessities. Indeed it is both lamentable and dangerous, to depend of others. Our selues, which is the safest and most lawfull refuge, are not very sure vnder our selves. I have nothing that is mine owne, but my selfe: yet is the possession thereof partly defective & borrowed. I manure my selfe, both in courage (which is the stronger) and also in fortune, that if all things else should forsake me, I might finde something, wherewith to please and satisfie my selfe. *Eleus Hippias* did not onely store himselfe with learning that in time of need hee might ioyfully withdraw himselfe amongst the Muses, and be sequestred from all other company: nor onely with the knowledge of Philosophie, to teach his minde to be contented with her, and when his chance should so dispo'e of him, manfully to passe over such incommodities, as exteriorlie might come unto him. But moreover he was so curious in learning to dresse his meat, to notte his haire, to make his cloathes, breeches and shoes, that as much as could possibly be, he might wholly relie & trust to himself, & be freed from all forraine helpe. A man doth more freely and more blithely enjoy borrowed goods: when it is not a bounden ioytance and



constrained through neede: and that a man hath in his will the power, and in his fortune the meanes to live without them. I know my selfe well. But it is very hard for me to imagine any liberalitie of another body so pure towards me, or suppose any hospitalitie so free, to hartie and genuine, as would not seeme affected, tyrannicall, disgraced and attended-on by reproach, if so were that necessitie had forced and tied me unto it. *As to give is an ambitious qualitie, and of prerogative, so is taking a qualitie of submission.* Witnes the injurious and pick-thanke refusal, that *Bajazeth* made of the presents which *Themir* had sent him. And those which in the behalfe of *Soliman* the Emperour were sent to the Emperour of *Calicut*, did so vex him at the heart, that he did not only utterly reject and scornfully refuse them; saying, that neither himselfe nor his predecessors before him, were accustomed to take any thing, and that their office was rather to give, but besides he caused the Ambassadors, to that end sent unto him, to be cast into a deepe dungeon. When *Thetis* (saith *Aristotle*) flattereth *Jupiter*: when the Lacedemonians flatter the Athenians, they doe not thereby intend to put them in minde of the good they have done them, which is ever hatefull, but of the benefits they have received of them. Those I see familiarly to employ and make use of all men, to begge and borrow of all men, and engage themselves to all men, would doubtlesse never doe it, knew they as I doe, or tasted they as I have done, the sweet content of a pure and undepending libertie: and if therewithall (as a witeman ought) they did duly ponder what it is for a man to engage himselfe into such an obligation, or libertie depriving bond. It may happily be paid sometimes, But it can never be utterly dissolved. It is a cruell bondage, to him that loveth, throughly and by all meanes to have the free scope of his libertie. Such as are best and most acquainted with me, know, whether ever they saw any man living, lesse solliciting, lesse craving, lesse importuning or lesse begging, then I am, or that lesse employeth or chargeth others, which if I be, and that beyond all moderne example, it is no great wonder, since so many parts of my humours or manners contribute thereunto. As a naturall kind of stubbornnesse, an impatience to be denied, a contraction of my desires and desseignes; and an insufficiencie or untowardlinesse in all manner of affaires; but above all, my most favoured qualities, lechall sloathfulnessse, and a genuine liberty, By all which meanes, I have framed an habite mortally to hate, to be beholding to any creature els, or to depend of other, then unto and of my selfe. True it is, that before I employ the beneficence or liberality of an other, in any light or waighty occasion, small or urgent needs soever: I doe to the utmost power employ all that ever I am able, to avoid and forbear it. My friends doe strangely importune and molest me, when they sollicitie and urge me to entreate a third man. And I deeme it a matter of no lesse charge and imputation, to disingage him that is ended unto me, by making use of him, then to engage my selfe unto him that oweth me nothing. Both which conditions being removed, let them not looke for any combersome, negotious and carefull matter at my hands (for I have denounced open warre unto all manner of carke and care) I am commodiously easie and ready in times of any bodies necessitie. And I have also more avoyded to receive, then sought to give: which (as *Aristotle* saith) is also more facile. My fortune hath afforded me small meanes to benefit others, and that little she hath bestowed on me, the same hath she also meanely and indifferently placed. Had shee made mee to be so borne that I might have kept some ranke amongst men, I would then have beene ambitious in procuring to be beloved, but never to be feared or admired. Shall I expresse it more insolentlie? I would have had as much regard unto pleasing, as unto profiting. *Cyrus* doth most wisely, and by the mouth of an excellent Captaine and also a better Philosopher, esteeme his bountie and praise his good deedes, farre beyond his valour and above his warlike conquests. And *Scipio* the elder wheresoever hee seeketh to prevaile and set forth himselfe, rather his debonairitie and valueth his humanitie above his courage and beyond his victories: and hath ever this glorious saying in his mouth: *That hee hath left his enemies as much cause to love him, as his friends.* I will therefore say, that if a man must thus owe any thing, it ought to be under a more lawfull title, then that wherof I speake, to which the law of this miserable warre doth engage me, and not of so great a debt, as that of my totall preservation and whole estate: which doth unreparable over-whelme mee. I have a thousand times gone to bed in mine house, imagining I should the very same night, either have beene betrayed or slaine in my bed: compounding and conditioning with

for



fortune, that it might be without apprehension of feareful astonishment and languishment,  
And after my prayers, haue cried out,

*Impius hac tam culta noualia miles habebis?*  
Shall these our grounds so deckt and drest,  
By godlesse souldiers be possesst?

What remedie? It is the place where my selfe and most of my ancestors were borne: there-  
in haue they placed their affection and their name. Wee harden our selves unto whatsoeuer wee  
accustome our selves. And to a wretched condition, as ours is, custome hath beene a most  
favourable present, given us by nature, which enureth and lulleth our sense asleepe, to the  
suffring of diuers evils. Civill warres haue this one thing worse then other warres, to cause  
every one of us to make a watch-tower of his owne house.

*Quam miserum, porta vitam muroq. tueri,  
Vixque sua tutum viribus esse domus!*

How hard with gate and wall our life to gard,  
And scarce be safe in our owne houses bard!

*Virg. eclo. 1. 11.*

*Ovid. Trist. 1. 4.  
el. 1. 69.*

It is an irksome extremitie, for one to be troubled and pressed even in his owne household  
and domesticall rest. The place wherein I dwell, is ever both the first and last to the batte-  
rie of our troubles: and where peace is ever absolutely discerned,

*Tum quoque cum pax est, trepidant formidine belli,  
Ev'n when in peace they are,  
They quake for feare of warre.*

*Lucan. 1. 1. 256.*

*—quoties pacem fortuna laceffit,  
Hac iter est bellis, melius fortuna dedisset  
Orbe sub Eos sedem, gelidaque sub Arcto,  
Errantesque domos,*

*Ibid. 252.*

As oft as fortune troubleth peace, their race,  
Warres makes this way: fortune with better grace,  
In th'Easterne world thou shouldst have giv'n them place,  
Or wandering tents for warre, under the cold North-starre.

I sometimes draw the meanes to strengthen my selfe against these considerations, from care-  
lesnesse and idlenesse: which also in some sort bring us unto resolution. It often befalleth  
me, with some pleasure, to imagine what mortall dangers are, and to expect them. I do even  
hood-wink, with my head in my bosome and with stupiditie, plunge my selfe into death,  
without considering or knowing it, as into a deepe, hollow and bottomlesse abyss, which at  
one leape doth swallow me up, and at an instant doth cast me into an eternall slumber, full of  
insipiditie and indolencie. And in these short, sudden or violent deaths, the consequence I  
fore-see of them, affords me more comfort then the effect of feare. They say, that even as  
life is not the best, because it is long, so death is the best, because it is short. I estrange not my selfe so  
much by being dead, as I enter into confidence with dying. I enwrap and shrowd my selfe in  
that storme, which shall blinde and furiously wrap me, with a ready and insensible charge.  
Yet if it hapned (as some gardners say) that those Roses and Violets are ever the sweeter and  
more odoriferous, that grow neere unto Garlike and Onions, forsomuch as they sucke and  
draw all the ill favours of the ground unto them: so that these depraved natures would draw  
and sucke all the venome of mine aire, and infection of my climate; and by their neerenesse  
unto me make me so much the better and purer, that I might not lose all. That is not, but of  
this, something may be, forsomuch as goodnesse is the fairer and more attraxting when it is  
rare, and that contrarictie stiffneth, and diversitie encloseth well doing in it selfe, and by the  
jealousie of opposition and glory, it doth enflame it. Theeves and stealers (godamercie their  
kindnesse) have in particular nothing to say to me: no more have I to them. I should then  
have to do with over-many sorts of men. Alike consciences lurke under divers kinds of garments,  
Alike crueltie, disloyaltie and stealing. And so much the worse, by how much it is more base,  
more safe and more secret under the colour of lawes. I hate lesse an open-professed in-  
jurie, then a deceiving traiterous wrong, an hostile and war-like, then a peacefull and lawfull.  
Our feaver hath sealed upon a body, which it hath not much empaiied. The fire was in it,  
but now the flame hath taken hold of it. The report is greater, the hurt but little. I  
ordinarily answer such as demand reasons for my voyages: That I know what I shunne,  
but



but not what I seeke. It one tell mee, there may be as little sound health amongst strangers, and that their manners are neither better nor purer, then ours: I answered first, that it is very hard:

*Virg. Georg. l. 1.  
506.*

*Tam multa foelerum facies.  
The formes so manifold  
Of wickednesse we hold.*

Secondly, that it is ever againe, to change a bad estate for an uncertaine. And that other evils should not touch us so neare as ours. I will not forget this, that I can never mutinie so much against *France*, but I must needs looke on *Paris* with a favourable eye: It hath my hart from my infancy, whereof it hath befallne me as of excellent things: the more other faire and stately cities I have seene since, the more hir beauty hath power and doth still usurpingly gaine upon my affection. I love that Citie for her owne sake, and more in her onely subsisting and owne being, then when it is full fraught and embellished with forraigne pompe and borrowed garish ornaments: I love her so tenderly, that even hir spots, her blemishes & hir warts are deare unto me. I am no perfect French-man, but by this great-matchlesse Citie, great in people, great in regard of the felicitie of her situation; but above all, great and incomparable in varietie and diversitie of commodities: The glory of *France*, and one of the noblest and chiefe ornaments of the world. God of his mercy free hir, and chase away all our divisions from hir: Being entirely united to hir selfe, I finde hir defended from all other violence. I forewarne hir, that of all factions, that shall be the worst, which shall breed discord and sedition in hir. And for hir sake, I onely feare hir selfe. And surely, I am in as great feare for hir, as for any other part of our state. So long as she shall continue, so long shall I never want a home or retreat, to retire and shrowd my selfe at all times: a thing able to make me forget the regret of all other retreates. Not because *Socrates* hath said it, but because such is in truth my humour, and peradventure not without some excuse, to esteeme all men as my country-men; and as I kindly embrace a Polonian as a Frenchman; postposing this naturall bond, to universall and common. I am not greatly stricken with the pleasantnesse of naturall aire. Acquaintances altogether new and wholly mine, doe in my conceit counterwaile the worth of all other vulgar and casuall acquaintances of our neighbours. Friendships meere acquired by our selves, doe ordinarily exceed those, to which wee are joyned; either by communication of climate, or affinity of blood. Nature hath plac't us in the world free and unbound, wee emprison our selves into certaine streights: As the Kings of *Persia*, who bound themselves never to drinke other water, then of the river *Choaspez*; foolishly renouncing all lawfull right of use in all other waters: and for their regard dried up all the rest of the world. What *Socrates* did in his latter dayes, to deeme a sentence of banishment worse, then a doome of death against himselfe, being of the mind I am now, I shall never be neither so baseminded, nor so strictly habituated in my country, that I would follow him. The celesticall lives, have divers images, which I embrace more by estimation, then by affection. And some too extraordinary, and to highly elevated, which because I am not able to conceive, I cannot embrace by estimation. This humor was very tenderly apprehended by him, who deemed all the world to be his City. True it is, he disdained peregrinations, and had not much set his foote beyond the territory of *Athens*. What, if he bewailed the money his friend offered to lay out, to disingage his life, and refused to come out of prison, by the intercession of others, because he would not disobey the lawes, in a time wherein they were otherwise so corrupted? These examples are of the first kind for me. Of the second there are others, which I could find in the very same man. Many of these rare examples exceed the power of my action; but some exceed also the force of my judgement. Besides these reasons, I deeme travell to be a profitable exercise. The minde hath therein a continuall excitation, to marke things unknowne, and note new objects. And as I have often said, I know no better schoole, to fashion a mans life, then uncestantly to propose unto him the diversitie of so many other mens lives, customes, humors and fantasies; and make him taste or apprehend one so perpetuall variety of our natures, shapes or formes. Therein the body is neither absolutely idle nor wholly troubled, and, that moderate agitation doth put him into breath. My selfe, as crazed with the collicke as I am, can sit eight, yea sometimes ten houres on horse-backe; without wearinesse or tiring.

*Vire;*



*Vires ultra sortemque senectæ.*  
Beyond strength ordinary,  
Which old yeeres use to cary.

*Virg. Æn. l. 6.*  
114.

No weather is to me so contrary, as the scorching heat of the parching Sunne. For, these *Umbrels* or riding canopies, which since the ancient Romans, the Italians use, doe more weary the armes, then ease the head. I would faine-faine know what industry it was in the Persians, so anciently, and even in the infancy of luxuriousnesse (as *Xenophon* reporteth) to fanne themselves, and at their pleasures to make cold shades. I love rainy and durry weather, as ducks doe. The change either of aire or climate doth nothing dissemper mee. All heavens are alike to me, I am never vexed or beaten, but with internall alterations, such as I produce my selfe, which surprise and possesse me least in times of Way-fairing. It is a hard matter to make me resolve of any journey: but if I be once on the way, I hold out as long and as farre, as another. I strive as much in small, as I labour in great enterprises: and to prepare my selfe for a short journey or to visite a friend, as to undertake a farre set voyage. I have learnt to frame my journeyes after the Spanish fashion, all at once and out-right, great and reasonable. And in extreme heats, I travell by night, from Sunne-set to Sunne rising. The other fashion, confusedly and in haste to bait by the way and dine, especially in Winter, when the daies are so short, is both troublesome for man, and incommodious for horse. My lades are the better, and hold out longer. No horse did ever faile me, that hold out the first daies journey with me. I water them in all waters, and only take care of their last watering, that before I come to mine Inne they have way enough to beat their water. My slothfulnesse to rise in the morning, alloweth such as follow mee sufficient leisure to dine, before wee take horse. As for me, I never feed over-late: I commonly get an apperite in eating, and no otherwise: I am never hungry but at the table. Some complaine, that being married, and well stricken in yeeres, I have envied my selfe, and beene pleased to continue this exercise. They doe me wrong: The best time for a man to leave his house, is when he hath so ordered and settled the same, that it may continue without him: and when he hath so disposed his affaires, that they may answer the ancient course and wonted forme. It is much more indiscretion, and an argument of want of judgement, to goe from home, and leave no trusty guard in his house, and which for lacke of care may be slow or forgetfull in providing for such necessities, as in your absence it may stand in need of. *The most profitable knowledge, and honourablest occupation for a matron or mother of a familie, is the occupation and knowledge of huswiferie. I see divers covetous, but few huswifes.* It is the mistresse-qualitie that all men should seeke after, and above all other endeavour to finde: as the onely dowry; that serveth, either to ruine and overthrow, or to save and enrich our houses. Let no man speake to me of it; according as experience hath taught me. I require in a married woman the Oeconomicall vertue above all others. Wherein I would have her absolutely skilfull, since by my absence I commit the whole charge, and bequeath the full government of my household to her.

I see (and that to my griefe) in divers houses the master or goodman come home at noone all weary, durry and dusty, with drudging and toiling about his businesse; when the mistresse or good-wife is either scarce up, or if shee bee, she is yet in her closet, dressing, decking, smugging, or trimming of her selfe. It is a thing onely fitting Queenes or Princes; wherof some doubt might be made. *It is ridiculous that the idlenesse, and unist that the lithernesse of our wives should be fostered with our sweat, and maintained by our travell:* No man (as neere as I can) shall fortune to have a more free and more absolute use, or a more quiet and more liquid fruition of his goods, then I have. *If the husband bring matter; nature her selfe would have women to bring forme.* Concerning duties of wedlocke-friendship, which some happily imagine to be intersted or prejudiced by the husbands absence, I beleve it not. Contrariwise, it is a kinde of intelligence, that easily growes cold by an over-continuall assistance, and decayeth by assidue; for, *to stand still at racke and manger breedeth a satietie.* Every strange woman seemeth to us an honest woman: And all feele by experience, that a continuall seeing one another, cannot possibly represent the pleasure, men take by parting and meeting againe. These interruptions fill mee with a new kinde of affection, toward mine owne people; and yeeld me the use of,



of my house more pleasing : vicissitude doth now and then en-earnest my minde toward one, and then toward another. I am not ignorant how true amitie hath armes long enough, to embrace, to claspe and holde from one corner of the world unto another : namely in this, where is a continuall communication of offices, that cause the obligation, and revive the remembrance thereof. The Stoicks say, that there is so great an affinitye and mutuall relation, betweene wife and man, that he who dineth in *France*, feedeth his companion in *Egypte* ; and if one of them doe but hold up his finger, where ever it bee, all the wise men disperced upon the habitable land, feelee a kinde of aid thereby. *Iovissance and possession, appertaine chiefly unto imagination.* It embraceth more earnestly and unceasingly what she goeth to fetch, then what wee touch. Summon and count all your daily amusements ; and you shall finde, you are then furthest and most absent from your friend, when he is present with you. His assistance releaseth your attention, and giveth your thoughts libertie, at all times and upon every occasion, to absent themselves. If I be at *Rome*, or any where else, I hold, I survey, and governe my house and the commodities, which I have left about and in it. I even see my walles, my trees, my grasse and my rents, to stand, to grow, to decay and to diminish, within an inch or two of that I should doe when I am at home.

*Ante oculos errat domus, errat forma locorum.*

My house is still before mine eies,

There still the forme of places lies.

If we but onely enjoy what we touch, farewell our crownes when they are in our coasers, and adiew to our children, when they are abroad or a hunting; we would have them neerer. In the garden is it farre off? within halfe a daies iourney? What, within ten leagues, is it farre or neerer? If it be neerer : what is eleven, twelve, or thirteene? and so step by step. Verely that woman who can prescribe unto her husband, how many steps end that which is neerer, and which step in number begins the distance she counts farre, I am of opinion, that she stay him betweene both.

—————*excludat iurgia finis.*

*Hor. l. 2. epist. 1.*  
38.

Let the conclusion, Exclude confusion.

*Vt permissio, caudaque pilos ut equina.*

*Paulatim vello : & demo unum, demo etiam unum*

*Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi.*

*Ibid. 45.*

I use the grant, and plucke by one and one

The horse-taile haire, till when the bush is gone

I leave the Iade a curtail taile or none.

And let them boldly call for Philosophy to helpe them. To whom some might reproach; since she neither discerneth the one nor other end of the joynt, betweene the overmuch and the little; the long and the short, the light and the heavic, the neerer and the farre, since she neither knowes the beginning nor ending thereof, that she doth very uncertainly judge of the middle. *Rerum natura nullam nobis deest cognitionem finium : Nature hath afforded us no knowledge of her endes.* Are they not yet wives and friendes of the deceated, that are not at the end of this, but in the other world? wee embrace both those that have bene, and those which are not yet, nor onely the absent. We did not condition, when we were married, continually to keepe our selves close hugging one another, as some, I wot not what little creatures doe, we see daily ; or as those bewitched people of *Karenti*, in a kinde of dogged manner. And a woman should not have hir eyes so greedily or so dotingly fixed on hir husbands fore-part, that if neede shall require, she may not view his hinder partes. But might not the saying of that cunning Painter, who could so excellently set forth their humours and pourtray their conditions, fitly bee placed heere, lively to represent the cause of their complaints?

*Ter. Adelp. act.*  
1. sc. 1.

*Vxor, si cesses, aut te amare cogitat,*

*Aut tete amari, aut potare, aut animo obsequi,*

*Et tibi bene esse soli, cum sibi sit male.*

If you be slow, your wife thinks that in love you are,

Or are belov'd, or drinke, or all for pleasure care,

And that you onely fare-well, when she ill doth fare.



Or might it be, that opposition and contradiction doe naturally entertaine, and of themselves nourish them: and that they are sufficiently accommodated, provided they disturb and incommode you? In truly-perfect friendship, wherein I presume to have some skill and well-grounded experience; I give my selfe more unto my friend, than I draw him unto me. I doe not onely rather love to do him good, then he should doe any to me: but also, that he should rather doe good unto himselfe, then unto me: For then doth he me most good, when he doth it to himselfe. And if absence be either pleasing or beneficiall unto him, it is to me much more pleasing, then his presence: and *that may not properly be termed absence, where meanes and waies may be found to enter-advertise one another.* I have heeretofore made good use, and reaped commoditie by our absence and distance. Wee better replenished the benefit, and extended further the possession of life, by being divided and farre-asunder: He lived, he reioiced, and he saw for me, and I for him, as fully: as if he had beene present: Being together, one partie was idle: Wee confounded one another. The separation of the place, made the conjunction of our mindes and wills, the richer. *This insatiate and greedy desire of corporall presence doth somewhat accuse the weaknesse in the joyssance of soules.* Concerning age, which some allege against me, it is cleane contrary. It is for youth, to subject and bondage it selfe to common opinions, and by force to constraine it selfe for others. It may fit the turne of both, the people and it selfe: *We have but overmuch to doe with our selves alone.* According as naturall commodities faile us, let us sustaine our selves by artificiall meanes. It is injustice, to excuse youth in following her pleasures, and forbid age to devise and seeke them. When I was yong, I concealed my wanton and covered my youthfull passions, with wit: and now being aged, I endeavour to passe the sadde and incident to yeeeres, with sport and debauches. Yet doe *Platoes* lawes forbid men to travell abroad, before they are forty or fifty yeares of age, that so their travell may sort more profitable, and proove more instructive. I should more willingly consent to this other second article of the said lawes, which forbiddeth men to wander abroad, after they are once threescore. Of which age, few that travell fatte journies returne home againe. What care I for that? I undertake it nor, either to returne or to perfect the same. I onely undertake it to be in motion: So long as the motion pleaseh me, and I *walkethat I may walke. Those runne not, that runne after a Benefice or after a Hare: But they runne, that runne at barriers and to exercise their running.* My dessein is every where divisible, it is not grounded on great hopes: each day makes an end of it. Even so is my lifes voiage directed. Yet have I seene divers farre countries, where I would have beene glad to have beene staied, Why not? *It Chrysippus, Diogenes, Cleanthes, Antipater and Zeno,* with so many other wise men of that roughly-severe, and severely-strict Sect, forsooke their Countries (without just cause to be offended with them) onely to enjoy another aire? Truly the greatest griefe of my peregrinations, is, that I cannot have a firme resolution, to establish my abiding where I would. And that I must ever resolve with my selfe to returne, for to accommodate my selfe unto common humors. If I should feare to die in any other place, then where I was borne; if I thought I should die lesse at my ease, farre from mine owne people: I would hardly goe out of *France*, nay I should scarcely goe out of mine owne parish, without feeling some dismay, I feele death ever pinching me by the throat, or pulling me by the backe: But I am of another mould: to me it is ever one, and at all times the same. Nevertheless if I were to chuse, I thinke it should rather be on horsebacke, than in a bed: from my home, and farre from my friends. There is more hart-sorrow, than comfort, in taking ones last farewell of his friends. I doe easily forget or neglect these duties or complements of our common or civill courtesie. For, of Offices appertaining to unaffected amitie, the same is the most displeasing and offensive: And I should as willingly forget to give a body that great adiew, or eternall farewell. If a body reape any commoditie by this assistance, he also findes infinite inconveniences in it. I have seene divers die most piteously, compassed and beset round with their friends and servants: Such multitudes, and thronging of people doth stifle them. It is against reason, and a testimony of smal affection, & little care they have that you should die at rest. One offendeth your eies, another molesterh your eares, the third vexeth your mouth: You have neither sense nor limme, or parte of your body, but is tormented and grieved. Your hart is ready to burst for pittie to heare your friends moanes and complaints; and to rive asunder with spite to heare peradventure some of their wallings & moanes, that are but fained and counterfet. If a man  
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have ever had a milde or tender nature, being weake and readie to die, he must then necessarily have it more tender and relenting. It is most requisite, that in so urgent a necessitie, one have a gentle hand and fitly applied to his senses, to scratch him where he itcheth; or else he ought not be clawed at all. *If wee must needs have the helpe of a Midwife, to bring us into this world, there is reason we should also have the aiding-hand of a wise man, to deliver us out of the same.* Such a one, and therewithall a true friend, should a man before-hand purchase very deare, only for the service of such an occasion. I am not yet come to that disdainfull vigor, which so fortifieth it selfe, that at such times nothing aideth, nor nothing troubleth: I lie a lower pitch. I seeke to squat my selfe, and steale from that passage: not by feare, but by Art. My intent is not in such an action, to make either triall or shew of my constancy. Wherefore? Because, then shall the right and interest I have in reputation cease. I am content with a death united in it selfe, quiet and solitarie, wholly mine, convenient to my retired and private life. Cleane contrary to the Roman superstition, where he was judged unhappy, that died without speaking, and had not his neere friends to close his eyes. I have much adoe to comfort my selfe, without being troubled to comfort others: cares and vexations enow in my minde, without needing circumstances to bring me new; and sufficient matter to entertaine my selfe, without borrowing any. This share belongs not to the part of societie: It is the act of one man alone. Let us live, laugh and be merry amongst our friends, but die and yeeld up the ghost amongst strangers, and such as we know not. *Hee who hath money in his purse, shall ever finde some ready to turne his head, make his bedde, rubbe his feet, attend him, and that will trouble and importune him no longer than hee list:* and will ever shew him an indifferent and well-composed countenance, and without grumbling or grudging give a man leave to doe what he please, and complaine as he list. I dayly endeavour by discourse to shake off this childish humour and inhumane conceit, which causeth, that by our griefes and paines we ever desire to moove our friends to compassion and sorrow for us, and with a kinde of sympathy to condole our miseries and passions. We endear our inconveniences beyond measure, to exact teares from them: And the constancy we so much commend in all others, undauntedly to endure all evill fortune, we accuse and upbraid to our neere allies, when they molest us: we are not contented they should have a sensible feeling of our calamities, if they doe not also afflict themselves for them. A man should as much as he can set forth and extend his joy; but to the utmost of his power, suppress and abridge his sorrow. He that will causelessly be moaned, and sans reason, deserveth not to be pitied when he shall have cause and reason for it. *To be ever complaining and alwaies moaning: is the way never to be moaned and seldome to be pitied: and so often to seeme over passionately pitifull, is the meane to make no man feelingly ruthfull towards others.* He that makes himselfe dead being alive, is subject to be accounted alive when he is dying. I have seene some take pepper in the nose, forsomuch as they were told that they had a cheerefull countenance; that they looked well; that they had a temperate pulse: to force laughter, because some betrayed their recovery: and hate their health, because it was not regrettable. And which is more, they were no women. I for the most, represent my infirmities such as they are: And shunne such words as are of evill presage; and avoid composed exclamations. If not glee and mirth, at least an orderly-settled countenance of the by-standers and assistants, is sufficiently convenient to a wise and discreet sicke-man, who though he see himselfe in a contrary state, he will not picke a quarrell with health. He is pleased to behold the same, sound and strong in others, and at least for company-sake to enjoy his part of it. Though he feele and finde himselfe to faint and sinke downe, he doth not altogether reject the conceits and imaginations of life, nor doth he avoid common entertainments. I will studie sickness when I am in health, when it comes, it will really enough make her impression, without the helpe of my imagination. We deliberately prepare our selves before-hand for any voiage we undertake, and therein are resolved: the houre is set when he wil take horse, & we give it to our company, in whose favour we extend it. I finde this unexpected profit by the publication of my maners, that in some sort it serveth me for a rule. I am sometimes surpris'd with this consideration, not to betray the history of my life. This publike declaration, bindes me to keepe my selfe within my course, and not to contradict the image of my conditions: commonly lesse disfigured and gaine-said, then the malignitie and infirmities of moderne judgements doth beare. The uniformitie and singlencesse of my maners, produceth a visage of easie interpretation; but because the fashion  
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of them is somewhat new and strange, and out of use, it giveth detraction to faire play. Yet is it true, that to him, who will goe about loyally to injure me, me thinkes I doe sufficiently afford him matter, whereby he may detract and snarle at my avowed and knowen imperfections, and wherewith hee may bee satisfied, without vaine contending and idle skirmishing. If my selfe by preoccupating his discovery and accusation, hee thinkes I barre him of his snarling, it is good reason hee take his right, towards amplification and extension: Offence hath her rights beyond justice: And that the vices, whereof I shew him the rootes in mee, hee should amplifie them to trees, Let him not only employ thereunto those that possess mee, but those which but threaten me. Injurious vices, both in qualitie and in number. Let him beate me that way. I should willingly embrace the example of *Dion* the Philosopher. *Antigonus* going about to scoffe and quip at him touching his birth and off-spring, he interrupted him and tooke the word out of his mouth: I am (said hee) the sonne of a bond slave, a butcher, branded for a rogue, and of a whoore, whom my father by reason of his base fortune, tooke to wife: Both were punished for some misdeede. Being a child, an orator bought me as a slave, liking me for my beautie and comelinesse, and dying, left mee all his goods; which having transported into this citie of *Athens*, I have applied my selfe unto Philosophy. Let not Historians busie themselves in seeking newes of mee, I will at large blazon my selfe, and plainly tell them the whole discourse. *A generous and free-minded confession doth disable a reproch and disarm an injurie.* So it is, that when all cards be told: me seemes, that I am as oft commended as dispraised beyond reason. As also me thinks, that even from my infancie, both in ranke and degree of honour, I have had place given me, rather above and more, than lesse and beneath that which appertained to me. I should better like to be in a countrie, where these orders might either be reformed or contemned. Among men, after that striving or altercation for the prerogative or upper hand in going or sitting, exceedeth three replies, it becommeth incivill. I neither feare to yeeld and give place, nor to follow and proceed unjustly, so I may avoid such irkesome and importunate contestations. And never did man desire precedencie or place before me, but I quitted the same without grudging. Besides the profit I reape by writing of my selfe, I have hoped for this other, that if ever it might happen my humours should please or sympathize with some honest man, he would before my death seeke to be acquainted with me, or to overtake mee. I have given him much ground: For, whatsoever a long acquaintance or continuall familiarity might have gained him in many wearisome yeares, the same hath hee in three dayes fully scene in this Register, and that more safely and more exactly. A pleasant fantazie is this of mine, many things I would be loath to tell a particular man, I utter to the whole world. And concerning my most secret thoughts and inward knowledge, I send my dearest friends to a Stationers shop.

*Excutienda damus praeordia.*

Our very entrailes wee

Lay forth for you to see,

*Perf. sat. 9. 117*

If by so good markes and tokens, I had ever knowen or heard of any one man, that in this humour had beene answerable to me, I would assuredly have wandred very farre to finde him out: For, the exceeding joy of a sortable and in one consent agreeing company, cannot (in mine opinion) be sufficiently endeared or purchased at too high a rate. *Oh God! who can expresse the value or conceive the true worth of a friend? How true is that ancient golden saying, that the use of a friend is more necessary and pleasing, then of the elements, water and fire.* But to returne to my former discourse: There is then no great inconvenience in dying farre from home and abroad. Wee esteeme it a part of duty and decencie to withdraw our selves for naturall actions, lesse hideous and lesse disgracefull then this. But also those that come unto that, in languishing manner to draw along space of life, should not happily wish with their miserie to trouble a whole familie. Therefore did the Indians of a certaine countrie deeme it just and lawfull, to kill him that should fall into such necessitie. And in another of their Provinces they thought it meet to forsake him, and as well as hee could leave him alone to seeke to save himselfe. To whom at last, proove they not themselves tedious and intolerable? Common offices proceed not so farre. Perforce you teach cruelty unto your best friends; obdurate by long use, both wife and children, not to feele, nor to conceive, nor to moane your evils any longer. The groanes and out-cries of my chollicke, cause no

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more ruth and wailing in any body. And should we conceive pleasure by their conversation (which seldome hapneth, by reason of the disparitie of conditions, which easily produceth either contempt or envy towards what man soever) is it not too-too much, therewith to abuse a whole age? The more I should see them with a good heart to straine themselves for me, the more should I bewaile their paine. *The law of curtesie alloweth us to leane upon others, but not so unmanerly to lie upon them and underpropt our selves in their ruine.* As he who caused little infants to be slaine, that with their innocent blood he might be cured of a malady he had. Or another who was continually stord with young tendrels or lasses, to keepe his old-frozen limbs warme a nights, and entermix the sweetnesse of their breath with his old-stinking and offensive vapours. Decrepitude is a solitary quality. I am sociable even unto excesse, yet doe I thinke it reasonable, at last to substract my opportunity from the sight of the world, and hatch it in my selfe. Let me shrowd and shrugge my selfe into my shell, as a tortoise: and learne to see men, without taking hold of them. I should outrage them in so steepe a passage. It is now high time to turne from the company. But here will some say, that in these sarre journies you may peradventure fall into some miserable dog-hole or poore cottage, where you shall want all needfull things. To whom I answer, that for things most necessary in such cases, I ever carry most of them with me: And that, *where-ever wee are, wee cannot possibly avoid fortune, if she once take upon her to persecute us.* When I am sicke, I want nothing that is extraordinary: what nature cannot worke in me, I will not have a Bolus, or a glistler to effect. At the very beginning of my agues or sicknesse that cast me downe, whilst I am yet whole in my senses and neere unto health, I reconcile my self to God by the last duties of a Christian; whereby I finde my selfe free and discharged; and thinke I have so much more reason and authority over my sicknesse, I finde lesse want of notaries and counsell, then of Physitians. What I have not disposed of my affaires or serled of my state when I was in perfect health, let none expect I should doe it being sicke. Whatever I will doe for the service of death, is alwayes ready done. I dare not delay it one onely day. And if nothing be done, it is as much to say, hat either some doubt hath delaide the choise: For, *sometimes it is a good choise, not to chuse at all:* Or that absolutely I never intended to doe any thing. I write my booke to few men, and to few yeares. Had it beene a matter of lasting continuance, it should have beene compiled in a better and more polished language: According to the continuall variation, that hitherto hath followed our French tongue. Who may hope, that it's present forme shall be in use fifty yeares hence? It dayly changeth and slips our hands: and since I could speake the same, it is much altred and wellnigh halfe varied. We say it is now come to a full perfection. There is no age but saith as much of hers. It lies not in my power, so long as it glideth and differeth and altereth as it doth, to keepe it at a stay. It is for excellent and profitable compositions to fasten it unto them, whose credit shall either diminish or encrease according to the fortune of our state. For all that, I feare not to insert therein divers private articles, whose use is consumed amongst men living now adayes: and which concerne the particular knowledge of some, that shall further see into it, then with a common understanding. When al is done, I would not (as I oftē see the memory of the deceased tossed too and fro) that men should descant and argue, *Thus and thus he judged, thus he lived, thus he went: had he spoken when his life left him, he would have given I wot what:* There is no man knew him better then my selfe. Now, as much as modestie and decorum doth permit me, I here give a taste of any inclinations and an essay of my affection: which I doe more freely and more willingly by word of mouth, to any that shall desire to be thoroughly informed of them. But so it is, that if any man shall looke into these memorialls, he shall finde that either I have said all, or desseigned all. What I cannot expresse, the same I point at with my finger.

Entr. lib. 1. 419

*Verum animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci*

*Sunt, per quae possis cognoscere cetera tute.*

But this small footing to a quicke-sent minde  
May serve, whereby safely the rest to finde.

I leave nothing to bee desired or divined of mee. If one must entertaine himselfe with them, I would have it to be truly and justly. I would willingly come from the other world, to give him the lie, that should frame me other then I had beene: were it he meant to honour mee. I see that of the living, men never speake according to truth, and they are ever made to be,

be,



be what they are not. And if with might and maine I had not vpheld a friend of mine whom I have lately lost, he had surely beene mangled and torne in a thousand contrary shapes. But to make an end of my weake humours: I confesse, that in traueilling I seldome alight in any place or come to any Inne, but first of all I cast in my minde whether I may conveniently lie there, if I should chaunce to fall sick, or dying, die at my ease and take my death quietly. I will, as nere as I can be lodged in some convenient part of the house, and in particular from all noyse or stinking fauours; in no close, filthy or smoaky chamber. I seeke to flatter death by these frivolous circumstances: Or as I may rather say, to discharge my selfe from all other trouble or encombrance; that so I may wholly apply and attend her, who without that shall happily lie very heavy vpon me. I will have her take a full share of my lifes eases and commodities; it is a great part of it and of much consequence, and I hope it shall not belie what is past. Death hath some formes more easie the others, and assumeth diuers qualities; according to all mens fantazies. Among the naturall ones, that proceeding of weakenesse and heavy dullnesse, to me seemeth gentle and pleasant. Among the violent I imagine a precipice more hardly then a ruine that ouerwhelmes me: and a cutting blow with a sword, the a shot of an harquebute: and I would rather have chosen to drinke the potion of *Socrates*, then wound my selfe as *Caio* did. And though it be all one yet doth my imagination perceue a difference, as much as is betweene death and life, to cast my selfe into a burning furnace, or in the channell of a shallow riuier. *So foolishly doth our feare respect more the meane, then the effect.* It is but one instant; but of such moment, that to passe the same according to my desire, I would willingly renounce many of my lifes dayes. Since all mens fantazies, finde either ex-cesse or diminution in her sharpnesse; since euery man hath some choise betweene the formes of dying, let vs trie a little further, whether we can finde out some one, free from all sorrow and grieve. Might not one also make it seeme voluptuous, as did those who died with *Anthony*, and *Cleopatra*? I omit to speake of the sharpe and exemplar efforts, that Philosophy and religion produce. But amongst men of no great fame, some have beene found (as one *Petronius*, & one *Tigellinus* at *Rome*) engaged to make themselves away, who by the tendernes of their preparations have in a manner lulled the same asleepe. They have made it passe and glide away, euē in the midst of the security of their accustomed pastimes & wanton recreations: Amongst harlots and good felowes; no speech or comfort, no mention of will or testament, no ambitious affectation of constancie, no discourse of their future condition, no compunction of sinnes committed, no apprehension of their soules-health, ever troubling them, amid sports, playes, banquetting, turfetting, chambering, jesting, musicke and singing of amorous verses: and all such popular and common entertainements. Might not wee imitate this manner of resolution in more honest affaires and more commendable attempts? And since there are deaths good vnto wise men and good vnto fooles, let vs find some one that may be good vnto such as are betweene both. My imagination presents me some easie and milde countenance thercof, and (since we must all die) to bee desired. The tyrants of *Rome* have thought, they gave that criminall offender his life, to whom they gave the free choise of death. But *Theophrastus* a Philosopher so delicate, so modest and so wise, was he not forced by reason, to dare to utter this verse, latinized by *Cicero*:

*Vitam regis fortuna non sapientia.*

Fortune our life doth rule;

Not wisdom of the schoole.

*Cic. Tusc. qu. l. 3.*  
*Theoph. Calisth.*

Fortune giueth the facilitie of my lifes-condition some aide; having placed it in such a time, wherein it is neither needfull nor combersome vnto my people. It is a condition I would have accepted in all the seasons of my age: but in this occasion to trusse vp bag and baggage, and take up my bed and walke: I am particularly pleased, that when I shall die, I shall neither breede pleasure nor cause sorrow in them. Shee hath caused (which is the recompence of an artist) that such as by my death may pretend any materiall benefit, receiue thereby elsewhere, jointly a materiall losse and hinderance. Death lies sometimes heauie vpon vs, in that it is burthensome to others: and interrelleth vs with their interest, almost as much as with ours: & sometimes more; yea altogether. In this inconueniency of lodging that I seeke, I neither entermix pompe nor amplitude; For I rather hate it. But a certaine simple and humble proprietie, which is commonly found in places where lesse Arte is & that



Plautin.

nature honoureth with some grace peculiar unto her selfe. *Non ampliter sed manditer convivium. Plus salis quam sumptus.* Not a great, but a neat feast. More conceits then cost

And then it is for those, who by their vrgent affaires are compelled to trauell in the midst of deepe Winter, and amongst the Grisons, to be surprized by such extremities in their journies. But I, who for the most part neuer trauell, but for pleasure, will neither bee so ill advised nor so simply guided. If the way be foule on my right hand, I take the left: If I find my selfe ill at ease or vnfit to ride, I stay at home. Which doing, and observing this course, in very truth I see no place, and come no where, that is not as pleasant, as convenient, and as commodious as mine owne house. True it is, that I ever find superfluitie superfluous: and observe a kind of troublesomenesse in delicatenesse and plenty. Have I omitted or left any thing behind me that was worth the seeing? I returne backe; It is ever my way, I am never out of it. I trace no certaine line, neither right nor crooked. Comming to any strange place, finde I not what wastold mee? As it often fortuneth, that others iudgements agree not with mine, and have most times found them false, I grieve not at my labour: I have learned that what was reported to bee there, is not. I have my bodies complexion as free, and my taste as common, as any man in the world. The diversity of fashions betweene one and other Nations, concerneth me nothing, but by the varieties-pleasure. *Each custome hath his reason.* Bee the trenchers or dishes of wood, of pewter or of earth: bee my meate boyled, roasted or baked? butter or oyle, and that of Olives or of Wall-nuts: hot or colde? I make no difference? all is one to me: And as one, that is growing old; I accuse the generous facultie; and had need that delicatenesse and choise, should stay the indiscretion of my appetite, and sometime ease and solace my stomacke. When I have beene out of *France*, & that to do me curtesie; some have asked me, Whether I would be served after the French maner, I have jestled at them, and have ever thrust-in amongst the thickest tables and fullest of strangers. I am ashamed to see our men besotted with this foolish humor, to fret & chafe, when they see any fashions contrary to theirs. They thinke themselves out of their element, when they are out of their Village: Wherever they come they keepe their owne country fashions, and hate, yea and abhorre all strange manners: Meet they a cuntryman of theirs in *Hungary*, they feast that good fortune: And what doe they? Marry close and joyne together, to blame, to condemne and to scorne so many barbarous fashions as they see. And why not Barbarous, since not French? Nay happily they are the better sort of men, that have noted and so much exclaimed against them. Most take going out but for comming home. They travell close and covered, with a silent and incommunicable wit, defending themselves from the contagion of some vnknowne ayre. What I speake of such, puts mee in minde in the like matter. of that I have heretofore perceived in some of your young Courtiers. They onely converse with men of their coate; and with disdain or pitty looke vpon vs, as if we were men of another world. Take away their new fangled, mysterious and affected courtly complements, and they are out of their byase. As farre to seeke and short of vs, as we of them. That saying is true; That *An honest man is a man compounded.* Cleanse contrary, I travell fully glutted with our fashions: Not to seeke Gaskoines in *Sicilie*? I have left over many at home. I rather seeke for Gracians and Persians: Those I accost, Them I consider, and with such I endeavour to be acquainted: to that I prepare & therein I employ my selfe. And which is more, me seemeth, I have not met with many maners, that are not worth ours. Indeed I have no wandred farre, scarcely have I lost the sight of our Chimnies. Moreover, most of the casuall companies you meete withall by the way, have more incommodity than pleasure: a matter I doe not greatly take hold of, and lesse now that age doth particularize and in some sort sequester me from common formes. You suffer for other, or others endure for you. The one inconvenience is ykesome, the other troublesome: but yet the last is (in my conceipt) more rude. *It is a rare chauce, and seld-seene fortune, but of exceeding solace and inestimable worth, to have an honest man, of singular experience, of a sound iudgement, of a resolute understanding and constant resolution, and of manners conformable to yours, to accompany or follow you with a good will.* I have found great want of such a one in all my voyages. Which company a man must seeke with discretion and with great heed obtaine, before he wander from home. With me no pleasure is fully delightful without communication: and no delight absolute, except imparted. I doe not so much as apprehend one rare conceipt, or conceive one excellent good thought in my minde, but me thinks I am much grieved and grievously perplexed, to have



have produced the same alone, and that I have no sympathizing companion to impart it unto. *Sic cum hac exceptione detur sapientia, ut illam inclusam teneam, nec enunciem, reyciam.* If wisdom should be offered with this exception, that I should keepe it concealed, and not utter it, I would refuse it. The other strain'd it one note higher. *Si contigerit ea vita sapienti, ut omnium rerum affluentibus copijs, quamvis omnia, quæ cognitione digna sunt, summo otio secum ipse consideret & contempletur, tamen si solitudo tanta sit, ut hominem videre non possit, excedat à vita.* If a wise man might lead such a life, as in abundance of all things hee may in full quiet contemplate and consider all things worthy of knowledge, yet if he must be so solitary as he may see no man, he should rather leave such a life. Archibius his opinion is, that it would be a thing displeasing to the very heavens, and distastefull to man, to survey and walke within those immense and divine and cœlestiall bodies, without the assistance of a friend or companion: *Pet* it is better to be alone, than in tedious and foolish company. *Aristippus* loved to live as an alien or stranger every where:

*Me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam*

*Ansipicijs,*

If fates would me permit

To live as I thinke fit,

*Virg. Aen. lib. 4.*

319.

I should chuse to weare out my life with my bum in the saddle, ever riding.

*visere gestiens,*

*Qua parte debacchentur ignes,*

*Quæ nebula pluviæque rores.*

Delighting much to goe and see

Where fire heats rage furiously,

Where clouds and rainy dewes most be.

*Hor. car. lib. 3.*

od. 3. 54

Have you not more easie pastimes? What is it you want? Is not your house well seated, and in a good and wholesome ayre? Sufficiently furnished, and more then sufficiently capable? His Royall Majesty hath in great state beene in the same, and more then once taken his repast there. Doth not your family in rule and government leave many more inferior to him, than above him eminency? Is there any locall thought or care, that as extraordinary doth ulcerate, or as indigestible doth molest you?

*Quæ te nunc coquat & vexet sub pectore fixa.*

Which now boyles in thy brest.

And let's thee take no rest.

*Enn. Cic. Sc.*

act. 3. p.

Where doe you imagine you may bee without empeachment or disturbance? *Nunquam simpliciter fortuna indulget.* Fortune never favours fully without exception. You see then, there is none but you that trouble and busie your selfe: and every where you shall follow your self, and in all places you shall complaine. For, *Here below there is no satisfaction or content, except for brutall or divine mindes.* He who in to just an occasion hath no content, where doth he imagine to finde it? Vato how many thousands of men, doth such a condition as yours, bound and stay the limits of their wishes? *Reforme but your selfe; by that you may doe all:* Whereas towards fortune you have no right or interest but patience. *Nulla placida quies est, nisi quam ratio composuit.* There is no pleasing settled rest, but such as reason hath made up. I see the reason of this advertisement, yea I perceive it wel. But one should sooner have done and more pertinently, in one bare word to say vnto me: *Be wise.* This resolution is beyond wisdom. It is his Worke and his production. So doth the Physitian, that is ever crying to a languishing, heart-broken sick man, that he be merry and pull up a good heart; he should lesse foolishly perswade him if he did but bid him, *To be healthy:* as for me, I am but a man of the common stamp. It is a certaine, sound and of easie understanding precept: Be content with your owne; that is to say, with reason: the execution wherof notwithstanding is no more in the wiser sort than in my self: It is a popular word, but it hath a terrible far-reaching extension. What comprehends it not? *All things fall within the compasse of discretion and modification.* Wel I wot, that being taken according to the bare letter, the pleasure of travell brings a testimony of unquietnesse and irresolution. Which to say truth, are our mistrust and predominant qualities. Yea, I confesse it: I see nothing, bee it but a dreame or by wishing, whereof I may take hold. Onely varietie and the possession of diversitie doth satisfie me: if at least any thing satisfie mee. In travell this doth nourish mee, that without interest I may stay my selfe; and



that I have meanes commodiously to divert my selfe from it. I love a private life, because it is by mine owne choice, that I love it, not by a diffidence or disagreeing from a publike life; which peradventure is as much according to my complexion. I thereby serve my Prince more joyfully and genuinely, because it is by the free election of my judgement and by my reason, without any particular obligation. And that I am not cast or forced thereunto, because I am unfit to be received of any other, or am not beloved: so of the rest. *I hate those morsels that necessitie doth carve mee.* Every commoditie, of which alone I were to depend, should ever hold me by the throat:

Propert. li. 3. ch.  
2.23.

*Alter remus aquas, alter mihi radat arenas.*

Let me cut waters with one oare,

With th'other shave the sandie shoare.

Psal. 93. 11.

One string alone can never sufficiently hold me. You will say, there is vanitie in this amusement. But where not? And these goodly precepts are vanitie, and *Meere vanitie* is all worldly wisdom. *Dominus novit cogitationes sapientum, quoniam vana sunt.* The Lord knowes the thoughts of the wise, that they are vaine. Such exquisite subtilities, are onely fit for sermons. They are discourses, that will send us into the other World on horsebacke. *Life is a materiall and corporall motion, an action imperfect and disorderd by its owne essence*: I employ or apply my selfe to serve it according to it selfe.

Virg. Aen. l. 6.  
743.

*Quisque suos patimur manas:*

All of us for our merit,

Have some attending spirit.

Cic. Offic. lib. 1.

*Sic est faciendum, ne contra naturam universam nihil contendamus, ea tamen conservata, propriam sequamur.* We must so worke, as we endeavour nothing against nature in generall, yet so observe it, as we follow our owne in speciall. To what purpose are these heaven-looking and nice points of Philosophie, on which no humane being can establish and ground it selfe? And to what end serve these rules, that exceed our use and excell our strength? I often see, that there are certaine Ideaes or formes of life proposed unto us, which neither the proposer nor the Auditors have any hope at all to follow; and which is worse, no desire to attaine. Of the same paper, whereon a Judge writ but even now the condemnation against an adulterer, hee will tear a scutlin, thereon to write some love-lines to his fellow-judges wife. The same woman from whom you came lately, and with whom you have committed that unlawfull-pleasing sport, will soon after even in your presence, raile and scold more bitterly against the same faults in her neighbour, than ever Portia or Lucrece could. And some condemne men to die for crimes, that themselves esteeme no faults. I have in my youth seen a notable man with one hand to present the people most excellent and well-written verses, both for invention and extreme licentiousnesse; and with the other hand, at the same instant, the most sharpe-railling reformation, according to Divinitie, that happily the World hath scene these many-many yeeres. Thus goes the world, and so goes men. We let the lawes and precepts follow their way, but wee keepe another course: Not onely by disorder of manners, but often by opinion and contrary judgement. Heare but a discourse of Philosophie read; the invention, the eloquence and the pertinencie, doth presently tickle your spirit and moove you. There is nothing tickleth or pricketh your conscience: it is not to her that men speake. Is it not true? *Ariston* said, that *Neither Bath nor Lecture are of any worth, except the one wash cleane, and the other cleanse all filth away.* One may busie himselfe about the barke, when once the pith is gotten out: As when we have drunke off the Wine, we consider the graving and workmanship of the cuppe. In all the parts of ancient Philosophie, this one thing may be noted, that one same worke-man publisheth some rules of temperance, and therewithall some compositions of love and licentiousnesse. And *Xenophon* in *Clinias* bosome, writ against the *Aristippian* vertue. It is not a miraculous conversion, that so doth wave and hull them to and fro. But it is, that *Solon* doth sometimes represent himselfe in his owne colours, and sometimes in forme of a Law-giver: now he speaketh for the multitude, and now for himselfe. And takes the free and naturall rules to himselfe; warranting himselfe with a constant and perfect soundnesse.

Juv. sat. 13.  
224.

*Curentur dubij medicis maioribus egri.*

Let patients in great doubt,

Seeke great Physicians out.

*Antisthenes* alloweth a wise man to love and doe what he list, without respect of lawes especiall



Specially in things he deemeth needfull and fit: Forasmuch as he hath a better understanding than they, and more knowledge of vertue. His Disciple Diogenes said *To perturbations we should oppose, reason, to fortune, confidence: and to lawes, nature: To dainty and tender stomacks, constrained and artificiall ordinances.* Good stomacks are simply served with the prescriptions of their naturall appetite. So do our Physicians, who whilst they tie their patients to a strikt diet of a panada or a sirope, feed themselves upon a melone, dainty fruits, much good meat, and drinke all manner of good Wine. I wot not what Bookes are, nor what they mean by wisdom and philosophy (quoth the Curtizan *Lais*) but sure I am, those kinds of people knocke as often at my gates, as any other men. Because our licentiousnelle transports us commonly beyond what is lawfull and allowed, our lives-precepts & lawes have often been wrested or restrained beyond universall reason.

*Nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum.*

*Permittit.*

*Inv. sat. 14. 233.*

No man thinkes it enough so farre to offend

As you give lawfull leave (and thereto end)

It were to be wished, there were a greater proportion betweene commandement and obedience: And unjust seemeth that ayme or goale whereto one cannot possibly attaine. No man is so exquisitely honest or upright in living, but brings all his actions and thoughts within compasse and danger of the lawes, and that ten times in his life might not lawfully be hanged. Yea happily such a man, as it were pity and dangerously-hurtfull to loose, and most unjust to punish him

*Olle quid adeo,*

*De cuto quid faciat ille vel illa sua;*

Foole, what hast thou to doe, what he or she

With their owne skinnies or themselves doing bee?

*Mart. li. 7. epig.*

9. 10.

And some might never offend the lawes, that notwithstanding should not deserve the commendations of vertuous men: and whom philosophy might meritoriously and justly cause to be whipped. So troubled, dimme-sighted and partiall is this relation. *Wee are farre enough from being honest according to God: For, wee cannot be such according to ourselves. Humane wisdom could never reach the duties, or attaine the devoirs it had prescribed unto it selfe.* And had it at any time attained them, then would it doubtlesse prescribe some others beyond them, to which it might ever aspire and pretend. So great an enemy is our condition unto consistence. Man doth necessarily ordaine unto himselfe to bee in fault. Hee is not very crafty, to measure his duty by the reason of another being, than his owne. To whom prescribes he that, which hee expects no man, will performe? Is he unjust in not dooing that, which he cannot possibly atchieve? The lawes which condemne us, not to be able, condemne us for that we cannot performe. If the worst happen, this deformed libertie, for one to present himselfe in two places, and the actions after one fashion, the discourses after another; is lawfull in them, which report things: But it cannot be in them, that acknowledge themselves as I doe. I must walke with my penne, as I goe with my feete. The common high way must have conference with other wayes. *Catoes* vertue was vigorous, beyond the reason of the age he lived in: and for a man that entremedled with governing other men, destinated for the common service, it might be said to have beene a justice, if not unjust, at least vaine and out of season. Mine owne manners, which scarce disagree one inch from those now currant, make me notwithstanding in some sort, strange, uncouth and unfociable to my age. I wot not, whether it be without reason, I am so distasted and out of liking with the world, wherein I live and frequent: but well I know, I should have small reason to complaine, the world were distasted and out of liking with me, since I am so with it. The vertue assigned to the worlds affaires, it is a vertue with sundry byases, turnings, bendings and elowes, to apply and joyne it selfe to humane imbecillitie: mixed and artificiall: neither right, pure or constant, nor meere innocent. Our Annales even to this day, blame some one of our Kings, to have over-simply suffered himself to be led or misled by the conscientious persuasions of his Confessor, *Masters of state have more bold precepts.*

*—exeat aula,*

*Qui vult esse pius.*

He that will godly bee,

From Court let him be free.

*Lucan. bell. civi.*  
*lib. 1. 493.*

I have



I have heretofore assayed to employ my opinions and rules of life, as new, as rude, as unpollished or as unpolluted, as they were naturally borne with me, or as I have attained them by my institution; and wherewith, if not so commodiously, at least safely in particular, I serve mine owne turne, unto the service of publike affaires and benefit of my Common-wealth. A scholasticall and novice vertue; but I have found them very unapt and dangerous for that purpose. He that goeth in a presse or throng of people, must sometimes step aside, hold in his elbowes; crosse the way, advance himselfe, start backe, and forsake the right way, according as it falls out: Live he not so much as he would himselfe, but as others will, not according to that he proposeth to himselfe, but to that which is proposed to him: according to times, to men and to affaires, and as the skilfull Mariner, saile with the winde. Plato saith, that *who escapes untainted and cleane-handed from the managing of the world; escapeth by some wonder.* He sayes also, that when he instituteth his Philosopher as chiefe over a Common-wealth, he meanes not a corrupted or law broken comonwealth, as that of Athens; & much lesse, as ours, with which wisedome herselfe would be brought to a non-plus or put to her shifts. And a good hearb, transplanted into a soile very diverse from her nature, doth much sooner conforme it selfe to the soile, then it reformeth the same to it selfe. I feelingly perceive that if I were wholly to enure my selfe to such occupations, I should require much change and great repairing. Which could I effect in me (and why not with time and diligence?) I would not. Of that little which in this vocation I have made triall of, I have much distasted my selfe: I sometimes finde certaine temptations arise in my minde, towards ambition; but I start aside, bandie and opinionate my selfe to the contrarie:

*Actu Catulle obstinatus obdura.*

*Catull. lyr. epig.*  
8. 19.

Be thou at any rate,  
Ordurate, obstinate,

I am not greatly called, and I invite my selfe as little unto it. Libertie and idlenesse, my chiefe qualities, are qualities diametrically contrarie to that mysterie. We know not how to distinguish mens faculties. They have certaine divisions and limits uneasie and over nice to be chosen. *To conclude by the sufficiency of a private life, any sufficiency for publike use, it is ill concluded:* Some one directts himselfe well, that cannot so well direct others; and composeth Essayes, that could not worke effects. Some man can dispose and order a siege, that could but ill commaund and marshall a battell: and discourseth well in private, that to a multitude or a Prince would make but a bad Oration. Yea peradventure, tis rather a testimony to him that can doe one, that he cannot doe the other, but otherwise. I finde that high spirits are not much lesse apt for base things, then base spirits are for high matters. Could it be imagined, that *Socrates* would have given the Athenians cause to laugh at his own charges, because he could never iustly compe the suffrages of his tribe, and make report thereof unto the counsell? Truly the reverence I beare, and respect I owe unto that mans perfections, deterveth that his fortune bring to the excuse of my principal imperfections, one so notable example. Our sufficiencie is retailed into small parcells. Mine hath no latitude, and is in number very miserable. *Saturninus* answered those, who had conferred all authority upon him, saying. *Oh you my fellow souldiers, you have lost a good Captaine, by creating him a bad General of an Armie.* Who in time of infection vanteth himselfe, for the worlds-service, to employ a genuine or sincere vertue, either knowes it not, (opinions being corrupted with manners; in good sooth, heare but them paint it forth, marke how most of them magnifie themselves for their demeanours, and how they forme their rules in lieu of pourtraying vertue, they onely set forth meere injustice and vice, and thus false and adulterate they present the same to the institution of Princes) or if he know it, he wrongfully boasteth himselfe; and whatever he saith, he doth many things whereof his owne conscience accuseth him. I should easily believe *Seneca*, of the experience he made of it in such an occasion, upon condition he would freely speake his minde of it unto me. *The honourablest badge of goodnesse in such a necessitie, is ingenuously for a man to acknowledge both his owne and others faults; to stay and with his might, hinder the inclination towards evill, and avise to follow this course, to hope and wish better.* In these dismembrings or havocks of France, and divisions whereinto we are miserably falne, I perceive every man travell and busie himselfe to defend his owne cause, and the better sort with much dissembling and falshood. Hee that should plainly and roundly write of it, should write rashly and viciously. Take the best and justest part, what is it elsie but the

member



member of crated, worme-eaten and corrupted body? But of such a body the member least sicke, is called sound: and good reason why, because our qualities have no title but in comparison. Civill innocency is measured according to places and seasons. I would be glad to see such a commendation of *Agessilans* in *Xenophon*, who being entreated of a neighbour Prince, with whom he had sometimes made warr, to suffer him to passe through his countrie, was therewith well pleased? granting him free passage through *Peloponnese*, and having him at his mercy, did not only not emprison nor empoison him, but according to the tenour of his promise, without shew, or offence, or unkindnesse, entertained him with all courtesie & humanitie. To such humours, it were a matter of no moment: At other times & else where, the libertie and magnanimitie of such an action shall be highly esteemed. Our gullish *Gaberdines* would have mockt at it. So little affinity is there betweene the *Spartan* & the *French* innocencie. We haue notwithstanding some honest men amongst vs; but it is after our fashion. He whose manners are in regularity established above the age he liueth in? let him either wrest or muffle his rules: or (which I would rather perswade him) let him withdraw himselfe apart and not medle with vs. What shall he gaine thereby?

*Egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri.  
Hoc monstrum puero, & miranti iavi sub aratro  
Piscibus inuentis & facta compare mula.*

*Ione Sat. 36, 64*

See I a man of holinesse and vertues rare.

To births bimembred, vnder wonderfull Plow share;

Fish found, or moiles with sole, this monster I compare.

One may bewaile the better times, but not avoide the present: one may desire other magistrates but notwithstanding he must obey those he hath: And happily it is more commendable to obey the wicked than the good. So long as the image of the received, allowed and ancient lawes of this Monarchie shall be extant and shine in any corner thereof; there will be; there will I abide. And if by any disaster they shall chaunce to have contradiction or empeachment amongst themselves, and produce two factions, of doubtfull or hard choise: my election shall be to avoide, And if I can escape this storme. In the meane while, either nature or the hazard of warre, shall lend me that helping hand. I should freely have declared my selfe betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*. But betweene those three theeves which came after, where either one must have hid him else, or followed the winde: which I deceme lawfull, when reason swayeth no longer.

*Quod diversus abis,  
Whether have you recourse,  
So farre out of your course?*

*Virg Aen lib. 9  
106.*

This mingle-mangle is somewhat beside my text. I stragle out of the path; yet it is rather by licence, then by vnadvisednesse: my fantasies follow one another: but sometimes a farre off, and looke one at another; but with an oblique looke. I have heretofore cast mine eyes vpon some of *Platoes* Dialogues: bemolled with a fantastickall variety: the first part treateth of loue, all the latter of *Rhetorick*. They feare not those variances: and have a wonderfull grace in suffering themselves to bee transported by the wind; or to seeme so. The titles of my chapters, embrace not allwayes the matter: they often but glance at it by some marke: as these others, *Andria*, *Eunuchus*: or these, *Sylla*, *Cicero*, *Torquatus*. I love a Poeticall kinde of march, by friskes, skips, and lumps, It is an art (saith *Plato*) light, nimble, fleeting & light brained. There are some treatises in *Plutarke*, where he forgets his theme, where the drift of his argument is not found but by incidencie & chaunce, all stuffed with strange matter. Marke but the vagaries in his *Dæmon of Socrates*. Oh God! what grace hath the variation, and what beaurie these startings and nimble escapes; and then most, when they seeme to employ carelesnesse and casualtie: It is the vnheedie and negligent reader that loseth my subiect, and not my life. Some word or other shall euer be found in a corner that hath relation to it, though closely couched. I am indiscreetly and tumultuously at a fault; my stile and wit are still gadding alike. A little folly is tolerable in him that will not be more fortifish; say our masters precepts, and more their examples. A thousand Poets labour and languish after the prose manner, but the best ancient prose, which I indifferently scatter here and there for verse, shineth every where, with a poeticall vigour and boldnesse, and representeth some aire or touch of it's fury: Verily she ought to have the mastery and preheminnence



preheminnence given her in matters of speech. A Poet saith *Plato* seated on the Muses footestool, doth in a furie powre out whatsoever commeth in his mouth, as the pipe or cocke of a fountaine, without considering or ruminating the same: and many things escape him, diuerse in colour, contrary in substance, and broken in course. Antient Diuinitie is altogether Poetic (say the learned) and the first Philosophie. It is the original language of the Gods. I vnderstand that the matter distinguisheth it selfe. It sufficiently declareth where it changeth, where it concludeth, where it beginneth, and where it reioyneth; without enterlacings of words, joyning ligaments & binding seames wrested in for the service of weake and vnattentive eares: & without glossing or expounding my selfe. What is he, that would not rather not be read at all, then read in drowsie and cursorie manner: *Nihil est tam vtile, quod in transitu profit.* There is nothing so profitable, that being lightly past over, will doe good. If to take bookes in hand were to learne them: and if to see were to view them; and if to runne them over were to seize vpon them, I should be too blame, to make my self altogether so ignorant as I say. Since I cannot stay the readers attention by the weight: *Maneo male*, if I happen to stay him by my intricate confusiō: yea but he will afterward repent, that ever he amused himselfe about it. You say true, but hee shall have amused himselfe vpon it. And there be humors, to whom vnderstanding causeth disdain, who because they shall not know what I meane will esteeme mee the better, and will conclude the mystery and depth of my sense by the obscuritie: Which, to speake in good earnest, I hate as death, and would shunne it. If I could avoid my selfe. *Aristotle* vaunteth in some place to affect the same. A vicious affectation. forso much as the often breaking of my chapters, I so much vsed in the beginning of my booke, seemed to interrupt attention, before it be conceiued: Disdaining for so little a while to collect and there seat it selfe: I have betaken my selfe to frame them longer, as requiring proposition and assigned leasure. In such an occupation he to whom you will not grant one houre, you will allow him nothing. And you doe nought for him, for whom you doe, but in doing some other thing. Sithence peraduenture I am particularly tied and precisely vowed, to speake by halves, to speake confusedly, to speake discrepantly. I therefore hate this trouble-fast reason: And these extravagant projects, which so much molest mans life, and these so subtle opinions, if they have any truth; I deeme it over-deare, & find it too incommodious. On the other side, I labour to set forth vanitie and make sottishnesse to prevaile if it bring me any pleasure. And without so nicely controlling them, I follow mine owne naturall inclinations. I have elsewhere seene some houses ruined, statues overthrowne, both of heaven and of earth: But men be alwaies one. All that is true: & yet I can not so often suruay the vast roome of that Citie so great, so populous and so puissant, but I as often admire and reuerence the same. *The care and remembrance of euills is recommended vnto vs.* Now have I from my infancie beene bred and brought vp with these: I have had knowledge of the affaires of *Rome*, long time before I had notice of those of my house. I knew the Capitoll, and its platforme, before I knew *Louure*, the pallace of our Kings in *Paris*; and the Riuer *Tiber*, before *Seyne*. I have more remembred and thought vpon the fortunes and conditions of *Lucullus*, *Metellus* and *Scipio*, then of any of our country-men. They are deceased, and so is my father, as fully as they: and is as distant from me and life in eightene yeeres as they were in sixteene hundred: Whose memorie, amitie, and societie, I, notwithstanding omit not to continue, to embrace and conuerse withall: with a perfect and most liuely vnion. Yea of mine owne inclination, I am more officious toward the deceased. They can no longer helpe themselves; but (as me seemeth) they require so much the more my ayde: There is Gratitude, and there appeareth she in her perfect lustre. A benefite is lesse richly assigned, where retrogradation and reflexion is. *Arcefilaus* going to visit *Cicero* that was sicke, and finding him in very poore plight, saire and sottly thru a some mōey vnder his bolster, which he gave him: And concealing it from him, left and gave him also a quittance for ever being beholding to him. Such as have at any time deserved friendship or love or thanks at my hands, neuer lost in the same, by being no longer with me. I have better paid and more curiously rewarded them, being absent and when they least thought of it. I speake more kindly and affectionately of my freinds, when there is least meanes, that euer it shall come to their eares, I have heretofore vndergone a hundred quarrels for the defence of *Pompey* and *Brutus* his cause. This acquaintance continueth to this day betweene vs. *Euen of present things, wee haue no other holde, but by our fantasie.* Perceiuing my selfe



selfe unfit and unprofitable for this age, I cast my selfe to that other; And am so besotted with it that the state of the said ancient, free, just and flourishing *Rome*, (for I neither love the birth nor like the old age of the same) doth interest, concerne and passionate me. And therefore can I not so often looke into the situation of their streets and houses, and those wondrous strange ruines, that may be said to reach down to the Antipodes, but so often must I amuse my selfe on them. Is it nature or by the error of fantasie, that the seeing of places, wee know to have beene frequented or inhabited by men, whose memory is esteemed or mentioned in stories, doth in some sort move and stirre us up as much or more, than the hearing of their noble deeds, or reading of their compositions? *Tanta vis admonitionis inest in locis: Et id quidem in hac urbe infinitum; quacunque enim ingredimur, in aliquam historiam vestigium ponimus.* So great a power of admonition is in the very place. And that in this City is most infinite, for which way soever we walke, we set our foote upon some History. I am much delighted with the consideration of their countenance, port and abilliments. I ruminare those glorious names betweene my teeth, and make mine eares to ring with the sound of them. *Ego illos veneror, & tantis nominibus semper assurgo.* I do reverence them, and at their names I do rise and make carresse: Of things but in some sort great, strange and admirable, I admire their common parts. I could wish to see them walke & suppe together, and heare their discourses. It were Ingratitude to despise, and impietie to neglect the reliques or images of so many excellent, honest good men, and therewithall so valiant, which I have seene live and die: And who by their examples, had we the wit or grace to follow them, affoord us so many notable instructions: And *Rome* as it stands now, deserveth to be loved: Confederated so long since, and sharing titles with our Crowne of *France*: Being the only common and universall Citie: The Sovereigne Magistrate therein commanding, is likewise knowne abroad in divers other places. It is the chiefe Metropolitane Citie of all Christian nations: Both French and Spaniards and all men else are there at home. To be a Prince of that state, a man needs but be of Christendome, where ever it be seated. There's no place here on earth, that the Heavens have embraced with such influence of favors and grace, and with such constancie: Even her ruine is glorious with renowne, and twolne with glorie,

*Laudandis preciosior ruinis,  
Ev'n made more honourable:  
By ruines memorable.*

Low-levelled as she lieth, and even in the tombe of hir glory, she yet reserveth the lively image and regardfull markes of Empire. *Vt palam si uno in loco gaudens opus esse nature.* So as it is cleare, in one place is set forth the worke of nature in her jollity. Some one would blame himselfe, yea and mutinie, to feele himselfe tickled with so vaine a pleasure. Our humors are not over-vaine, that be pleasant. Whatsoever they be, that constantly content a man capable of common understanding, I could not finde in my heart to moane or pittie him. I am much beholding to fortune, in as much as untill this day, she hath committed nothing outrageously against me, or imposed any thing upon me, that is beyond my strength, or that I could not well beare. It is not haply her custome, to suffer such as are not importunate or over-busse with hir, to live in peace,

*Quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,  
A Dijs plura ferat, nil cupientium,  
Nudus castra peto, multa petentibus,  
Desunt multa.*

The more that men shall to themselves denie,  
The more the gods will give them: threed-bare I  
Follow the campe of them that nought desire,  
They still want much, that still doe much require.

If she continue so, I shall depart very well content and satisfied,

—nihil supra.

*Deos laceſſo.* —  
More than will serve, to have  
Of Gods I doe not crave.

But beware the thooke: *Thousands miscary in the haven, and are cast away being nearest home.*

*Hor. car. lib. 3.  
ad. 16. 22. 42.*

*Hor. car. lib. 2. od.  
18. 11.*



home. I am easily comforted with what shall happen here when I am gone. Things present trouble me sufficiently, and let me thorowly a worke.

Ovid. Metam.  
l. 2. 140.

*Fortuna cetera mando.*  
The rest I doe commit  
To Fortune (as is fit.)

Besides, I am not tied with that strong bond, which some say, bindes men to future times, by the children bearing their names, and succeeding them in honors: And being so much to be desired, it may be I shall wish for them so much the lesse. I am by my selfe but overmuch tied unto the world, and fastned unto life: I am pleased to be in Fortunes hold by the circumstances properly necessary to my state, without enlarging her jurisdiction upon me by other wayes: And I never thought, that to be without children, were a defect, able to make mans life lesse compleat and lesse contented. A barren state or sterill vacation, have also their peculiar commodities. Children are in the number of things, that need not greatly bee desired; especially in these corrupted times wherein it would be so hard a matter to make them good. *Bona jam nec nasci licet ita corrupta sunt semina.* We cannot now have good things so much as grow, the seeds are so corrupt. Yet have they just cause to moane them, that having once gotten, lose them untimely. He who left me my house in charge, considering my humor, which was to stay at home so little, fore-saw I should be the overthrow of it. He was deceived: I am now as I came unto it, if not somewhat better. And that, without any Office or Churchliving; which are no small helps. As for other matters, if Fortune have offered me no violent or extraordinary offence, to hatch she not shewed me any great favour or extraordinary grace. Whatsoever I have belonging to it, that may properly be termed her gifts, was there before I came unto it; yea and a hundred yeeres before. I particularly enjoy no essentiall good, or possesse no solid benefit, that I owe unto her liberalitie: Indeed she hath bestowed some wind puffs favours upon me, which may rather be termed titular & honourable in shew, but in substance, or materiall; And which, in good truth, she hath not granted, but offered me, God he knowes, to me, who am altogether materiall; not satisfied but with realtie, which must also, be most true and substantiall: And who, if I durst confesse it, would not thinke avarice much lesse excusable then ambition; nor griefe lesse evitable, then shame: nor health lesse desirable, then learning; or riches, lesse to be wished, then nobilitie. Amongst her vaine favours, I have none doth so much please my fond selfe-pleasing conceit, as an authentick Bull, charter or patent of denizationship or borgeouship of Rome, which at my last being there, was granted me by the whole Senate of that Citie: garish and trimly adorned with goodly Seales, and written in faire golden letters; bestowed upon me with all gracious and free liberalitie. And for so much as they are commonly entered in divers stiles, more or lesse favourable: and that before I had ever scene any, I would have beene glad to have had but a paterne or formular of one, I will for the satisfaction of any, if he fortune to be possessed with such a curiositie as mine, here set down the true copy or transcript of it: & thus it is.

*Quod Horatius Maximus, Martius Cecius, Alexander Mutus, alma urbis conservatores de Illustrissimo viro Michaeli Montano. Equite sancti Michaelis, & à Cubiculo Regis Christianissimi, Romana civitate donando, ad Senatum resulerunt, S. P. Q. R. de ea re ita fieri consuit.*

**C**um veteri more & instituto cupide illi semper studiosèq; suscepti sint, qui virtute ac nobilitate præstantes, magno Republice nostrae usui atque ornameto fuissent, vel esse aliquando possent: Nos majorum nostrorum exemplo atque auctoritate permoti, præclaram hanc Consuetudinem nobis imitandam ac servandam fore censuimus. Quamobrem cum Illustrissimus Michael Montanus Eques sancti Michaelis, & à cubiculo Regis Christianissimi; Romani nominis studiosissimus, & famulatus inde atque splendore & proprijs virtutum meritis dignissimus sit, qui summo Senatus Populiq; Romani judicio ac studio in Romanam Civitatem adscribatur, placere Senatus P. Q. R. Illustrissimum Michaeli Montano rebus omnibus ornatissimum, atq; huic inclito Populo charissimum, opus posterisq; in Rom. civitate adscribi, ornariq; omnibus & premijs & honoribus, quibus illi fruuntur, qui Cives patrisq; Romani nati aut jure optimo facti sunt. In quo censere Senatum P. Q. R.



so non tam illi Ius Civitatis largiri quam debitum tribuere, neque magis beneficium dare quam ab ipso accipere, qui hoc Civitatis munere accipiendo, singularem Civitatem ipsam ornamento atque honore affecerit. Quam quidem S. C. auctoritatem ydem Conservatores per Senatus P. Q. R. scribas in altare ferri atque in Capitolij curia servari, privilegiumq; huiusmodi fieri. solitoq; urbis sigillo communiri curarunt. Anno ab urbe condito CXV CCCXXXI. post Christum natum M.D. Lxxxv. III. Idus Martij.

*Horatius Fuscus sacri S. P. Q. R. scriba.*

*Vincent. Martholus sacri S. P. Q. R. scriba.*

AT the motion of *Horatius Maximus, Martins Cecins, Alexander Mutus*, who are Conservators of this beautifull Cittie concerning the endenizing and making Cittizen of Rome the noble Gentleman *Michael de Montaigne*, Knight of the Order of Saint *Michael*, and one of the Chamber of the most Christian King, the Senate & people of Rome thought good thereof thus to exact. Whereas by the ancient custome and good order, they have ever and with good will been entertained, who excelling in vertue and nobilitie have been; or at any time might be of any great use or ornament unto our common-weale: Wee, moved by example & authoritie of our Auncesters, decree, That this notable custome, by us should be entued and observed. Wherefore, sithence the right Noble *Michael de Montaigne*, Knight of Saint *Michaels* Order, and one of the chamber of the most Christian King, both is most affectionate unto the Roman name, and by the commendations and splendor of his pedigree, as also by the merits of his proper vertues, most worthe to be adopted and inserted into the Romane Cittie with a speciall judgement and good will of the Senate and people of Rome. It pleaseth the Senate and people of Rome that the right noble *Michael de Montaigne*, adorned in all complements, and well-beloved of this famous Communalitie, both himselfe and his successours should be ascribed and enfranchized into this Romane Cittie, and be graced with al rewards and honours, which they enjoy, who either have been borne, or elected, either Cittizen or Noble men of Rome. Wherein the Senate and people doe decree. That they doe not so much vouchsafe him the right of their Cittie, as give him that is due unto him, nor doe they rather give him a benefite, then receive it of him, who by accepting this gift of the Cittie, doth countenance the Cittie with a singular ornament and honour. Which Act and authoritie of the Senates Decree: the said Conservators caused by the Clerks of the Senate and people to be registred and laid-up in the Capiroll Court, and this Priviledge to be made and signed with the Cities usuall Seale. In the yeare since the building of the Citie CXV CCCXXXI. after the birth of Christi a thousand five hundred eighty and one: the Ides of March.

*Horatius Fuscus, and Vincent Martholus Clerks of the sacred Senate and people of Rome.*

Being neither Burgeois nor Denizon of any Citie, I am well pleased to bee so, of the noblest and greatest that ever was heretofore, or ever shall be hereafter. If others did so attentively consider and survey themselves as I doe, they shall as I doe, finde themselves full of inanitie, fondnesse or vanity. I can not be rid of it, except I rid and quit my selfe. Wee are all possessed and overwhelmed therewith, as well one as the other. But such as have a feeling of it, have somewhat the better bargaine: And yet I am not sure of it. This common opinion and vulgar custome, to looke and marke elsewhere then on our selves, hath well provided for our affaires. It is an object full-fraught with discontent, wherein we see nothing but miserie and vanity. To th'end we should not wholly be discomforted. Nature hath very fitly cast the action of our sight outward: Wee goe forward according to the streame, but to turne our course backe to our selves, is a painefull motion: the sea likewise is troubled, raging and disquieted, when it is turned and driven into it selfe. Observe (saith every one) the motions and bransles of the heavens: take a survey of all: the quarrell of this man, the pulse of that man, and anothers last testament: to conclude, behold and make ever, high or low, right or oblique, before or behind you. It was a paradoxall commandement, which the God of *Deiphos* laid heretofore upon us; saying. View your selves with know your selves; and keepe you to your selves: Your minde and your will, which elsiewhere is consumed, bring



it unto it selfe againe, you scatter, you stragle, you stray, and you distract your selves : call your selves home againe; rowze and uphold your selves: you are betrayed, you are spoiled and dissipated; your selves are stolen and taken from your selves. Seest thou not how all this universe holdeth all his sights compelled inward, and his eyes open to contemplate it selfe? Both inward and outward it is ever vanitie for thee; but so much lesse vanitie, by how much lesse it is extended. Except thy selfe, Oh man, (said that God) every thing doth first seeke and study it selfe, and according to it's neede hath limits to her travells, and bounds to her desires. There's not one so shallow, so empty, and so needy as thou art who embracest the whole world: Thou art the Scrutator without knowledg, the magistrate without jurisdiction: and when all is done, the vice of the play.

## CHAP. X.

*How one ought to governe his will.*

**I**N regard of the common sort of men, few things touch me, or (to speake properly) sway me: For it is reason they touch, so they possesse us not. I have great neede, both by study and discourse, to encrease this priviledge of insensibilitie, which is naturally crept farre into me. I am not wedded unto many things, and by consequence, not passionate of them. I have my sight cleare, but tied to few objects: My senses delicate and gentle; but my apprehension and application hard and dull: I engage my selfe with difficulty. As much as I can, I employ my selfe wholly to my selfe. And in this very subject, I would willingly bridle and uphold my affection, lest it be too farre plunged therein; Seeing it is a Subject I possesse at the mercy of others, and over which fortune hath more interest then my selfe. So as even in my health, which I so much esteeme, it were requisite not to desire, nor so carefully to seeke it, as thereby I might light upon intollerable diseases. *We must moderate our selves, betwixt the hate of paine, and the love of pleasure.* Plato sets downe a meane course of life betweene both. But to affections that distract me from my selfe, and divert me elsewhere; surely, to such I oppose my selfe with all my force. Mine opinion is, that one should lend himselfe to others, and not give himselfe but to himselfe. Were my wil easie to engage or apply it selfe, I could not continue: I am over tender both by nature and custome,

Ouid. trist. li. 3.  
ch. 2. 9.

*Fugax rerum, secur aque in oria natum.*

Avoiding active businesse,  
And borne to secure idlenesse.

Contested and obstinate debates, which in the end would give mine adversarie advantage, the issue which would make my earnest pursuit ashamed, would perchance torment mee cruelly. If I vexed as other men, my soule should never have strength to beare th' jaroms and emotions, that follow such as embrace much. She would presently be displaced by this intestine agitation. If at any time I have beene urged to the managing of strange affaires, I have promised to undertake them with my hand, but not with my lungs and liver; to charge, and not to incorporate them into me, to have a care, but nothing at all to be over passionate of them: I looke to them, but I hatch them not. I worke enough to dispose and direct the domesticall troubles within mine owne entrails and veines, without harbouring, or importune my selfe with any forraine employments: And am sufficiently interested with my proper, naturall and essentiall affaires, without seeking others businesse. Such as know how much they owe to themselves; and how many offices of their owne they are bound to performe, shall finde that nature hath given them this commission fully ample and nothing idle. *Thou hast businesse enough within thy selfe, therefore stray not abroad:* Men give themselves to hire. Their faculties are not their own, but theirs to whom they subject themselves; their inmates, and not themselves, are within them. This common humour doth not please me. We should thriftily husband our mindes liberty, and never engage it but upon just occasions, which if we judge impartially, are very few in number. Looke on such as suffer themselves to be transported and swayed, they doe it every where. In little as well as in great matters,



matters; to that which concerneth, as easie as to that which toucheth them not. They thrust themselves indifferently into all actions, and are without life, if without tumultuary agitation. *In negotijs sunt, negotij causa. They are busie that they may not be idle, or else in action for actions sake.* They seeke worke but to be working. It is not so much because they will goe, as for that they cannot stand still. Much like to a rowling stone, which never stayes until it come to a lying place. To some men, employment is a marke of sufficiencie and a badge of dignity. Their spirits seeke rest in action, as infants repose in the cradle. They may be said, to be as serviceable to their friends, as importunate to themselves. *No man distributes his money to others but every one his life and time.* We are not so prodigall of any thing, as of those whereof to be covetous would be both commendable and profitable for us. I follow a cleane contrary course, I am of another complexion: I stay at home and looke to my selfe. What I wish-for, I commonly desire the same but mildly, and desire but little: so likewise I seldome employ and quietly embusie my selfe. What ever they intend and act, they do it with all their will and vehemency. There are so many dangerous steps, that for the more security, wee must somewhat slightly and superficially slide through the world, and not force it. *Pleasure it selfe is painefull in it's height.*

*—incedis per ignes;  
Subpositos cineri doloso,  
You passe through fire (though unfraid)  
Vnder deceitfull ashes laid.*

*Hor. car. l. 2. od.  
1.7.*

The towne counsell of *Bordeaux* chose me Major of their City, being farre from *France*, but further from any such thought. I excused my selfe and would have avoided it. But they told mee I was too blame; the more, because the Kings commandement was also employed therein. It is a charge, should seeme so much the more goodly, because it hath neither fee nor reward, other then the honour in the execution. It lasteth two yeares, but may continue longer by a second election, which seldome hapneth. To me it was, and never had been but twice before: Some yeares past the Lord of *Lansac*; and lately to the Lord of *Biron*, Marshall of *France*. In whose place I succeeded; and left mine to the Lord of *Matigon*, likewise Marshall of *France*. Glorious by so noble an assistance.

*Vterque bonus pacis bellique minister,  
Both, both in peace and warre,  
Right serviceable are,*

Fortune would have a share in my promotion by this particular circumstance, which shee of her owne added thereunto; not altogether vaine. For *Alexander* disdained the Corinthian Ambassadors, who offered him the freedome and Burgeoise of their Citie, but when they told him that *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were likewise in their registers, hee kindly thanked them and accepted their offer. At my first arriual, I faithfully deciphered and conscientiously displayed my selfe, such as I am indeede: without memorie, without diligence, without experience and without sufficiencie, so likewise without hatred, without ambition, couetousnesse and without violence: that so they might be duly instructed what service they might, or hope, or expect at my hands. And forsomuch as the knowledge they had of my deceased father, and the honour they bare unto his memory, had moued them to chuse me to that dignitie, I told them plainly, I should be verie sorie, that any man should worke such an opinion in my will, as their affaires and Citie had done in my fathers, while he held the said government, whereunto they had called me. I remembered to have scene him being an infant, and he an old man, his minde cruelly turmoiled with the publike toile, forgetting the sweet aire of his owne house, whereunto the weakenes of his age had long before tied him, neglecting the care of his health and family, in a maner despising his life, which as one engaged for them, he much endangered, riding long and painefull journies for them. Such a one was he: which humor preceeded from the bountie and goodnesse of his nature. Never was minde more charitable or more popular. This course, which I commend in others, I love not to follow: Neither am I without excuse. He had heard, that *a man must forget himselfe for his neighbour: that in respect of the generall, the particular was not to be regarded.* Most of the worlds rules and precepts hold this traine, to drive us out of our selves into the wide world, to the use of publike societie. They presumed to worke a goodly effect, in distracting and withdrawing us from our selves: supposing wee were by a naturall instinct,



too-too much tied unto it: and to this end have not spared to say any thing. For to the wise it is no novelty, to preach things as they serve, and not as they are. Truth hath her lets, discomforts and incomparabilities with us. Wee must not often deceive others, lest we beguile our selves. And seele our eyes, and dull our understanding, thereby to repaire and amend them. *Imperiti enim iudicant, & qui frequenter in hoc ipsum fallendi sunt, ne errent.* For anskilfull men judge, who must often even therefore be deceived, lest they erre and bee deceived. When they prescribe us, to love three, foure yea fifty degrees of things before our selves, they present us with the Arte of shooters, who to come neere the marke take their aime far above the same. *To make a crooked sticke straight, we bend it the contrary way.* I suppose that in the times of *Pallas*, as we see in all other religions, they had some apparant mysteries, of which they made shew to all the people, and others more high and secret, to be imparted onely to such as were professed. It is likely, that the true point of friendship, which every man oweth to himselfe, is to be found in these. Not a false amitie, which makes us embrace glory, knowledge, riches, and such like, with a principall and immoderate affection, as members of our being; nor an effeminate and indiscreet friendship; Wherein hapneth as to the Ivie, which corrupts and ruines the wals it claspeth: But a sound and regular amity, equally profitable and pleasant. Who so understandeth all her duties and exerciseth them, hee is rightly endenized in the Muses eabinet: Hee hath attained the type of humane Wisdome and the perfection of our happinesse. This man knowing exactly what hee oweth to himselfe, findeth, that he ought to employ the use of other men and of the world unto himselfe; which to performe, he must contribute the duties and offices that concerne him unto publicke societie. *He that lives not somewhat to others, liveth little to himselfe, Qui sibi amicus est, cito hunc amicum omnibus esse.* He that is friend to himselfe, know, he is friend to all. The principall charge we have, is every man his particular conduct. And for this onely wee live here. As he that should forget to live well and religiously, and by instructing and directing others should thinke himselfe acquitted of his duty, would be deemed a foole: Even so, who forsaketh to live healtly and merrily himself, therewith to serve another, in mine opinion taketh a bad and unnaturall course. I will not, that in any charge one shall take in hand, he refuse or thinke much of his attention, of his labour, of his steps, of his speech, of his sweat, and if need be of his blood,

Sen. epist. 6. f.

Hor. ear. l. 4. od.  
9. 51.

— non ipse pro charis amicis,  
Aut patria timidus perire.  
Not fearing life to end  
For Country or deare friend.

But it is onely borrowed and accidentally; The minde remaining ever quiet and in health; not without action, but without vexation or passion. Simply to moove or be dooing, costs it so little, that even sleeping it is mooving and dooing. But it must have it's motion with discretion. For the body receiveth the charges impleth him, justly as they are: But the spirit extendeth them, and often to his hinderance makes them heavy; giving them what measure it pleaseth. Like things are effected by divers efforts and different contentions of will. The one may goe without the other. For, how many men doe dayly hazard themselves in warre which they regard not, and presse into the danger of the battells, the losse wherof shall no whit breake their next sleep? Whereas some man in his own house, free from this danger, which he durst not so much as have look't towards it, is for the wars issue more passionate, and therewith hath his minde more perplexed, than the souldier, that therein employeth both his blood and life. I know how to deale in publicke charges, without departing from my selfe: This sharpnesse and violence of desires hindreth more, then steade the conduct of what we undertake, filling us with impatience to the events, either contrary or flow: and with bitternesse and jealousie toward those with whom we negotiate. Wee never governe that thing well, wherewith we are possessed and directed.

— Malocuncta ministrat  
Impetus. —  
Fury and haste doe lay all waste,  
Misplacing all, disgracing all,

He who therein employeth but his judgement and direction, proceeds more cheerefully:  
he



he faience, he yeelds, he deferres at his pleasure according to the occasions of necessity: hee failes of his attempt, without torment or affliction: ready and prepared for a new enterprife. He marcheth alwaies with the reines in his hand. He that is besotted with this violent and tyrannicall intention, doth necessarily declare much indiscretion and injustice. The violence of his desire transports him. They are rash motions, and if fortune helpe not much, of little fruit. Philosophie wills us to banish choller in the punishment of offences; not to the end revenge should be more moderate, but contrary, more weighty and surely set on: whereunto this violence seemeth to bee a let. Choller doth not onely trouble, but wearie the executioners armes. This passionate heat dulseth and consumes their force. As in too much speede, *festinatio tarda est*, *Hastinesse is slow*. Haste makes waste, and hinders and stayes it selfe: *Ipsa se velocitas implicat*; *Swiftnesse entangles it selfe*. As for example, according as by ordinary custome I perceive, covetousnesse hath no greater let, then it selfe. The more violent and extended it is, the lesse effectuall and fruitfull. Commonly it gathers wealth more speedily being masked with a shew of liberality. A very honest Gentleman and my good friend, was likely to have endangered the health of his body, by an over passionate attention and earnest affection to the affaires of a Prince, who was his Maister. Which Maister hath thus described himselfe unto me: That as another, he discerneth and hath a feeling of the burthen of accidents: but such as have no remedie, he presently resolvethe to suffer with patience: For the rest, after he hath appointed necessary provisions, which by the vivacitie and nimblenesse of his wit hee speedily effects, hee then attends the event with quietnesse. Verily, I have scene in him at one instant a great carelesnesse and libertie, both in his actions and countenance: Even in important and difficult affaires. I finde him more magnanimous and capable, in bad then in good fortune. His losses are to him more glorious, than his victories; and his mourning than his triumphs. Consider how in meere vaine and frivolous actions, as at chesse, tennis and such like sports, this earnest and violent engaging with an ambitious desire to winne, doth presently cast both minde and limmes into disorder and indiscretion. Wherein a man doth both dazle his sight and distemper his whole body. Hee who demeaneth himselfe with most moderation both in winning and loosing, is ever nearest unto himselfe, and hath his wits best about him. The lesse hee is mooved or passionate in play, the more safely doth he governe the game, and to his greater advantage. We hinder the minds seizure and holdfast, by giving her so many things to seize upon. Some wee should onely present unto her, others fasten upon her, and others incorporate into her. Shee may see and feele all things, but must onely feede on hir selfe: And bee instructed in that which properly concerneth her, and which meerey belongeth to her essence and substance. *The lawes of nature teach us what is just and fit for us*. After the wise-men have told us, that according to nature no man is indigent or wanteth, and that each-one is poore but in his owne opinion, they also distinguish subtilly, the desires proceeding from nature, from such as grow from the disorders of our fantasie. Those whose end may be discerned are meerey hirs; and such as flie before us and whose end we cannot attaine, are properly ours. *Want of goods may easily be cured, but the poverty of the minde, is incurable*.

*Nam si, quod satis est homini, id satis esse posset,*  
*Hoc sat erat, nunc, quam hoc non est, qui credimus porro*  
*Divitias ullas animam mi explere posse?*  
 If it might be enough, that is enough for man,  
 This were enough, since it is not, how thinke we can  
 Now any riches fill  
 My minde and greedy will?

Socrates seeing great store of riches, jewells and pretious stuffe carried in pompe through the City: *Oh how many things* (quoth he) *doe not I desire!* Metrodorus lived daily with the weight of twelve ounces of foode: Epicurus with lesse: Metrocles in winter lay with sheepe, and in summer in the Cloisters of Churches. *Sufficit ad id natura, quod poscit*. Nature is sufficient for that which it requires. Cleanthes lived by his hands, and boasted, that if Cleanthes would, he could nourish another Cleanthes. If that which nature doth exactly and originally require at our handes, for the preservation of our being, is over little (as in truth what it is, and how good cheape our life may be maintained, cannot better be known or expressed than by consideration. That it is so little, and for the smalnesse thereof, it is out of



Fortunes reach, and she can take no hold of it) let us dispense something els unto our selves, and call the custome and condition of every-one of us by the name of Nature. Let us taxe and stint and feede our selves according to that measure; let us extend both our appurtenances and reckonings thereunto. For so farre, mee seemes, we have some excuse: *Custome is a second Nature*, and no lesse powerfull. What is wanting to custome, I hold it a defect: And I had well nigh as lesse one should deprive mee of my life, as refraine or much abridge me of my state wherein I have lived so long. I am no more upon termes of any great alteration nor to thrust my selfe into a new and un-usuall course, no nor toward augmentation: it is no longer time to become other or be transformed. And as I should complaine if any great adventure should now befall me, and grieve it came not in time that I might have enjoyed the same.

Hor. 1. l. epist. 53  
12.

*Quo mihi fortuna, si non conceditur uti?*

Whereto should I have much,

If I to use it grutch?

I should likewise bee grieved at any inward purchase: I were better in a manner, never; than so late, to become an honest man; and well practised to live, when one hath no longer life. I who am ready to depart this World, could easily be induced, to resigne the share of wisdom I have learn't, concerning the Worlds commerce, to any other man new come into the world. *It is even as good as Mustard after dinner.* What neede have I of that good, which I cannot enjoy? *Whereto serveth knowledge, if one have no head?* It is an injury and disgrace of Fortune, to offer us those presents, which forsomuch as they faile us when we should most neede them, fill us with a iust spite. Guide me no more: I can go no longer. Or so many dismembings that Sufficiency hath, patience sufficeth us. Give the capacity of an excellent treble to a Singer, that hath his lungs rotten; & of eloquence, to a hermit confined into the Deserts of *Arabia*. *There needs no Arte to further a fall. The end findes it selfe in the finishing of every worke.* My world is at an end, my forme is expired. I am wholly of the time past. And am bound to authorize the same, and thereto conforme my issue. I will say this by way of example; that the eclipsing or abridging of tenne dayes, which the Pope hath lately caused, hath taken me so low, that I can hardly recover my selfe. I follow the yeares, wherein we were wont to compt otherwise, So long and antient a custome doth challenge and recall me to it againe. I am thereby enforced to be somewhat an hereticke: Incapable of innovation, though corrective. My imagination mauer my teeth runnes still tenne dayes before, or tenne behinde, and whispers in mine eares: *This rule toucheth those, which are to come.* If health it selfe so sweetly-pleasing, comes to me but by fittes, it is rather to give me cause of grieve then possession of it selfe. I have no where left mee to retire it. Time forsakes me; without which nothing is enjoyed. How small accompt should I make of these great elective dignities I see in the world, and which are onely given to men, ready to leave the world; wherein they regard not so much how duely they shall discharge them, as how little they shall exercise them; from the beginning they looke to the end. To conclude, I am ready to finish this man, not to make another. *By long custome, this forme is changed into substance. and Fortune into Nature.* I say therefore, that amongst us feeble creatures, each one is excusable to compt that his owne, which is comprehended under measure, And yet all beyond these limits, is nothing but confusion.

It is the largest extension we can grant our rights. The more we amplifie our neede and possession, the more we engage our selves to the crosses of fortune and adversities. The carriere of our desires must be circumscribed, and tied to strict bounds of neere and contiguous commodities. Moreover, their course should be managed, not in a straight line, having another end, but round, whose two points hold together, and end in our selves with a short compasse. The actions governed without this reflection, I meane a neere and essentiall reflection, as those of the covetous, of the ambitious and so many others, that runne directly point-blanke, the course of which carrieth them away before them, are erroneous and crazed actions. Most of our vacations are like playes. *Mundus universus exerceat histrioniam.* *All the world doth practise stage-playing.* Wee must play our parts duely, but as the part of a borrowed personage. Of a vizard and apparance, wee should not make a reall essence, nor proper of that which is another. Wee cannot distinguish the skinned from the shirt. It is sufficient to disguise the face, without deforming the breast. I see some transforme and transubstan-



transubstantiate themselves, into as many new formes and strange beings, as they undertake charges: and who emprelate themselves even to the heart and entrails; and entraine their offices even sitting on their close stools. I cannot teach them to distinguish the salutations and cappings of such as regard them, from those that respect either their office, their traine or their mule. *Tantum se fortuna permittunt, etiam ut naturam dediscant.* They give themselves so much over to Fortune, as they forget Nature. They swell in minde and puffe up their naturall discourse, according to the dignity of their office. The Major of Bourdeaux, and Michael Lord of Montaigne, have ever beene two, by an evident separation. To be an advocate or a Treasurer, one should not be ignorant of the craft incident to such callings. An honest man is not comprable for the vice & folly of his trade, and therefore ought not to refuse the exercise of it. It is the custome of his country; and there is profit in it. *We must live by the World, and such as we finde it, so make use of it.* But the judgement of an Emperour should be above his Empire; and to see and consider the same as a strange accident. He should know how to enjoy himselfe apart; and communicate himselfe as James and Peter, at least to himselfe, I cannot so absolutely or so deeply engage my selfe. When my wil gives me to any party, it is not with so violent a bond, that my understanding is thereby infected. In the present intestine trouble of our State, my interest hath not made me forget neither the commendable qualities of our adversaries, nor the reproachfull of those I have followed. They partially extoll what ever is on their side: I doe not so much as excuse the greater number of my friends actions. A good Oratour loseth not his grace by pleading against me. The intricatenesse of our debate remooved, I have maintained my selfe in equanimity and pure indifferency. *Neque extra necessitates belli, praeipuum odium gero, Nor beare I capital hatred, when I am out of the necessitie of warre.* Wherein I glory, for that commonly I see men erre in the contrary. Such as extend their choller and hatred, beyond their affaires (as most men doe) shew that it proceedes elswhence, and from some private cause: Even as one being cured of an ulcer, and his fever remaineth still, declareth it had another more hidden beginning. It is the reason they beare none unto the cause, in generall: and forso much as it concerneth the interest of all, and of the state: But they are vexed at it, onely for this; that it toucheth them in private. And therefore are they distempered with a particular passion; both beyond justice and publike reason. *Non tam omnia universi, quam ea, quae ad quemque pertinent, singuli carpebant.* All did not so much finde faults with all, as every one with those that appertained to every one. I will have the advantage to be for us, which though it be not, I enrage not, I stand firmly to the sounder parts. But I affect not to be noted a private enemy to others, and beyond generall reason, I greatly accuse this vicious forme of obstinate contesting: He is of the League, because he admireth the grace of the Duke of Guise: or he is a Hugonote, forso much as the King of Navarres activitie amazeth him: He finds fault in the Kings behaviours, therefore he is seditious in his heart. I would not give the magistrate my voice, that he had reason to condemne a booke, because an hereticke was therein named and extolled to be one of the best Poets of this age. Dare wee not say that a theefe hath a good leg? if he have so indeed? If she be a strumper, must she needs have a stinking breath? In wiser ages, revoked they the proud title of *Capitolinus*, they had formerly given to *Marcus Manlius*, as the preserver of religion and publike libertie? Suppressed they the memory of his liberalitie, his deeds of armes and military rewards granted to his vertues, because to the prejudice of his countrys lawes, he afterward affected a Royalty? If they once conceive a hatred against an Orator or an advocate, the next day he becommeth barbarous and uneloquent. I have elswhere discoursed of zeale, which hath driven good men into like errors. For my selfe, I can say: that he doth wickedly, and this vertuously. Likewise, in prognostickes or sinister events of affaires, they will have every man blinde or dull in his owne cause: and that our perswasion and judgement, serve not the truth but the project of our desires. I should rather erre in the other extremity? So much I feare my desire might corrupt me. Considering, I somewhat tenderly distrust my selfe in things I most desire. I have in my dayes seene wonders, in the indiscreet and prodigious facilitie of people, suffering their hopes and beliefes, to be led and governed, as it hath pleased and best fitted their leaders: above a hundred discontents, one in the necke of another: & beyond their fantasies and dreames. I wonder no more at those, whom the apish toys of *Apollonius* and *Mabomes* have seduced and blinded: Their sense and understanding is wholly smothered



in their passion, Their discretion hath no other choise but what pleaseth them and furthereth their cause. Which I had especially observed in the beginning of our distempered factions and factious troubles. This other which is growne since, by imitation surmounteth the same. Whereby I observe, that it is an inseparable quality of popular errors. The first being gone, opinions enter shooke one another, following the winde, as waves doe. They are no members of the body, if they may renounce it at they follow not the common course. But truly they wrong the just parts, when they seeke to helpe them with fraude or deceits. I have alwaies contracted the same. This meane is but for sicke braines; The healthy have surer and honest wayes to maintaine their resolutions and excuse all contrary accidents. The Heavens never saw so weighty a discord and to harmefull a hatred, as that betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey* nor ever shall hereafter: Mee seemeth notwithstanding, I see in those noble and Heroicall mindes, an exemplar and great moderation of the one toward the other. It was a jealousie of honour and emulation of command, which transported them, not to a furious and indiscreete hatred, without malice or detraction. In their sharpest exploits, I discover some reliques of respect and cinders of well-meaning affection. And I imagine, that had it beene possible, either of them desired rather to effect his purpose without overthrowing his competitor, than by working his utter ruine. Note how contrary the proceeding was betweene *Sylla* and *Marinus*. We must not runne headlong after our affections and private interests. As in my youth, I ever opposed my selfe to the motions of love, which I felt to urpe upon me, and laboured to diminish its delights, lest in the end it might vanquish and captivate me to his mercy: So do I now in all other occasions, which my will apprehendeth with an over great appetite. I bend to the contrary of my disposition, as I see the same plunged and drunke with it's owne Wine. I shunne so farre forth to nourish her pleasure, as I may not revoke it without a bloody losse. Those mindes which though stupidly see things but by halves, enjoy this happinesse, that such as be hurtfull, offend them least: It is a spirituall leprosie, that hath some shew of health, and such a health, as Philosophy doth not altogether contemne. But yet it may not lawfully be termed wisdom, as we often doe. And after this manner did in former times some body mocke *Diogenes*, who in the dead of Winter, went all naked, embracing an image of snow, to try his patience; Who meeting him in this order, said thus unto him; *Art thou now very colde.* Nothing at all, answered *Diogenes* *What thinkest thou to doe then, that is either hard or exemplar by standing in the colde?* replied the other: *To measure constancy, we must necessarily know sufferance.* But such minds as must behold crosse events, and fortunes injuries in their height and sharpnesse, which must weigh and taste them according to their naturall bitterness and charge, let them employ their skill and keep themselves from embracing the causes, and divert their approaches. What did King *Corys*? He payed liberally for that goodly and rich Vessell, which one had presented unto him, but forso much as it was exceeding brittle, he pretently brake it himselfe, that so betimes he might remoove to ease an occasion of choller against his servants. I have in like sort shunned confusion in my affaires, and sought not to have my goods contiguous to my neighbours, and to such as I am to be linked in strict friendship: Whence commonly ensue causes of alienation and unkindnesse. I have heretofore loved the hazardous play of Cardes and Dice, I have long since lett it, onely for this that notwithstanding any faire semblance I made in my losses, I was inwardly disquieted. Let a man of honour, who is to take a lie or endure an outrageous wrong, & cannot admit a bad excuse for payment or satisfaction, avoid the progresse of contentious altercations. I shunne melancholike complexions and froward men, as infected. And in matters, I cannot talke of without interest and emotion, I meddle not with them, except duty constrain mee thereunto. *Meius non incipient quam desinent. They shall better not beginne than leave off.* The surest way, is then to prepare our selves before occasion. I know that some wilemen have taken another course, and have not feared to engage and vehemently to intinate themselves into diverse objects. Those assure themselves of their own strength, under which they throwd themselves against all manner of contrary events, making mischiefes to wrestle one against another, by vigor and verue of patience:

*Virg. Aen. l. 10.*  
693.

*Velut rupes vastum quae prodit in aequor,  
Obvia ventorum furis, expositaque ponto.  
Vim cunctam atque minas perfers caligae marisque,*

*Ipsa*



—*ipsa immota manens.*

Much like a rocke, which butts into the Maine,  
Meeting with windes-rage, to the Sea laid plaine,  
It doth the force of skies and Seas sustaine,  
Endure their threats, yet doth unmoov'd remaine.

Let us not imitate these examples, we shall not attaine them. They opinionate themselves resolutely to behold, and without perturbation to be spectators of their Countries ruine, which wilome possessed and commaunded their full will. As for our vulgar mindes, therein is too much effort and roughnesse. *Cato* quit thereby the noblest life that ever was. Wee seeely-ones must seeke to escape the storme further off: We ought to provide for apprehension and not for patience, and avoid the blowes wee cannot withstand. *Zeno* seeing *Chremetides* a young man whom he loved, approach to sit neere him; rose up sodainly. *Cleanthes* asking him the reason? I understand (saith hee) that Physicians above all things prescribe rest, and forbid emotion in all tumors. *Socrates* saith not; yeeld not to the allurements of beauty; maintaine it, enforce our selves to the contrary; Shunne her (saith hee) runne out of her sight and company; as from a violent poison, that infecteth and Ringeth farre-off. And his good Disciple, faining or reciting, but in mine opinion, rather reciting then faining, the matchles perfections of that great *Cyrus*, describeth him distrust- ing his forces to withstand the blandishments or allurings of the divine beautie of that famous *Panthea* his Captive, committing the visitation and garde of her to an other, that had lesse libertie then himselfe. And likewise the Holy-Ghost, saith *ne nos inducas in tentationem*, *Matth. 6.13.* and lead us not into temptation. We pray not that our reason be not encountred and vanquished by concupiscence: but that it be not so much as assayed therewith: That we bee not reduced to an estate, where we should but suffer the approaches, sollicitations and temptations of sinne: and we entreat our Lord, to keepe our conscience quiet, fully perfectly free from all commerce of evill. Such as say they have reason for their revenging passion, or any other minde-troubling perturbation: say often truth, as things are, but not as they were. They speake to us, when the causes of their error are by themselves fostred and advanced. But retire further backward, recall their causes to their beginning: there you surpris and put them to a *non-plus*. Would they have their fault be lesse, because it is more ancient; and that of an unjust beginning, the progresse be just? He that (as I doe) shall wish his countries well-fare, without fretting or pining himselfe, shall be grieved, but not swouned, to see it threatening, either his owne downfall, or a continuance no lesse ruinous. Oh seeely-weake harkes, whom both waves, windes and Pilot, hull and raffe to so contrary desseignes:

—*in tam diversa, magister,*

*Ventus & unda trahunt.*—  
Maister the wave and winde  
So divers wayes doe binde.

Who gapes not after the favour Princes, as after a thing without which hee cannot live; nor is much disquieted at the coldnes of their entertainment or frowning countenance, nor regardeth the inconstancy of their will. Who hatcheth not his children or huggeth not honours, with a slavish propension, nor leaves to live commodiously having once lost them. Who doth good, namely for his owne satisfaction, nor is much vexed to see men censure of his actions against his merit. A quarter of an ownc of patience provideth for such inconveniences. I finde ease in this receipt: redeeming my selfe in the beginning, as good cheape as I can: By which meanes I perceivemy selfe to have escaped much trouble and manifold difficulties. With very little force, I stay these first motions of my perturbations: And I abandon the subject which beginnes to molest me, and before it transport mee. Hee that stops not the loose, shall hardly stay the course. He that cannot shut the doore against them, shall never expell them being entred. He that cannot attaine an end in the beginning, shall not come to an end of the conclusion. Nor shall he endure the fall, that could not endure the starts of it. *Etenim ipsa se impellunt, ubi semel à ratione discessum est, ipsa q. sibi imbecillitas indulget, in altumque pro-* *Cic. Tusc. qu. 1. 23.*  
*vehitur imprudens: nec reperit locum consistendi.* For they drive themselves headlong, when once they are parted and past reason, and weaknesse soother is selfe, and unawares is carried into the deepe, nor can it finde a place to tarry in. I feele betimes, the low windes, which are forerunners of the storme, buzze in mine eares and sound and trie me within:



Virg. Aen. lib.  
10. 97.

— *ceu flamina prima*  
*Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, & caca volant*  
*Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.*  
As first blasts in the woods perceiv'd to goe,  
Whistle, and darkely speake in murmurs low,  
Foretelling Marriners what windes will grow.

Cic. off. lib. 1.

How often have I done my selfe an apparant injustice, to avoide the danger I should fall into, by receiving the same, happily worse, from the judges, after a world of troubles, and of foule, and vile practises, more enemies to my naturall disposition, then fire or torment? *Convenit à litibus quantum licet, & nescio an paulo plus etiam quam licet, abhorrentem esse; Est enim non modo liberale, paululum nonnunquam de suo jure decedere, sed interdum etiam fructuosum.* As much as wee may, and it may be more then we may, we should abhorre brabling and law-ing; for it is not onely an ingenious part, but sometimes profitable also at sometimes to yeeld a little of our right. If we were wise indeede, we should rejoyce and glory, as I heard once a yong-gentleman, borne of a very great house, very wittily and unfainedly, rejoyce with all men that his mother had lost her sure; as if it had beene a cough, an ague, or any other yrksome burthen. The favours, which fortune might have given mee, as aliances and acquaintances with such as have Sovereigne authority in those things; I have, in my conscience done much instantly to evoide imploying them to others prejudice, and not over-value my rights above their worth. To conclude, I have so much prevailed by my endeavours (in a good houre I may speake it) that I am yet a virgin for any sues in law, which have notwithstanding not omitted gently to offer me their service, and under pretence of lawfull titles insinuate themselves into my allowance, would I but have given care unto them. And as a pure maiden from quarrels; I have without important offence, either passive or active, lingred out a long life, and never heard worle than mine owne name. A rare grace of heaven. Our greatest agitations, have strange springs and ridiculous causes. What ruine did our last Duke of Burgundy runne into, for the quarrell of a cart-load of sheepes-skinnes? And was not the graving of a scale, the chiefe cause of the most horrible breach and topsie-turvy, that ever this worlds-frame endured? For Pompey and Caesar are but the new buddings and continuation of two others. And I have scene in my time, the wisest heads of this realme assembled with great ceremony and publike charge, about treaties and agreements, the true deciding whereof depended in the meane while absolutely and soveraignely of the will and consultations held in some Ladies pate or cabinet; and of the inclination of some silly woman. Poets have most judiciously look't into this, who but for an apple have set all Greece and Asia on fire and sword. See why that man doth hazzard both his honour and life on the fortune of his rapier and dagger; let him tell you whence the cause of that contention ariseth; he can not without blushing: so vaine and so frivolous is the occasion. To embarke him, there needes but little advisement, but being once-in, all parts doe worke; Then are greater provisions required, more difficult and important. How farre more easie is it not to enter, than to get forth? We must proceed contrary to the brier, which produceth a long and straighe stalke at the first springing; but after, as tired and out of breath, it makes many and thicke knots, as if they were pawses, shewing to have no more that vigor and constancy. Wee should rather begin gently and leasurely; and keepe our strength and breath for the perfection of the worke. We direct affaires in the beginning, and hold them at our mercy, but being once undertaken, they guide and transport us, and we must follow them. Yet may it not be said, that this counsell hath freed me from all difficulties, and that I have not beene often troubled to controle and bridle my passions: which are not alwayes governed according to the measure of occasions: whose entrances are often sharpe and violent. So is it, that thence may be reaped good fruit and profit. Except for those, who in well doing are not satisfied with any benefit, if their reputation be in question. For in truth, such an effect is not compted of but by every one to himselfe. You are thereby better satisfied, but not more esteemed, having reformed your selfe, before you come into action or the matter was in sight: yet not in this onely, but in all other duties of life, their course which aime at honour, is diverse from that, which they propound unto themselves, that follow order and reason. I finde some, that inconsiderately and furiously thrust themselves into the lists, and grow slacke



slacke in the course. As *Plutarke* saith; that Such as by the vice of bashfulness are soft and tractable to graunt whatsoever is demanded, are afterward as prone and facile to recant and breake their words. In like manner, he that enters lightly into a quarrel, is subject to leave it as lightly. The same difficulty which keepes me from embracing the same, should excite me, being once mooved and therein engaged, to continue resolute. It is an ill custome. Being once embarked, one must either goe on or linke. *Attempt coldly (sayed Byas) but pursue hotly.* For want of judgement, our hearts faile us; Which is also lesse tolerable. Most agreements of our moderne quarrels, are shamefull and false: We onely seeke to save apparances, and therewithall betray and disavow our true intentions. We save the deede: We know how wee spake it, and in what sence the by-standers know it: yea and our friends to whom we would have our advantages knowne. It is to the prejudice of our liberty and interest of our resolutions honour, that we disavow our thoughts and seeke for starting holes in falshood, to make our agreements. We bely our selves, to save a lye we have given to another. We must not looke whether your action or word may admit another interpretation, but it is your owne true and sincere construction, that you must now maintaine, whatsoever it cost you. It is to your vertue and to your conscience that men speake; parts that ought not to bee disguised. Leave we these base courses, wrangling shifts and verball meanes, to petty-fogging Lawyers. The excuses and reparations, or satisfactions, which dayly I see made, promised and given to purge indiscretion, seeme to me more foule than indiscretion it selfe. Better were it for one to offend his adversary againe, than in giving him such satisfaction, to wrong himselfe so much. You have braved him mooved by choller, and now you seeke to pacifie and flatter him in your cold and better sence: Thus you abase your selfe, more than you were before exalted. I find no speech so vicious in a Gentleman, as I deeme any recantation hee shall make, dishonorable, especially if it be wrested from him by authority: Forso much as obstinacy is in him more excusable, than cowardize. Passions are to me as easie to be avoyded, as they are difficult to be moderated. *Excinduntur facilius animo, quam temperantur.* They are more easily rooted out of the minde, than brought to good temper. He that cannot attaine to this noble Stoicall impassibility, let him throwd himselfe in the bosome of this my popular stupidity. What they did by vertue, I inure my selfe to doe by Nature. The middle region harboureth stormes; the two extreames containe Philosophers and rurall men, they concur in tranquility and good hap.

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,  
Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum  
Subjecit pedibus, Strepitumque Acherontis arant.  
Fortunatus & ille, Deos qui novit agrestes,  
Panæque, Sylvanumque senem, Nymphasque sorores.  
Happy is he that could of things the causes finde,  
And subject to his feete all fearefulnesse of minde,  
Inexorable fate, and noyse of greedy Hell.  
And happy he, with Country Gods acquainted well,  
Pan and old Sylvan knowes,  
And all the sister throwes.*

*Virg. Georg. lib. 4.  
490.*

The beginnings of all things are weake and tender. We must therefore be cleare-sighted in beginnings: For, as in their budding we discern not the danger, so in their full growth we perceive not the remedy. I should have encountred a thousand crosses, daily more hard to be digested in the course of ambition, than it hath bin uneasy for me to stay the naturall inclination, that led me unto them.

—*jura perhorruî,*  
*Latè conspicuum tollere verticem.* —  
I have beene much afraid for causes right,  
To raise my foretop far abroad to fight.

*Hor. ear. lib. 3.  
16, 18.*

All publike actions are subject to uncertaine and divers interpretations: For, too many heads judge of them. Some say of this my City-employment (whereof I am content to speake a word; not that it deserves it, but to make a shew of my manners in such things) I have demeaned my selfe like one that is too slowly mooved and with a languishing affection: And they are not altogether void of reason. I strive to keepe my minde and thoughts quiet.

*Cum  
semper*



*semper Natura, tum etiam astate jam quietus. Both ever quiet by Nature, and now because of yeeres.* And if at any time they are debauched to some rude and piercing impression, it is in truth without my consent. From which naturall slacknesse, one must not therefore inferre any prooffe of disability: For, *Want of care and lacke of judgement are two things:* And lesse unkindnesse and ingratitude toward those Citizens, who gratifie me, employed the utmost of all the meanes they could possibly; both before they knew me and since. And who did much more for me, in appointing me my charge the second time, then in choosing me the first. I love them with all my heart, and wish them all the good that may be. And truly if occasion had beene offered, I would have spared nothing to have done them service. I have stirred and laboured for them, as I doe for my selfe. They are good people, warlike and generous; yet capable of obedience and discipline, and fit for good employment, if they be well guided. They say likewise, that I passed over this charge of mine without any deede of note or great shew. It is true. Moreover, they accuse my cessation, when as all the world was convicted of too much doing: I have a most nimble motion, where my will doth carry me. But this point is an enemy unto perseverance. Whosoever will make use of me, according to my selfe, let him employ me in affaires, that require vigor and liberty: that have a short, a straight, and there withall a hazardous course: I may peradventure somewhat prevaile therein. Whereas if it be tedious, crafty, laborious, artificiall and intricate, they shall doe better to addresse themselves to some other man. All charges of importance are not difficult. I was prepared to labour somewhat more earnestly, if there had beene great neede. For it lyes in my power, to doe something more than I make shew of, and than I love to doe. To my knowledge, I have not omitted any motion that duty required earnestly at my hands. I have easily forgotten those, which ambition blendeth with duty and cloketh with her title. It is they, which most commonly fill the eyes and eares, and satisfie men. Not the thing it selfe, but the apparance payeth them. If they heare no noise, they imagine we sleepe. My humours are contrary to turbulent humors. I could pacifie an inconvenience or trouble without troubling my selfe, and chastise a disorder without alteration.

*Cic. off. lib. 2.*

Have I neede of choller and inflammation; I borrow it, and therewith maske my selfe: My maners are musty, rather wallowish then sharpe. I accuse not a Magistrate that sleepe, so they that are under it sleepe also. So sleepe the lawes. For my part, I commend a gliding, an obscure and reposed life: *Neque submissam & abiectam, neque sefferentiam. Neither too abiect and submisse, nor wanting it selfe too much.* But my fortune will have it so; I am descended of a family that hath lived without noise and tumult: and of long continuance particularly ambitious of integrity. Our men are so framed to agitation and ostentations that goodnesse, moderation, equity, constancy, and such quiet and meane qualities, are no more heard of. Rough bodies are felt, smooth ones are handled imperceptibly. Sicknesse is felt, health little or not at all: nor things that annoint us, in regard of such as sting us. It is an action for ones reputation and private commodity, and not for the common good, to refer that to be done in the market place, which a man may do in the counsell-chamber: and at noone day, what might have beene effected the night before: and to be jealous to doe that him selfe, which his fellow can performe as well. So did some Surgeons of Greece shew the operations of their skill, upon scaffolds, in view of all passengers, thereby to get more practise and custome. They suppose, that good orders cannot be understood, but by the sound of a trumpet. Ambition is no vice for petty companions, and for such endeavours as ours. One said to Alexander: your father will leave you a great commaund, easie and peacefull: the boy was envious of his fathers victories, and of the justice of his government. He would not have enjoyed the worlds Empire securely and quietly. Alcibiades in Plato, loveth rather to die yong, faire, rich, noble, learned, and all that in excellence, then to stay in the state of such a condition. This infirmity is happily excusable, in so strong and full a minde. When these petty wretched soules, are therewith enveagled; and thinke to publish their fame, because they have judged a cause rightly, or continued the order in guarding of a Cities gates; by how much more they hoped to raise their head, so much more doe they shew their simplicity. This petty well-doing, hath neither body nor life. It vanisheth in the first moneth; and walkes but from one corner of a street to another. Entertaine therewith your sonne and your servant, and spare not. As that ancient fellow, who having no other auditor of his praises & applauding of his sufficiency, boasted with his chamber-maide,



ber maide, exclaiming : Oh Perette, what a gallant and sufficient man thou hast to thy mai-  
 ster ! If the worst happen, entertaine your selves in your selves : As a Councillour of my ac-  
 quaintance, having degorged a rable of paragraphes, with an extreame contention and like  
 foolishnesse, going out of the countell chamber, to a pissing place neere unto it ; was heard  
 very conscienciously to utter these words to himselfe : *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed no-* Psal. 115. 1.  
*mini tuo da gloriam. Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory.* He that  
 cannot otherwise, let him pay himselfe out of his owne purse. Fame doth not so basely pro-  
 stitute it selfe, nor so cheape. Rare and exemplar actions, to which it duly b longerth, could  
 not brooke the company of this innumerable multitude of vulgar petty actions. *Well may*  
*a piece of marble raise your titles as high as you list, because you have repaired a piece of an olde*  
*Wall, or cleansed a common ditch, but men of judgement will never doe it.* Report followeth not  
 all goodnesse, except difficulty and rariene be joynd thereunto. Yea simple estimation, ac-  
 cording to the Stoikes, is not due to every action proceeding from vertue. Neither would  
 they have him commended, who through temperance abstaineth from an old blear ey'd  
 woman. Such as have knowen the admirable qualities of *Scipio* the Affrican, renounce the  
 glory which *Panatus* a cribeth unto him, to have abstained from gites, as a glory, not his,  
 alone, but peculiar to that age. We have pleasures sortable to our fortune ; let us not usurpe  
 those of greatnesse. Our owne are more naturall. They are the more solide and firme, by  
 how much the meaner. Since it is not for conscience, at least for ambition let us refuse am-  
 bition. Let us disdain this insatiate thirst of honour and renowne, base and beggerly,  
 which makes us so suppliantly to crave it of all sorts of people : *Que est ista laus quæ possit e*  
*macello peti ? What praise is this, which may bee fetcht out of the Shambles ?* By abject meanes, Cic. de fin. 2.  
 and at what vile rate to ever. To be thus honoured, is meere a dishonour. *Learne we to bee*  
*no more greedy of glory, then we are capable of it.* To be proud of every profitable and inno-  
 cent action, is it fit for men to whom it is extraordinary and rare. They will value it, for the  
 price it cost them. According as a good effect is more resounding ; I abate of it's goodnesse :  
 the jealousie I conceive, it is produced more because it is so resounding, than because it is  
 good. *What is set out to shew, is halfe solde.* Those actions have more grace, which carelessly and  
 vnder silence, passe from the hands of a Workeman, and which some honest man after-  
 ward chuserh and redeemerh from darkenesse, to thrust them into the worlds light ; Onely  
 for their worth. *Mihi quidem laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sine venditione, & sine populo* Cic. Tus. qu. 1. 2.  
*teste sunt: All things in sooth seeme to me more commendable that are performed with no ostentati-*  
*on; and without the people to witness,* said the most glorious man of the world. I had no care  
 but to preserve and continue, which are deafe and insensible effects. Innovation is of great  
 lustre : But interdicted in times, when we are most urged, and have to defend ourselves  
 but from novelties ; *Abstinence from doing, is often as generous, as doing : but it is not so appa-*  
*rant.* My small worth is in a manner all of this kinde. To be short, the occasions in this my  
 charge have seconded my complexion ; for which I conne them hartly thanks. Is there any  
 man that desireth to be sicke, to see his Physitian set a worke ? And *Should not that Physitian*  
*be well whipped, who to put his arte in practize, would wish the plague to infect us ?* I was never pos-  
 sessed with this impious and vulgar passion, to wish that the troubled and distemperd state  
 of this City, might raise and honour my government. I have most willingly lent them  
 my hand to further, and shoulders to aid their ease and tranquillity. He that will not thanke  
 me for the good order and for the sweet & undisturbed rest, which hath accompanied my  
 charge ; cannot at least deprive me of that part, which by the title of my good fortune  
 belongeth unto me. This is my humour, that I love as much to be happy as wise : And at-  
 tribute my successes as much to the meere grace of God, as to the meane furtherance of  
 my operation. I had sufficiently published to the World my sufficiency in managing of  
 such publike affaires : Nay, there is something in me, worse than insufficiency : Which is,  
 that I am not much displeased therewith ; and that I endeavour not greatly to cure it, conside-  
 ring the course of life I have determined to my selfe. Nor have I satisfied my selfe in this em-  
 ployment. But have almost attained what I had promised unto my selfe : Yet have I much  
 exceeded, what I had promised those, with whom I was to negotiate : For I willingly pro-  
 mise somewhat lesse, then I can performe, or hope to accomplish. Of this I am assured, I  
 have never left offence or hatred among them : To have left either regret or desire of me.  
 This know I certainly, I have not much affected it.



*Virg. Aen. lib. 5.  
849.*

——— *Méne huic considerare monstro,  
Méne salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos  
Ignorare?*

Should I this monster trust? Should I not know  
The calme Seas counterfait dissembling show,  
How quietly sometimes the foulds will go?

## CHAP. XI.

*Of the Lame or Crippel.*

**T**WO or three yeares are now past, since the yeere hath beene shortned tenne dayes in France. Oh how many changes are like to ensue this reformation! It was a right remooving of Heaven and Earth together, yet nothing remooveth from it's owne place: My Neighbours finde the season of their seede and Harvest time, the opportunity of their affaires, their lucky and unlucky dayes, to answer just those seasons to which they had from all ages assigned them. Neither was the error heretofore perceived, nor is the reformation now discerned is our use. So much uncertainty is there in all things: So grosse, so obscure and so dull in our understanding. Some are of opinion, this reformation might have bin redressed after a lesse incommodious maner; subtracting according to the example of *Augustus*, for some yeares, the bissextile or leape day: Which in some sort, is but a day of hindrance and trouble: Vntill they might more exactly have satisfied the debt: Which by this late reformation is not done: For wee are yet some dayes in arrearages: And if by such a meane, we might provide for times to come, appoynting that after the revolution of such, or such a number of yeares, that extraordinary day might for ever be eclipsed: so that our misreckoning should not henceforward exceede foure and twenty houres. Wee have no other computation of time, but yeares: The World hath used them so many ages: And yet is it a measure, we have not untill this day perfectly established. And such, as wee daily doubt, what forme other Nations have diversly given the same; and which was the true use of it. And what if some say, that the Heavens in growing olde compresse themselves towards us, and cast into an uncertainty of houres and dayes? And as *Plutarke* saith of moneths, that even in his dayes, Astrology could not yet limit the motion of the Moone? Are not we then well help-up, to keepe a register of things past? I was even now plodding (as often I doe) upon this, what free and gadding instrument humane reason is. I ordinarily see, that men, in matters proposed them, doe more willingly ammuze and busie themselves in seeking out the reasons, than in searching out the trueth of them. They omit pre-suppositions, but curiously examine consequences. They leave things, and runne to causes. Oh conceited discourses! The knowledge of causes doth onely concerne him, who hath the conduct of things: Not us, that have but the sufferance of them. And who according to our needs, without entering into their beginning and essence, have perfectly the full and absolute use of them. Nor is wine more pleasant unto him that knowes the first faculties of it. Contrariwise, both the body and the minde, interrupt and alter the sight, which they have of the worlds use and of themselves, commixing therewith the opinion of learning. The effects concerne us, but the meanes, nothing at all. To determine and distribute, belongeth to superiority and regency: as accepting, to subjection and apprenticeshippe. Let us re-assume our custome. They commonly beginne thus: *How is such a thing done?* Whereas they should say: *Is such a thing done?* Our discourse is capable to frame an hundred other Worlds, and finde the beginnings and contexture of them. It needeth neither matter nor ground. Let it but runne on: It will as well build upon emptinesse, as upon fulnesse, and with inanity as with matter.

*Perf. sat. 5. 20.*

*Dare pondus idonea fumo,*

That things which vanish straight  
In smoke, should yet beare weight,

I finde



I finde, that wee should say most times: *There is no such thing*, And I would often employ this answer; but I dare not: for they cry: It is a defeature produced by ignorance and weaknesse of spirit. And I most commonly juggle for company sake; to treat of idle subjects and frivolous discourses, which I believe nothing at all. Since truly, it is a rude and quarrelous humour, flatly to deny a proposition. And few misse (especially in things hard to be perswaded) to affirme, that they have seene it; Or to alleadge such witnesses, as their authority shall stay our contradiction. According to which use, we know the foundation and meanes of a thousand things that never were. And the world is in a thousand questions discanted and banded too & fro, the pro & contra of which is meereley false. *Ita finitima sunt falsa veris, Cic. Acad. que ut in precipitem locum non debeat se sapiens committere. Falsehood is so neere Neighbour to truth, lib. 4.* that a wiseman should not put himselfe upon a slipperie downfall. Truth and falsehood have both alike countenances, their port, their taste and their proceedings semblable, We behold them with one same eyes. I observe that we are not onely slow in defending our selves from deceit, but that we seeke and sue to embrace it. Wee love to meddle and entangle our selves with vanity, as conformable unto our being. I have seene the birth of divers miracles in my dayes. Although they be smothered in the first growth, wee omit not to foresee the course they would have taken, had they lived their full age. The matter is to finde the end of the clue; that found, one may winde-off what he list: And there is a further distance from nothing to the least thing in the World, than betwene that and the greatest. Now the first that are enbrued with the beginning of strangenesse, comming to publish their history, finde by the oppositions made against them, where the difficulty of perswasion lodgeth; and goe about with some false patch, to betch up those places. Besides that, *Insita hominibus libidine alendi de industria rumores: Men having a naturall desire to nourish reports.* We naturally make it a matter of conscience, to restore what hath been lent us, without some usury and accession of our encrease. A particular error doth first breede a publike error: And when his turne cometh, A publike error begetteth a particular error. So goeth all this vast frame, from hand to hand, confounding and composing it selfe, in such sort that the furthest-abiding testimonie, is better instructed of it, then the nearest: and the last informed, better perswaded then the first. It is naturall progresse: For, whosoever beleeveth any thing, thinkes it a deede of charity, to perswade it unto another: Which, that he may the better effect, he seareth not to adde something of his owne invention thereunto, so far as hee seeth necessary in his discourse, to supply the resistance and defect, he imagineth to bee in anothers conception. My selfe who make an especiall matter of conscience to lie, and care not greatly to add credit or authority to what I say, perceive nevertheles, by the discourses I have in hand, that being earnestted, either by the resistance of another, or by the earnestnesse of my naration; I swell and amplifie my subject by my voice, motions, vigor and force of wordes: as also by extension and amplification, not without some prejudice to the naked truth. But yet I doe it upon condition, that to the first that brings mee home againe, and enquireth for the bare and simple truth at my hands: I sodainly give over my hold, & without exaggeration, emphasis or amplification, I yeeld both my selfe and it unto him: A lively, earnest and ready speech as mine, is easie transported unto hyperboles. There is nothing whereunto men are ordinarily more prone, then to give way to their opinions. Where ever usuall meanes faile us, we adde commandement, force, fire and sword. It is not without some ill fortune to come to that passe, that the multitude of believers, in a throng where fooles doe in number so far exceede the wise, should bee the best touch-stone of truth. *Quasi vero quidquam sit tam valde, quam nil sapere vulgare. Sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba. As though any thing were so common as to have no wit. The multitude of them that are mad, is a defence for them that are in their wits.* It is a hard matter for a man to resolve his judgement against common opinions. The first perswasion taken from the very subject, seizeth on the simple: whence under th'authority of the number and antiquity of testimonies, it extends it selfe on the wiser sort. As for me, in a matter, which I could not believe being reported by one, I should never credit the same, though affirmed by a hundred. And I judge not opinions, by yeares. It is not long since one of our Princes, in whom the gowt had spoiled a gentle disposition and blith composition, suffered himselfe so far to bee perswaded or misled, by the report made unto him of the wondrous deedes of a Priest, who by way of charmes, spells and gestures cured all diseases, that he undertooke a long- tedious journey to finde him



out: and by the vertue of his apprehension did so perswade, and for certaine houres so lull his legs asleepe, that for a while hee brought them to doe him that service, which for a long time they had forgotten. Had fortune heaped five or six like accidents one in the necke of another, they had doubtles beene able to bring this miracle into nature. Whereas afterward there was so much simplicity and so little skill found in the architect of these works, that he was deemed unworthy of any punishment : As likewise should be done with most such-like things, were they thoroughly knowen in their nature. *Miramur ex intervallo fallentia: Wee wonder at those things that deceive us by distance.* Our sight doth in such sort, often represent us a farre-off with strange images, which vanish in approaching neerer. *Nanquam ad liquidum fama perducitur. Fame is never brought to be cleare.* It is a wonder, to see how from many vaine beginnings and frivolous causes, so famous impressions doe ordinarily arise and ensue. Even that hindereth the information of them : For, while a man endeavoureth to finde out causes, forcible and weighty ends, and worthy so great a name, hee loseth the true and essentiall. They are so little, that they escape our sight. And verily a right wise, heedy and subtile inquisitor is required in such questings : impartiall and not preoccupied. All these miracles and strange events, are untill this day hidden from me : I have seene no such monster, or more expresse wonder in this world, then my selfe. *With time and custome a man doth acquaint and enure himselfe to all strangeness:* But the more I frequent and know my selfe the more my deformitie astonieth me : and the lesse I understand my selfe. The chiefest priviledge to produce and advance such accidents, is reserved unto fortune. Travelling yesterday through a village, within two leagues of my house, I found the place yet warme of a miracle that was but newly failed and discovered, wherewith all the country thereabout had for many months beene amused and abused, and divers bordering Provinces began to listen unto it, and severall troupes of all qualities ceased not thicke and threefold to flocke thither. A yong man of that towne, undertooke one night in his owne house (never dreaming of any knavery) to counterfeite the voice of a spirit or ghost, but onely for sport, to make himselfe merry for that present, which succeeding better then he had imagined ; to make the jest extend further, and himselfe the merrier, he made a country-maiden acquainted with his devise; who because she was both seely and harmelesse, consented to bee secret and to second him: In the end they got another, and were now three, all of one age and like sufficiency : and from private spirit-talking, they beganne with hideous voices to cry and roare aloud, and in, and about churches hiding themselves under the chiefe Altar, speaking but by night, forbidding any light to be set up : From speeches tending the worlds subversion, and threatning of the day of judgement (which are the subjects, by whose authority and abusive reverence, imposture and lusion, is more easily lurked) they proceeded to certaine visions and strange gestures, so foolish and ridiculous, that there is scarce any thing more grosse and absurd used among Children, in their childish sports. Suppose I pray you, that fortune would have seconded this harmelesse devise or juggling tricke ; Who knoweth how farre it would have extended, and to what it would have growen ? The poore seely three Divels are now in prison, and may happily ere long pay deere for their common foolishnesse, and I wot not whether some cheverell judge or other, will be avenged of them for his. It is manifestly seene in this, which now is discovered, as also in divers other things of like quality, exceeding our knowledge ; I am of opinion that we uphold our judgement, as wel to reject, as to receive. Many abuses are engendered into the World; or to speake more boldly, all the abuses of the World are engendered upon this, that wee are taught to feare to make profession of our ignorance, and are bound to accept and allow, all that wee cannot refuse. Wee speake of all things by precepts and resolution. The Stile of Rome did beare, that even the same, that a witnes deposed, because he had seen it with his own eyes, and that which a Judge ordained of his most assured knowledge, was coceived in this form of speech *It seemeth so unto me.* I am drawn to hate likely things, when men goe about to set them downe as infallible. I love these words or phrases, which mollifie and moderate the temerity of our propositions : *It may be : Peradventure : In some sort : Some : It is saide : I thinke,* and such like : And had I beene to instruct children, I would so often have put this manner of answering in their mouth; enquiring, and not resolving : *What meanes it ? I understand it not : It may well bee : Is it true ?* that they should rather have kept the forme of learners, untill three score yecres of age, than present themselves Doctors at 15, as many doe. *Who-soever*



soever will be cured of ignorance, must confesse the same. *Iris* is the daughter of *Thaumantis*, *Admiration* is the ground of all *Philosophy*: *Inquisition* the progresse: *Ignorance* the end. Yea but there is some kinde of ignorance strong and generous, that for honor and courage is nothing beholding to knowledge: An ignorance, which to conceive rightly, there is required no lesse learning, than to conceive true learning.

Being yong, I saw a law-case, which *Corras* a Counsellor of *Thoulouse* caused to be printed of a strange accident of two men, who presented themselves one for another. I remember (and I remember nothing else so well) that me thought, he proved his imposture, whom he condemned as guilty, so wondrous strange and so far-exceeding both our knowledge and his owne, who was judge, that I found much boldnes in the sentence which had condemned him to be hanged. Let us receive some forme of sentence that may say: *The Court understands nothing of it*; more freely and ingenuously, than did the *Areopagites*; who finding themselves urged and entangled in a case they could not well cleare or determine, appointed the parties to come againe and appeare before them a hundred yeares after. The witches about my country, are in hazard of their life, upon the opinion of every new authour, that may come to give their dreames a body. To apply such examples as the holy Word of God offeth us of such things (assured and irrefragable examples) and ioynethem to our moderne events, since we neyther see the causes nor meanes of them, some other better wit then ours is thereunto required. Peradventure it appertaineth to that onely most-mighty testimony, to tell us: This here, and that there; and not this other are of them. God must be beleaved; and good reason he should be so. Yet is there not one amongst us, that will be amazed at his owne narration (and he ought necessarily to be astonished at it, if he be not out of his wits) whether he employ it about others matters; or against himselfe. I am plaine and homely, and take hold on the maine point, and on that which is most likely; avoiding ancient reproches. *Majorem fidem homines adhibent iis quæ non intelligunt. Cupidine humani ingeni libentius obscura creduntur.* Men give more credit to things they understand not: Things obscure are more willingly beleaved through a strange desire of mans wit. I see that men will be angry: and am forbid to doubt of it upon paine of execrable injuries. A new manner of perfwading. *Mercy for Gods sake.* My believe is not carried away with blowes. Let them tyranniz: over such as accuse their opinion of falsehood; I onely accuse mine of difficulty and boldnesse. And equally to them I condemne the opposite affirm a tion: if not so imperiously. He that with bravery and by commandement will establish his discourse, declareth his reason to bee weake: For a verball and scholasticall altercation, that they have as much apparance as their contradictors. *Videantur sandè, non affirmantur modò.* Indee de let them seeme, so they bee not avouched. But in effectuall consequence they draw from it, these have great ods. *To kill men; there is required a bright-shining and cleare light.* And our life is over-reall and essentiall, to warrant these supernaturall and fantasticall accidents. As for drugges and poisons, they are out of my element: they are homicides, and of the worst kinde. In which neverthelesse, it is said, that one must not alwayes rely upon the meere confession of those people: For, they have sometin es beene seene to accuse themselves, to have made away men which were both sound and living. In these other extravagant accusations, I should asily say that it sufficeth what commendations soever he hath, a man be believed in such things as are humane: but of such as are beyond his conception and of a supernaturall effect, he ought then only be believed when a supernatural approbation hath authorized him. That priviledge it hath pleased God to give some of our testimonies, ought not to bee vilified, or slightly communicated. Mine eares are full of a thousand such tales. Three saw him such a day in the East; three saw him the next day in the west, at such an houre, in such a place, and thus and thus attired, verily in such a case I could not beleieve my selfe. How much more naturall and more likely doe I finde it, that two men should lie, then one in twelve houres, passe with the windes, from East to West? How much more naturall, that our understanding may by the volubility of our loose-capturing minde be transported from his place? then that one of us should by a strange spirit, in flesh and bone, be carried upon a broome through the tunnell of a chimney? Let us, who are perpetually tossed too and fro with domesticall and our owne illusions, not seeke for forraine and unknownen illusions. I deeme it a matter pardonable, not to beleieve a wonder, so far forth at least as one may divert and exlude the verification by no miraculous way. And I follow Saint *Augustines* opinion, that a man were



better bend towards doubt, than encline towards certaintie, in matters of difficult triall and dangerous beliefe. Some yeares are now past, that I travelled through the country of a soveraigne Prince: who in favour of mee, and to abate my incredulity, did mee the grace, in his owne presence, and in a particular place, to make mee see tenne or twelve prisoners of that kinde; and amongst others an olde beldam witch, a true and perfect forceresse, both by her ugliness and deformity; and such a one as long before was most famous in that profession. I sawe both proofes, witnesses, voluntary confessions, and some other insensible markes about this miserable olde woman, I enquired and talked with her a long time, with the greatest heed and attention I could, yet am I not easily carried away by preoccupation. In the end, and in my conscience, I should rather have appointed them Helleborum, than Hemlocke. *Captis- que res magis mentibus, quam consceleratis similis visa.* The matter seemed liker to mindes captivate than guiltie. Law hath her owne corrections for such diseases. Touching the oppositions and arguments, that honest men have made unto mee, both there, and often elsewhere, I have found none that tie mee; and that admit not alwaies a more likely solution, than their conclusions. True it is, that proofes and reasons grounded upon the fact and experience. I make not: for indeede they have no end; but often cut them, as Alexander did his knot. When all is done, it is an over-valuing of ones conjectures, by them to cause a man to be burned alive. It is reported by divers examples (and *Prestantius* saith of his father) that being in a slumber much more deeply, then in a full-sound sleepe, he dreamed and verily thought himselfe to be a Mare, and served certaine souldiers for a sumpter horse, and was indeede what he imagine d to bee. If forcerers dreame thus materially: If dreames may sometimes be thus incorporated into effects: I cannot possibly believe, that our will should therefore be bound to the lawes and justice: which I say, as one who am neither a Iudge, nor a Counsellor unto kings, and furrthest from any such worthinesse: but rather a man of the common stamp, and both by my deedes & sayings, borne & vowed to the obedience of publique reason. Hee that should register my humours, to the prejudice of the simplest law, or opinion, or custome of this villag, should greatly wrong himselfe, and injure me as much. For in what I say, I gape for no other certaintie, but that such was then my thought. A tumultuous & wavering thought. It is by way of discourse that I speake of all; and of nothing by way of advise. *Nec me pudet, ut istos, fateri nescire, quod nesciam.* Nor am I ashamed, as they are to confesse I know not that which I doe not know.

I would not be so hardy to speake, if of duty I ought to bee believed: and so I answered a great man, who blamed the sharpnesse and contention of my exhortations. When I see you bent and prepared on one side; with all the endeavour I can, I will propose the contrary unto you, to resolve and enlighten your judgement, not to subdue or binde the same: God hath your hearts in his hands, and hee will furnish you with choise. I am not so malapert, as to desire, that my opinions alone, should give way to a matter of such importance. My fortune hath not raised them to so powerfull and deepe conclusions. Truly, I have not onely a great number of complexions, but an infinite many of opinions, from which, had I a sonne of mine owne, I would disswade him, and willingly make him to distaste them. What? If the truest are not ever the most commodious for man, he being of so strange and untamed a composition: Whether it be to the purpose, or from the purpose, it is no great matter. It is a common Proverbe in *Italie*, that *He knowes not the perfect pleasure of Venus, that hath not laine with a limping Woman*. Either fortune, or some particular accident have long since brought this by saying in the peoples mouth: and it is as well spoken of men as of women: For the *Queene* of the *Amazons* answered the *Scirhian*, that wooed her to loves-embracements. *ἀγιστὰ χερσὶς ἀνείη.* The crooke hand doth it best. In that feminine common-wealth of theirs, to avoyde the domination of men, they were wont in their infancy to maim them, both their armes and legges and other limmes, that might any way advantage their strength over them, and make onely that use of them, that we in our World make of our Women. I would have saide, that the loose or disjoynted motion of a limping or crooke-backed Woman, might adde some new kinde of pleasure unto that businesse or sweet sinne, and some un-affraid sensuall sweetnesse, to such as make triall of it: but I have lately learnt, that even ancient Philosophy hath decided the matter. Who saith, that the legs and thighs of the crooked-backed or halting-lame, by reason of their imperfection, not receiving the nourishment, due unto them, it followeth that the Genital parts, that are above them



them, are more full, better nourished and more vigorous. Or else, that such a defect hindring other exercise, such as are therewith possessed, do lesse waste their strength and consume their vertue, and so much the stronger and fuller, they come to *Venus* sports. Which is also the reason why the Græcians described their Women-Weavers, to bee more hotte and earnestly-luxurious, than other Women: Because of their sitting-trade, without any violent exercise of the body. What cannot we dispute of according to that rate? I might likewise say of these, that the same stirring, which their labour, so sitting doth give them, doth rouse and sollicite them, as the jogging and shaking of their Coache, doth our Ladies. Do not these examples fit that whercof I spake in the beginning? That our reasons doe often anticipate the effect, and have the extension of their jurisdiction so infinire, that they judge and exercise themselves in inanity, and to a not being? Besides the flexibilitie of our invention, to frame reasons unto all manner of dreames; our imagination is likewise found easie to receive impressions from falsehood, by very frivolous apparances. For, by the onely authoritie of the antient and publike use of this word or phrase, I have heretofore perswaded my selfe, to have received more pleasure of a Woman, in that she was not straight, and have accompted hir crookednesse in the number of hir graces. *Torquato Tasso*, in the comparison he makes betweene *Italy* and *France*, reporteth to have noted, that we commonly have more slender and spiny legges, than the Italian Gentlemen; and imputeth the cause unto our continuall riding and sitting on horse-backe. Which is the very same, from which *Suetonius* draweth another cleane contrary conclusion: For, he saith, that *Germanicus* had by the frequent use of this exercise, brought his to be very big. *There is nothing so supple and wandering, as our understanding.* It is like to *Theramenez* shooe, fit for all feet. It is double and diverse, and so are matters diverse and double. Give me a Dragme of Silver, said a Cinicke Philosopher unto *Antigonus*: It is not the present of a King, answered he, Give then a talent: It is no gift for a Cinicke, quoth he:

*Sen plures calor ille vias, & ceca relaxat  
Spiramenta, novas veniat qua succus in herbas:  
Sen durat magis, & venas astringit hiantes,  
Ne tennes pluvia, rapidive potentia solis  
Acrior, aut Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat.  
Whether the heate layes open holes unscene,  
Whereby the sappe may passe to hearbs fresh-greene:  
Or rather hardens and bindes gaping vaines,  
Left sharpe power of hot sunne, or thinning raines:  
Of piercing North-cold blaste,  
Should scorch, consume and waste,*

*Virg. Georg. l. 5.  
89.*

*Ogni medaglia ha il suo reverso; Each outside hath his inside*, saith the Italian. Lo why *Chitomachus* was wont to say, that *Carneades* had surmounted the labours of *Hercules*; because he had exacted consent from men; that is to say, opinion and temerity to judge. This fantastic of *Carneades*, so vigorous (as I imagine) proceeded antiently, from the impudency of those, who make profession to know, and from their excessive selfe-overweening. *Aesope* was set to sale, together with two other slaves; a Chapman enquired of the first, what he could doe, he to endear himselfe, answered, mountaine and wonders, and what not? For he knew and could doe all things. The second answered even so for himselfe, and more too: But when he came to *Aesope*, and demaunded of him what he could doe. Nothing (said he) for these two have forestaled all, and know and can doe all things, and have left nothing for mee. So hath it happened in the schoole of philosophy. The rashnes of those who ascribed the capacity of all things to mans wit, through spight and emulation produced this opinion in others, that humane wit was not capable of any thing. Some holde the same extremity in ignorance, that others hold in knowledge. To the end none may deny, that man is not immoderate in all and every where: and hath no other sentence or arrest, than that of necessity, and impuissance to proceede further.



## CHAP. XII.

## Of Physiognomy.

**A**Lmost all the opinions we have, are taken by authority, and upon credit: There is no hurt. We cannot chuse worse then by our selves, in so weake an age. This image of *Socrates* his discourse, which his friends have left us, we onely approve it, by the reverence of publicke approbation. It is not of our owne knowledge: they are not according to our use. Might such a man be borne now adayes, there are but few would now esteeme him. Wee discern not graces inly or aright; We onely perceive them by a false light set out and puffed up with arte: Such as passe under their naturall purity and simplicity, doe easily escape so weake and dimme a sight as ours is. They have a secret, unperceived and delicate beauty: he had neede of a cleere, farre-seeing and true-discerning sight, that should rightly discover this secret light. Is not ingenuity (according to us) cosin germaine unto sottishnesse, and a quality of reproach? *Socrates* maketh his soule to moove, with a naturall and common motion. Thus saith a plaine Country-man, and thus a seely Woman: Hee never hath other people in his mouth, than Coach-makers, Ioyners, Coblers, and Masons. They are inductions and similitudes, drawn from the most vulgar and knowen actions of men: every one understands him. Vnder so base a forme, wee should never have chosen the noble worthinesse and brightnesse of his admirable conceptions: Wee that esteeme all choise but meane and vile, that learning doth not raise: and who have no perceiving of riches, except set out in shew and pompe. Our World is framed but unto ostentation. Men are puffed up with winde, and moved or handled by bounds, as Balloones. This man proposeth no vaine fantasies unto himselfe. His end was, to store us with things and furnish us with precepts, which really more substantially and joyntly serve our life:

*Lutan. bel. cu.  
lib. 2. 380.*

— *scilicet modum, finemque tenere,  
Naturamque sequi.*  
To keepe a meane, to hold the end,  
And natures conduct to attend.

So was he ever all one a like: And raised himselfe to the highest pitch of vigor, not by fits, but by complexion. Or to say better; he raised nothing, but rather brought downe and reduced all difficulties, or sharpnesse to their originall and naturall state, and thereunto subdued vigor. For, in *Cato*, it is manifestly scene, to be an out-right proceeding, far-above and beyond the common: By the brave exploits of his life, and in his death, hee is ever perceived to be mounted upon his great horses. Whereas this man keeps on the ground, and with a gentle and ordinary pace, treateth of the most profitable discourses, and addresseth himselfe both unto death and to the most thorny and crabbed crosses, that may happen unto the course of humane life. It hath indeede fortun'd; that the worthiest man to be knowne, and for a patterne to be presented to the world, he is the man of whom we have most certain knowledge. Hee hath beene declared and enlightened by the most cleere-seeing men, that ever were; the testimonies wee have of him, are in faithfulness and sufficiency most admirable. It is a great matter, that ever he was able to give such order unto the pure imaginations of a childe, that without altering or wresting them, he hath thence produced the fairest effects of our minde. He neither represents it rich nor high raised: but sound and pure: and ever with a blithe and undefiled health. By these vulgar springs and naturall wards: by these ordinary and common fantasies, sans mooving or without urging himselfe, hee erected not onely the most regular, but the highest and most vigorous opinions, actions and customes, that ever were. He it is, that brought humane wisdom from heaven againe, where for a long time it had beene lost, to restore it unto man: where her most just and laborious worke is. See or heare him pleade before his judges; marke with what reasons he rouseth his courage to the hazards of warre, what arguments fortifie his patience against detraction, calumny, tyranny, death, and against his wives peevish head: therein is nothing



thing borrowed from art, or from learning. The simplest may there know their meanes and might: it is impossible to goe further backe or lower. He hath done humane nature a great kindnesse, to shew what and how much she can doe of her selfe. We are every one richer then we imagine, but we are taught to borrow, and instructed to shift; and rather to make use of others goods & meanes, then of our owne. There is nothing whereon man can stay or fix himselfe in time of his need. Of voluptuousnesse, of riches, of pleasure, of power, he ever embraceth more then he can graspe or hold. His greedinesse is incapable of moderation. The very same I finde to be in the curiosity of learning and knowledge: he cuts out more worke then he can well make an end of: and much more then he neede. Extending the profit of learning, as farre as his matter. *Ut omnium rerum, sic literarum quoque intemperantia laboramus.* Sen. Epist. 106. 5.  
*We are sicke of a surfet, as of all things, so of learning also.* And Tacitus hath reason to commend Agricolaes mother, to have bridleed in her sonne an over-burning and earnest desire of learning. It is a good, being neerely looked unto, that containeth as other humane goods, much peculiar vanity and naturall weakenesse: and is very chargeable. The acquisition and purchase whereof is much more hazardous, then of all other viands and beverage. For, whatsoever else we have bought, we carry home in some vessell or other, where we have law to examine it's worth: how much, and at what time we are to take it. But Sciences, we cannot so dainly put them into any other vessell, then our minde: wee swallow them in buying them, and goe from the market, either already infected or amended. There are some, which instead of nourishing, doe but hinder and surcharge us; and other some, which under colour of curing, empoison us. I have taken pleasure in some place, to see men, who for devotions sake have made a vow of ignorance, as of chastity, poverty and penitence. It is also a kind of guelding of our inordinate appetites, to muzzle this greedinesse, which provoketh us to the study of bookes, & depriveth the mind of that voluptuous delight, which by the opinion of learning doth so tickle us. And it is richly to accomplish the vow of poverty, to joyn that of the minde unto it, *We neede not much learning for to live at ease.* And Socrates teacheth us, that we have both it, and the way to finde and make use of it, within us. All our sufficiency, that is beyond the naturall, is well nigh vaine & superfluous. It is much, if it charge & trouble us no more, then it steads us. *Paucis opus est literis ad mentem bonam.* Sen. ibid.  
*We have neede of little learning to have a good minde.* They are febricitant excesse of our spirit: a turbulent and unquiet instrument. Rowze up your selfe, and you shall finde forcible arguments against death to be in your selfe; most true and very proper to serve and steade you in time of necessity. 'Tis they which induce a peasant swaine, yea & whole nations to die as constantly as any Philosopher. Should I have died lesse merily before I read the *Tusculanes*? I thinke not. And when I finde my selfe in my best wits, I perceive, that I have somewhat enriched my tongue; my courage but little. It is even as nature framed the same at first. And against any conflict, it shields it selfe, but with a naturall and common march. Bookes have not so much served mee for instruction, as exercitation. What if learning, assaying to arme us with new wards and fences, against naturall inconveniences, hath more imprinted their greatnesse and weight in our fantasie, then her reasons, quiddities and subtilities, therewith to cover us? They are subtilities indeed; by which she often awaketh us very vainely. Observe how many sleight and idle arguments the wisest and closest authors frame and catter about one good sound: which if you consider neerely, are but vaine and incorporall. They are but verball wiles, which beguile us. But forsomuch as it may be profitable: I will not otherwise blanch them. Many of that condition are scattered here and there, in divers places of this volume; either borrowed or imitated. Yet should a man somewhat heed, he call not that force, which is but quaintnes: or terme that which is but quipping sharpe, solide; or name that good, which is but faire: *que magis gustata quam posata delectant, which more delight us being but tasted, then swild & swallowed downe.* Ch. Tuscul. 2. 5.  
All that which pleaseth feedeth not; *ubi non ingenis sed animi negotium agitur. Where it is no matter of wit, but of courage.* To see the struggling endeavors which Seneca giveth himselfe, to prepare himselfe against death; to see him sweate with panting; to see him bathe so long upon this pearch, thereby to strengthen and assure himselfe: I should have made question of his reputation, had he not most undantedly maintained the same in his death. His so violent & frequent agitation, sheweth that himselfe was fervent and impetuous. *Magnus animus remissius loquitur, & securius: Non est alius ingenio, alius animo color.* Sen. Epist. 11. 3.  
A great courage speakes softly but securely. *Wis hath not one colour and courage another.*



ther. He must be convicted at his owne charges. And sheweth in some sort, that he was pre-  
 sed by his adversary. *Plutarkes* maner by how much more disdainfull and farre-extending  
 it is (in my opinion) so much more manlike and perswasive is it: I should easily beleeeve, that  
 his soule had her motions more assured and more regular. The one more sharpe, pricketh &  
 sodainely starts us: toucheth the spirit more. The other more solide, doth constantly en-  
 forme, establish and comfort us: toucheth more the understanding. That ravisheth our  
 judgement: this doth gaine it. I have likewise seene other compositions and more reveren-  
 ced, which in puttraying the combate, they endure against the provocations of the flesh, re-  
 present them so violent, so powerfull and invincible, that our selves, who are cast in the com-  
 mon mould of other men, have as much to admire the unknowne strangenesse and unfelt vi-  
 gor of their temptation, as their constant resistance. To what purpose do we to arme and steele  
 our selves with these labouring-efforts of learning? Let us diligently survey the surface of  
 the earth, and there consider so many seely-poor people as we see toyling, sweltring and  
 drooping about their businesse, which never heard of *Aristotle*, nor of *Plato*, nor ever knew  
 what examples or precepts are. From those doth nature dayly draw and affoord us effects of  
 constancy and patternes of patience, more pure and forcible, then are those, we so curiously  
 study-for in schooles. How many do I ordinarily see, that misacknowledge poverty; how  
 many that wish for death, or that passe it without any alaram or affliction? A fellow that  
 dungeth my garden, hath happily this morning buried his father or his childe. The very  
 names whereby they call diseases, doe somewhat mylden and diminish the sharpnes of them.  
 With them a *Phisique* or consumption of the lungs, is but an ordinary cough: A *dysentery*  
 or bloody flux, but a distemper of the stomacke: A pleurisie but a cold or murre: and as they  
 gently name them, so they easily endure them. Grievous are they indeed, when they hin-  
 der their ordinary labour or breake their usall rest: They will not take their beds but when  
 they shall dy. *Simplex illa & aperta virtus in obscuram & solertem scientiam versa est. That plaine*  
*and cleare vertue is turned into obscure and cunning knowledge.* I was writing this about a time  
 that a boistrous storme of our tumultuous broiles and bloody troubles, did for many months  
 space, with all its might and horrore, hang full over my head. On the one side, I had the  
 enemies at my gates; on the other, the *Picoreurs* or free-booters, farre worse foes. *Non ar-*  
*mis sed vitis certatur. We contend not with armour, but with vices.* And at onetime felt and en-  
 dured all manner of harme-bringing military injuries:

Ovid. Pont. l. 1.  
 el. 55:

*Hæsis adest dextra lavæque à parvo timendus,*  
*Vicinoque malo terret ntrūque latus.*  
 A fearefull foe on left hand and on right,  
 Doth with his neighbour harmes both sides afright.

Oh monstrous Warre: Others worke without; this inwardly and against hir selfe: And  
 with her owne venome gnaweth and consumes her selfe. It is of so ruinous and malignant a  
 Nature; that together with all things els, she ruineth her selfe: and with spitefull rage, doth  
 rent, deface and massacre it selfe. We doe more often see it, by and through hir selfe, to wast,  
 to desolate and dissolve hir selfe, then by or through want of any necessary thing, or by ene-  
 mies force. All manner of discipline doth shunne and flie it. She commeth to cure sedition,  
 and hir selfe is throughly therewith infected: She goeth about to chastize disobedience, and  
 sheweth the example of it: and being employed for the defence of Lawes, entrencheth into actu-  
 all rebellion against her owne ordinances. Aye me, where are we? Our *Phisicke* bringeth  
 infection.

*Nostre mal s'empoisonne*  
*Du secours qu'on luy donne.*  
 Our evill is empoysond more  
 By plaister they would lay to th'fore.

Virg. Aen. l. 12.  
 46.

— *exuperat magis agrosque medendo.*

It rises higher, quicker,  
 And growes by curing sicker,

Catal. Argon. v.  
 405.

*Omnia fanda nefanda malo permista furore,*  
*Injusticam nobis mentem avertere Deorum.*

Lawfull



Lawfull unlawfull deeds with fury blended,  
Have turn'd from us the Gods just minde offended.

In these popular diseases, one may in the beginning distinguish the sound from the sicke: but if they chance to continue any time; as ours hath done and doth still, all the body, yea head and heeles feeble then selves the worse: no part is exempted from corruption. For, *there is no aire a man draws; so greedily, or sucks so gluttonously; and that more spreads it selfe, or penetrates more deeply, then aosh licentiousnesse.* Our Armies have no other bond to tie them, or other cymment to fasten them, then what commeth from strangers: It is now a hard matter to frame a body of a compleate, constant, well-ordered and coherent Army of Frenchmen: Oh what shame is it? We have no other discipline, then what borrowed or auxiliar Souldiers shew us. As for us, we are led-on by our owne discretion and not by the commanders; each man followeth his owne humour: and hath more to doe within, then without. It is the commandement should follow, court and yeeld unto: her onely ought to obey: all the rest is free and loose. I am pleased to see, what remissnesse and pusillanimity is in ambition, & by what steps of abjection and servitude, it must arrive unto in's end. But I am displeased to see some debonaire and well-meaning minds, yea such as are capable of justice, dayly corrupted, about the managing and commanding of this many-headed confusion, *Long sufferance begets custome; custome, consent and imitation.* We had too-too many infected and ill-borne minds, without corrupting the good, the sound and the generous. So that, if we continue any time, it will prove a difficult matter to finde out a man unto whose skill and sufficiency, the health or recovery of this state may be committed in trust, if fortune shall happily bepleased to restore it us againe.

*Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere seclo,  
Ne prohibete,*

Forbid not yet this youth at least,  
To aide this age more then opprest.

What is become of that ancient precept; *That Souldiers ought more to feare their Generall than their enemy?* And of that wonderfull examplelesse example: That the Romane army having upon occasion enclosed within her trenches, and round-beset an apple orchard; so obedient was she to her Captaines, that the next morning, it rose and marched away without entering the same or touching one apple, although they were full-ripe & very delicious: So that when the owner came, he found the full number of his apples? I should be glad, that our Youths, in steade of the time they employ about lesse profitable peregrinations, and lesse honourable apprenticeships, would bestow one moiety, in seeing & observing the warres that happen on the sea, under some good Captaine or excellent commander of *Malta*; the other moiety in learning and surveying the discipline of the Turkish armies. For it hath many differences and advantages over ours. This ensueth, that here our Souldiers become more licentious in expeditions, there they prove more circumspect and fearfully wary. For, small offences and petty larcenies, which in times of peace, are in the common people punished with whipping and bastinadoes, in times of warre are capitall crimes. For an egge taken by a Turke without paying, he is by their law to have the full number of fifty stripes with a cudgell. For every other thing, how sleight soever, not necessary for mans feeding, even for very trifles, they are either thrust through with a sharpe stake, which they call Empaling, or pretently beheaded. I have beene amazed, reading the story of *Selim*, the cruellest Conqueror that ever was, to see, at what time he subdued the Country of *Egypte*, the beauteous gardens round about *Damasco*, all open and in a conquered country; his maine army lying encamped round about, those gardens were left untouched and unspoyled by the hands of his Souldiers, onely because they were commanded to spoyle nothing, and had not the watch-word of pillage. But, is there any malady in a Common-weale, that deterveth to be combated by so mortall drugges? No saide *Favonius*, not so much as the usurpation of the tyranicall possession of a Common wealth. *Plato* likewise is not willing one should offer violence to the quiet repose of his-Country, no nor to reforme or cure the same; and alloweth not that reformation, which disturbeth or hazardeth the whole estate; and which is purchased with the blood and ruine of the Citizens. Establishing the office of an honest man, in these causes, to leave all there: But onely to pray God, to lend his extraordinary assisting hand unto it. And seemeth to be offended with *Dyon* his great friend, to have therein



therein proceeded somewhat otherwise. I was a Platonist on that side before ever I knew there had been a *Plato* in the world, And if such a man ought absolutely be banished our commerce, and refused our society: (he who for the sincerity of his conscience, deserved by meane of divine favour, athwart the publique darknesse, and through the generall ignorance of the world wherein he lived, so farre to enter and so deeply to penetrate into christian light) I doe not thinke, that it befitteeth us, to be instructed by a Pagan. Oh what impiety is it, to expect from God no succour simply his, and without our cooperation. I often doubt, whether amongst so many men, that meddle with such a matter, any hath beene found of so weake an understanding, that hath earnestly beene perswaded, he proceeded toward reformation, by the utmost of deformations; that he drew toward his salvation, by the most expresse causes, that we have of undoubted damnation: that overthrowing policy, disgracing magistrates, abusing lawes, under whose tuition God hath placed him; filling brotherly mids and loving hearts, with malice, hatred and murder; calling the Devils & furies to his helpe; he may bring assistance to the most sacred mildnesse and justice of divine Law. Ambition, avarice, cruelty and revenge have not sufficient proppes and naturall impetuosity; let us allure and stirre them up by the glorious title of justice and devotion. *There can no worse estate of things be imagined, than where wickednesse commeth to be lawfull:* And with the Magistrates leave, to take the cloake of vertue: *Nihil in speciem fallacius, quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen pretenditur sceleribus.* *There is nothing more deceitfull to shew, than corrupt religion, when the power of Heaven is made a pretence and cloake for wickednesse.* The extreame kinde of injustice (according to *Plato*) is, that that which is unjust should be held for just. The common people suffered therein greatly then; not onely present losses,

—undiq; totis.

*Vsq; adeo turbatur agris.* —

Such revell and tumultuous rout

In all the country round about.

But also succeeding dammages. The living were faine to suffer, so did such as then were scarce borne. They were robbed and pilled, and by consequence so was I, even of hope: spoiling & depriving them of all they had to provide their living for many yeares to come.

*Qua nequeunt secum ferre aut abducere, perdunt,*

*Et cremat insontes turba scelestâ casas:*

*Muris nulla fides, squallens popularibus agri.*

They wretch-lesse spoyle and spill what draw or drive they may not,

Guilty rogues to set fire on guilt-lesse houses stay not.

In wals no trust, the field

By spoyle growes waste and wilde.

Besides these mischiefs, I endured some others. I incurred the inconveniences that moderation bringeth in such diseases. I was shaven on all hands: To the Ghibelin I was a Guelf, to Guelf a Ghibelin. Some one of my Poets expresth as much, but I wor not where it is. The situation of my house, and the acquaintance of such as dwelt round about me, presented me with one visage; my life and actions with another. No formall accusations were made of it; for there was nothing to take hold of. I never opposed my selfe against the lawes; and who had called me in question, should have lost by the bargain. They were mute suspicions, that ranne under hand, which never want apparance in so confused a hurly-burly, no more than lacke of envious or foolish wits. I commonly affoord ayde unto injurious presumption, that fortune scattereth against me; by a fashion I never had, to avoid justifying, excusing or interpreting my selfe; deeming it to be a putting of my conscience to compromise, to pleade for hir, *Perspicuitas enim, argumentatione elevatur:* *For the clearing of a cause, is lessened by the arguing.* And as if every man saw into mee as cleare as I doe my selfe, in lieu of withdrawing, I advance my selfe to the accusation and rather endear it, by an erroneous and scoffing confession: except I flatly hold my peace, as of a thing unworthy any answer. But such as take it for an over-proud confidence, doe not much lesse disesteeme and hate me for it, than such as take it for weaknesse of an indefensible cause. Namely the great, with whom want of submission, is the extreame fault. Rude to all justice, that is knowne or felt: not demisse, humble or suppliant. I have often stumbled against that pil-



er. So it is, that by the harmes which befell mee, an ambitious man would have hanged himselfe; and so would a covetous churle. I have no care at all to acquire or get,

*Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam*

*Quod superest avi, si quid superesse volent dii.*

Let me have, that I have, or lesse, so I may live

Vnto my selfe the rest, if any rest God give.

*Hor. lib. 1. epist.  
18. 107.*

But losses that come unto me by others injury, be in larceny or violence, pinch me, in a manner as one sicke and tortured with avarice. *An offence causeth undoubtedly more grieve and sharpnesse, than a losse.* A thousand severall kindes of mitchiefes fell upon me one in the necke of another; I should more stoutly have endured them, had they come all at once. I bethought my selfe, amongst my friends, to whom I might commit a needy, a defective and unfortunate olde age: But after I had surveyed them all, and cast mine eyes every where, I found my selfe bare and far to seeke. For one to sowe himselfe downe headlong, and from so great a height, he should heedily fore-cast that it may be in the armes of a solide, stedfast, vigorous and fortunate affection. They are rare, if there be any. In the end I perceived the best and safest way, was to trust both my selfe and my necessity, unto my selfe. And if it should happen to be but meanly and faintly in Fortunes grace, I might more effectually recommend my selfe unto mine owne favour, more closely fasten and more neerely looke unto my selfe. In all things men relie upon strange props, to spare their owne: onely certaine and onely powerfull, knew they but how to arme themselves with them. Every man runneth out and unto what is to come, because no man is yet come into himselfe. And I resolved, that they were profitable inconveniences: forsomuch as when reason will not serve, we must first warne untoward Scholars with the rod; as with fire and violence of wedges, we bring a crooked peece of wood to be straight. It is long since I call, to keepe my selfe unto my selfe, and live sequestred from alien and strange things notwithstanding I daily start out and cast mine eyes aside. Inclination, a great mans favourable word, a kind looke doth tempt me, God he knowes whether there be penury of them now-a-dayes, and what sense they beare. I likewise, without frowning, listen to the subornings, framed to draw mee to some towne of merchandise or city of trafficke; and so coldly defend my selfe, that it seemes I should rather endure to be overcome, than not. Now to a spirit so indocile, blowes are required: and this vessell, that of it selfe is so ready to warpe, to unhoope, to escape and fall in peeces, must be closed, hooped and strongly knockt with an adze. Secondly, that this accident served me as an exercitation to prepare my selfe for worse, if worse might happen: if I, who both by the benefit of fortune and condition of my maners, hoped to bee of the last, should by this tempest be one of the first surprised. Instructing my selfe betimes, to force my life and frame it for a new state. True. perfect liberty, is, for one to be able to doe & work all things upon himselfe. *Potentissimus est qui se habet in potestate. Hee is of most power, that keeps himselfe in his owne power.* In ordinary and peacefull times, a man prepares himselfe for common and moderate accidents: but in this confusion, wherein we have beene these thirty yeeres, every French man, be it in generall or in particular, doth hourly see himselfe upon the point of his fortunes overthrow and downfall. By so much more ought each one have his courage stored, and his minde fraughted, with more strong and vigorous provisions: Let us thanke Fortune, that hath not made us live in an effeminate, idle and languishing age: Some, whom other meanes could never bring unto it, shall make themselves famous by their misfortunes. As I read not much in Histories, these confusions of other states, without regret, that I could not better them present; So doth my curiosity make me somewhat please my selfe, with mine eyes to see this notable spectacle of our publike death: her symptomes and formes, And since I could not hinder the same, I am content to be appointed as an assistant unto it, & therby instruct my selfe. Yet seeke we evidently to know in shadowes, and understand by fabulous representations upon Theaters, to shew of the tragicke revolutions of humane fortune. It is not without compassion of that we heare, but we please our selves to rowze up our displeasure, by the rarenesse of these pitifull events. *Nothing tickles, that pincheth not.* And good Historians avoid calme narrations, as a dead warer or mort-mere; to retrieve seditions & finde out warres, whereto they know we call them. I doubt whether I may lawfully avow, at how base a rate of my lifes rest and tranquillity, I have past it more than halfe in the ruine of my Country. In accidents that touch me not in

*Sen. Ep. 9.*



my freehold, I purchase patience very cheape; and to complaine to my selfe, I respect not so much what is taken from mee, as what is left me both within and without. There is comfort in sometimes eschewing one, and sometimes another of the evils, that one in the necke of another surpris us, and elsewhere strike us round about. As matters of publike interests, according as my affection is more universally scattered, she is thereby more enfeebled. Since it is halfe true: *Tantum ex publicis malis sentimus, quantum ad privatas res pertinet.* Wee feele so much of common harmes as appertaine to our private estate. And that the health whence wee fell was such, that her selfe solaceth the regret we should have for her. It was health, mary but in comparison of the contagion, which hath followed the same. Wee are not falne very high. The corruption and the brigandage, which now is in office and dignity, seemes to me the least tolerable. Wee are lesse injuriouly robbed in the midst of a wood, then a place of security. It was an universall coherency of members spoiled avie one another; and most of them, with old-rankled vlcers, which neither admitted nor demaunded recovery. Truly this shaking-fit did therefore more animate then deterre me, onely by the aide of my conscience, which not onely quietly, but fiercely carried it selfe; and I found no cause to complaine of my self: likewise, as God never sends men either evils or goods absolutely pure, my health held out well for that time, yea against her ordinary: And as with out it I can do nothing, so with it, there are few things I cannot doe. She gave me meanes to summon and rouse up all my provisions, and to beare my hand before my hurt, which happily would have gone further: And proved in my patience, that yet I had some-hold against fortune, and that to thrust me out of my saddle, there was required a stronger counterbuffe. This I speake not, to provoke her to give me a more vigorous charge. I am her servant, and yeeld my selfe unto her: For Gods sake let her be pleased. Demaund you whether I feele her assaults? I doe indeede. As those whom sorrow possesseth and overwhelmeth, doe notwithstanding at one time or other suffer themselves by intermissions to be touched by some pleasure, and now & then smile. I have sufficient power over my selfe, to make mine ordinary state quiet and free from all tedious and irkesome imaginations; but yet I sometimes suffer my selfe by starts to be surpris'd with the pinchings of these unpleasant conceits, which whilst I arme my selfe to expell or wrestle against them, assaile and beate mee. Loce here another huddle or ride of mischief; that on the necke of the former came rushing upon mee. Both within and round about my house, I was overtaken, in respect of all other, with a most contagious pestilence. For, as soundest bodies are subject to grievous diseases, because they onely can force them: so the aire about me being very healthy, wher in no mans memory, infection (although very neere) could ever take footing: comming now to be poisoned brought forth strange effects.

Hor. car. l. i. ad.  
28. 19.

*Mista senum & juvenum densantur funera nullum*

*Sæva caput Proserpina fugit.*

Of old and young thicke funerals are shared;

By cruell Proserpine no head is spared.

I was faine to endure this strange condition, that the sight of my house was irkesome unto me. Whatever was therein, lay all at randon, no man looked thereunto, and was free for any that had a minde unto it. I who have so long beene a good housekeeper, and used to hospitality, was much troubled and put to my shifts, how to finde out some retreate for my family. A dismayed and scattered family, making both her selfe and her friends afraide, and breeding horreur where it sought to retire for shelter; being now to shift and change her dwelling, so soone as any of the company beganne to feele his finger ake, all the rest were dismayed. Every sicknesse is then taken for the plague: none hath leasure to consider them. And the mischief is, that according to rules of arte, what danger soever approacheth, a man must continue forty dayes in anxiety or feare of that evill; in which time your owne imagination doth perplex you as she list and infect your health. All which I ad much lesse toucht mee, had I not beene forced to beare other mens burthens and partake all their grievances, and for six months space, in miserable maner, to be a woefull guide to so great-confused a *Caravane*. For I ever carry my preservatives about me, which are resolution and sufferance. Apprehension doth not greatly presse me, which is particularly feared in this sicknesse. And if being alone, I should have taken it, it had beene a stronger and further flight: It is a death in mine opinion, not of the worst: It is commonly short and speeding, void of lingring giddinesse, without paine, comforted by the publike condition: without

ceremony;



Ceremonie without mourning, and without thronging. But for the people about us, the hundredth part of soules cannot be saved.

— *videas desertaque regna*

*Pastorum, & longè salus lateque vacantes.*

Kingdomes of Shepherds desolate forlorne;

Parkes farre and neere lie waste, a state all torne;

In that place, my best revenue is manuell: what a hundred men laboured for me, lay fallow for a long time. What examples of resolution saw we not then in all this peoples simplicity? Each one generally renounced all care of life. The grapes (which are the countries chiefe commoditie) hung still and rotted upon the vines untouch't: all indifferently preparing themselves, and expecting death, either that night or the next morrow: with countenance and voice so little daunted, that they seemed to have compromised to this necessity, and that it was an universall and inevitable condemnation. It is ever such. But what slender hold hath the resolution of dying? The difference and distance of some few houres: the onely consideration of the company yeelds the apprehension diverse unto us. Behold these because they die in one same month, children, yong, old; they are no more astonied, they are no longer wept for. I saw some that feared to stay behinde, as if they had bene in some horrible solitude: And commonly I knew no other care amongst them, but for graves: it much grieved them, to see the dead carcases scattered over the fields, at the mercy of wilde beasts; which presently began to flocke thither. Oh how humane fantasies differ and are easily disioined! The *Neorites*; a nation whilome subdued by *Alexander the Great*, cast out their dead mens bodies into the thickest of their woods, there to be devoured: the grave onely esteemed happy among them. Some in good health digged already their graves, other some yet living did goe into them. And a day-labourer of mine, as he was dying, with his owne hands and feet pulled earth upon him, and so covered himselfe. Was not this a lying downe in the shade to sleepe at ease? An enterprize in some sort as highly noble, as that of some Romane Souldiers, who after the battel of *Canna*, were found with their heads in certaine holes or pits, which themselves had made, and filled up with their hands, where-to they were smothered. To conclude, a whole nation was presently by use brought to a march, that in undantednesse yeelds not to any consulted and fore-meditated resolution. The greatest number of learnings instructions, to encourage us have more shew then force, and more ornament then fruit. Wee have forsaken nature, and yet wee will teach her her lesson: Shee, that lead us so happily, and directed us so safely: And in the meane while, the traces of her instructions and that little, which by the benefit of ignorance, remaineth of her image, imprinted in the life of this rusticall troupe of unpolished men; learning is compelled to goe daily a borrowing, thereby to make her disciples a patterne of constancy, of innocency and of tranquillitie. It is a goodly matter to see how these men full of so great knowledge, must imitate this foolish simplicitie; yea in the first and chiefe actions of vertue. And that our wisdom should learne of beasts, the most profitable document, belonging to the chiefe and most necessary parts of our life. How we should live and die, husband our goods, love and bring up our children, and entertaine justice. A singular testimonie of mans infirmitie: and that this reason we so manage at our pleasure, ever finding some diversity and noveltie, leaveth unto us no maner of apparant tracke of nature. Wherewith men have done, as perfumers do with oyle, they have adulterated her, with so many argumentations, and sofisticated her with so diverse farre-fetcht discourses, that she is become variable and peculiar to every man, and hath lost her proper, constant and universall visage: whereof we must seeke for a testimony of beasts, not subject to favor or corruption, nor to diversity of opinions. For it is most true, that themselves march not alwaies exactly in natures path, but if they chanceto stray it is so little, that you may ever perceive the tracke. Even as horses led by hand doe sometimes bound and start out of the way, but no further then their halters length, and neverthelesse follow ever his steps that leaderth them: And as a Hawke takes his flight but under the limits of hir cranes, or twyne. *Exilia, tormenta, bella, morbos, naufragia meditare, ut nullo sis malo tyro.* Banishments, torments, warres, sicknesses, shipwracks, all these fore-cast and premeditate, that thou maiest seeme no novice, no fresh water souldier to any misadventure. What availeth this curiosity unto us, to preoccupate all humane natures inconveniences, and with so much labour and toying against the, to prepare our selves, which per-

Ecc 2

adventure



adventure shall nothing concerne us? (*Parem passis tristitiam facit, pati posse. It makes men as sad that they may suffer some mischiefe, as if they had suffered it.* Not onely the blow, but the winde and cracke strikes vs) Or as the most febricitant, for surely it is a kinde of fever, now to cause your selfe to be whipped, because fortune may one day chance to make you endure it: and at Mid-Sommer to put on your furr'd Gowne, because you shall neede it at Christ-mas? Cast your selves into the experience of all the mischiefes, that may befall you, namely of the extreamest: there try your selfe (say they) there assure your selfe. Contrariwise, the easiest and most naturall, were even to discharge his thought of them. They will not come soone enough, their true being dorth not last us long enough, our spirit must extend and lengthen them, and before-hand incorporate them into himselfe, and therewith entertaine himselfe, as if they lay not sufficiently heavy on our senses. They will weigh heavy enough when they shall be there, (saith one of the maisters, not of a tender, but of the hardest Sect) meane while favour thy selfe: Beleeve what thou lovest best: What availes it thee to collect and prevent thy ill fortune: and for feare of the future, lose the present; and now to be miserable, because in time thou maiest bee so? They are his owne words. Learning doth us willingly one good office, exactly to instruct us in the demensions of evils.

*Curi acens mortalia corda.*

Mens cogitations whetting,

With sharpe cares inly fretting.

It were pittie, any part of their greatnesse should escape our feeling and understanding. It is certaine, that preparation unto death, hath caused more torment unto most, than the very sufferance. It was whilome truly said, of and by a most judicious Authour: *Minus officii sensus fatigatio, quam cogitatio.* Wearinesse lesse troubleth our senses, then pensivenesse doth. The apprehension of present death, doth sometimes of it selfe animate us, with a ready resolution, no longer to avoide a thing altogether inevitable. Many Gladiators have in former ages beene seene, having at first fought very cowardly, most couragiously to embrace death; offering their throate to the enemies sword, yea and bidde them make haste. The sight distant from future death hath neede of a slowe constancy, and by consequence hard to bee found. If you know not how to die, take no care for it, Nature her selfe will fully and sufficiently teach you in the nicke, she will exactly discharge that worke for you; trouble not your selfe with it.

*Lucan. eleg. 3.*

72. 16.

*Incertain frustra mortales funeris horam*

*Quæritis, & quâ sit mors aditura via:*

*Pœna minor certam subito perferre ruinam,*

*Quod timeas, gravius sustinuisse diu.*

Of death th'uncertaine houre you men in vaine

Enquire, and what way death shall you destraine:

A certaine sodaine ruine is lesse paine,

More grievous long what you feare to sustaine.

We trouble death with the care of life, and life with the care of death. The one annoyeth; the other affrights us. It is not against death, we prepare our selves, it is a thing too momentary. A quarter of an houre of passion without consequence and without annoyance, deserves not particular precepts. To say truth, we prepare our selves against the preparations of death. *Philosophy teacheth us, ever to have death before our eyes, to fore-see and consider it before it come:* Then giveth us rules and precautions so to provide, that such foresight and thought hurt us not. So doe Physitions, who cast us into diseases, that they may employ their drugges and skill about them, If we have not known how to live, it is iniustice to teach us how to die, and deforme the end from all the rest. Have wee knowne how to live constantly and quietly, wee shall know how to die resolutely and reposedly. They may bragge as much as they please. *Tota Philosophorum vita commentatio mortis est. The whole life of a Philosopher is the meditation of his death.* But me thinkes, it is indeede the end, yet not the scope of life. It is her last, it is her extremity, yet not her object. Hir selfe must be unto hir selfe, hir aime, hir drift and her designe. Hir direct studie is, to order, to direct and to suffer hir selfe. In the number of many other offices, which the generall and principall Chapter, to know how to live containeth, is this speciall Article, *To know how to die.* And of the easiest, did not our owne feare weigh it downe. To judge them by their profit and by the naked

truth.



truth, the lessons of simplicity, yeeld not much to those, which Doctrine preacheth to the contrary unto us. Men are different in feeling, and diverse in force : they must be directed to their good, according to themselves, and by diverse waies :

*Quò me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.*

Where I am whirld by winde and wether,

I guest-like straight am carried thether.

*Hor. l. 1. epist. 17.*

15.

I never saw meane pailant of my neighbours, enter into cogitation or care, with what assurance or countenance, hee should passe this last houre. Nature teacheth him never to mune on death but when he dieth. And then hath he a better grace in it, than *Aristotle*; whom death perplexed doubly, both by her selfe and by so long a premeditation. Therefore was it *Cæsars* opinion, that *The least premeditated death, was the happiest and the easiest.* *Plus dolet, quàm necesse est, qui ante dolet, quàm necesse est.* He grieves more than he need, That grieves before he neede. The sharpenesse of this imagination proceeds from our curiosity. Thus we ever hinder our selves, desiring to fore-runne and sway naturall prescriptions: It is but for Doctors being in health, to fare the worse by it, and to frowne and startle at the Image of death. The vulgar sort, have neither neede of remedy nor comfort, but when the shocke or stroke cometh. And justly considers no more of it, than he feeleth. And is it not as we say, that the vulgars stupidity and want of apprehension, affoorde them this patience in private evils, and this deepe carelesnes of sinister future accidents? That their mind being more grosse, dull and blockish, is lesse penetrable and agitable? In Gods name, if it be so, let us henceforth keepe a schoole of brutality. It is the utmost fruit that Sciences promise unto us, to which she so gently bringeth her disciples. We shall not want good teachers, interpreters of naturall simplicity. *Socrates* shall be one. For, as neare as I remember, he speakech in this sense the Iudges, that determine of his life : *I feare me my Maisters* (saith hee) *that if I intreate you not to make me die, I shall confirme the evidence of my accusers; which is, That I professe to have more understanding than others, as having some knowledge more secret and hid of things both above and beneath us. I know I have neither frequented nor knowne death, nor have I seene any body, that hath either felt or tried her qualities, to instruct me in them. Those who feare her, presuppose to know: As for me, I neither know who or what she is, nor what they doe in the other world. Death may peradventure be a thing indifferent, happily a thing desirable. Yet as it to bee beleevd, that if it be a transmigration from one place to another, there is some amendment in going to live with so many worthy famous persons, that are deceased: and be exempted from having any more to doe with wicked and corrupted Iudges. If it be a consummation of ones being, it is also an amendment and entrance into a long and quiet night. Wee finde nothing so sweete in life, as a quiet rest and gentle sleepe, and without dreames. The things I know to be wicked, as to wrong or offend ones neighbour: and to disobey his superiour, be he God or man, I carefully shunne them: Such as I know not whether they bee good or bad, I cannot feare them. If I goe to my death, and leave you alive: The Gods onely see, whether you or I shall prosper best. And therefore, for my regard, you shall dispose of it, as it shall best please you. But according to my fashion, which is to counsell good and profitable things, this I say, that for your owne conscience you shall doe best to free and discharge mee: except you see further into mine owne cause than my selfe. And judging according to my former actions, both publike and private, according to my intentions; and to the profit, that so many of our Citizens, both young and olde, draw daily from my conversation, and the fruit, all you reape by me, you cannot more justly or duely discharge your selves toward my desertes, than by appointing (my poverty considered) that I may live, and at the common charge bee kept, in the *Brytaneo*: which for much lesse reasons, I have often seene you freely graunt to others. Impute it not to obstinacy or disdain in me, nor take it in ill part, that I, according to custome proceede not by way of intreatie, and moove you to commiseration. I have both friends and kinsfolkes, being not (as *Homer* saith) begotten of a blocke or stone, no more than other men: capable to present themselves humbly (sing with teares and mourning: and I have three desolate wailing children, to move you to pittie. But I should make your Citie ashamed, of the age I am in, and in that reputation of wisdom, as now I stand in prevention to yeeld unto so base an abject countenance. What would the world say of other Athenians? I have ever admonished such as have heard me speake, never to purchase or redeeme their life, by any dishonest or unlawfull act. And in my countries warres, both at *Amphipolis*, at *Potidea*, at *Delia*, and others, in which I have beene, I have shewen by effects, how farre I was from warranting my safety by my shame. Moreover, I should interest your duty, and*

Ecc 3

prejudiced



preiudice your calling, and perswade you to soule unlawfull things; for, not my prayers, but the pure and solid reasons of justice should perswade you. You have sworne to the Gods, so to maintaine your selves. Not to beleieve there were any, might seeme I would suspect, recriminate or retort the fault upon you. And my selfe should witnesse against my selfe, not to beleieve in them as I ought: distrust their conduct, and not meerey remitting my affaires into their hands. I wholly trust and relie on them, and certainly holde, that in this, they will dispose as it shall bee meetest for you, and fittest for me. Honest men, that neither live, nor are dead, have no cause at all to feare the Gods. Is not this a childish pleading, of an unimaginable courage; and in what necessity employed? Verily it was reason, hee should preferre it before that, which the great Orator *Lysias* had set downe in writing for him, excellency fashioned in a judiciary Stile; but unworthy of so noble a criminall. Should a man have heard an humbly-suing voice out of *Socrates* his mouth? Would that proud vertue have failed in the best of her shew? And would his rich and powerfull nature, have committed her defence unto arte and in her highest Essay, renounced unto truth and sinceritie, the ornaments of his speech to adorne and decke himselfe with the embellishment of the figures and fictions of a fore-learn't Orat'ion, Hee did most wisely, and according to himselfe, not to corrupt the tenure of an incorruptible life, & so sacred an image of humane forme, to prolong his decrepitude for one yeere; and wrong the immortall memory of so glorious an end. He ought his life, not to himselfe, but to the worlds example. Had it not bene a publike losse, if he had finished the same in some idle, base and obscure manner? Truly, so carelesse and effeminate a consideration of his death, deserved, posteritie should so much more consider the same for him: which it did. And nothing is so just in justice, as that, which fortune ordained for his commendation. For the Athenians did afterward so detest and abhorre those, which had furthered & caused his death, that of all they were loathed and shunned as cursed and excommunicated men: what soever they had but touched was held to be polluted. No man would so much as wash with them in bathes or hot houses: no man afford them a salutation, much lesse accost or have to doe with them: so that being in the end no longer able to endure this publike haired and generall contempt, they all hanged themselves. If any man thinkes, that amongst so many examples, I might have chosen for the service of my purpose, in *Socrates* his sayings, I have chosen or handled this but ill: and deemeth this discourse, to be raised above common opinions: I have done it wittingly: for I judge otherwise and hold it to bee a discourse, in ranke and sincerity, much shorter and lower, then vulgar opinions. It representeth in an un-artificiall boldnesse, and infantine security, the pure impression and first ignorance of nature. Because it is credible, that we naturally feare paine, but not death, by reason of her. It is a part of our being, no lesse essentiall than life. To what end would Nature have else engendred the hate and horror of it, seeing it holdes therein, & with it a ranke of most great profit, to foster the succession, and nourish the vicissitude of her works? And that in this universall Common-weale, it steadeth and serveth more for birth and augmentation, then for losse, decay or ruine,

*Lucr. l. 2. 73:*

*Sic rerum summa novatur,  
So doth the summe of all,  
By courses rise and fall.  
Mille animas una necata dedit.  
We thousand soules shall pay,  
For one soule made away,*

The decay of one life, is the passage to a thousand other lives. Nature hath imprinted in beasts, the care of themselves and of their preservation. They proceede even to the feare of their empairing; to shooke or hurt themselves: and that we should not shackle or beate them, accidents subject to their sense and experience: But that we should kill them, they cannot feare it, nor have they the faculty to imagine or conclude their death. Yet is it reported, that they are not seene onely to embrace and endure the same joyfully (most Horses neigh in dying, and Swannes sing when it seisseth them.) But moreover, they seeke it when they neede it, as by divers examples may be prooved in the Elephants. Besides, the manner of arguing, which *Socrates* useth here, is it not equally admirable, both in simplicitie and in vehemency? Verily *It is much easier, to speake as Aristotle, and live as Cæsar, than speake and live as Socrates.* Therein consists the extreame degree of difficulty and perfection.



tion; arte cannot attaine unto it. Our faculties are not now so addrested. We neither assay, nor know them; we invest our selves with others, and suffer our own to be idle. As by some might be saide of me: that here I have but gathered a nosegay of strange floures, and have put nothing of mine unto it, but the thred to binde them. Certes, I have given unto publicke opinion, that these borrowed ornaments accompany me: but I meane not they should cover or hide me: it is contrary to mine intention, who would make shew of nothing that is not mine owne, yea mine owne by nature: And had I believed my selfe, at all adventure I had spoken alone. I dayly charge my selfe the more beyond my proposition and first forme, upon the fantasie of time, and through idlenesse. If it mis-seeme me as I thinke it doth, it is no great matter; it may be profitable for some other. *Some alleadge Plato, some mention Homer, that never saw them, or as they say in English, many a man speaks of Robin hood, that never shot in his bow:* And I have taken divers passages from others then in their spring. Without paine or sufficiency; having a thousand volumes of bookes about mee, where now I write, if I please, I may presently borrow from a number of such botcherly-patchcotes (men that I plod not much upon) wherewith to enamell this treatise of *Physiognomie*. I need but the liminary epistle of a Germane to store me with allegations: and we goe questing that way for a fading greedy glory, to coufin and delude the foolish world, These rapfodies of common places, wherewith so many stuffe their study, serve not greatly but for vulgar subjects, and serve but to shew and not to direct us: A ridiculous fond fruite of learning, that *Socrates* doth so pleasantly enveigh and exagitate against *Euthydemus*. I have seene bookes made of things neither studied nor ever understood: the author comming to divers of his learned and wise friends in the search of this and that matter, that so hee might compile them into a booke, contenting himselfe for his owne part, to have cast the plot and projected the desseigne of it, and by his industry to have bound up the fagot of unknowne provisions: at least is the inke and paper his owne. This may bee saide to be a buying or borrowing, and not a making or compiling of a booke. It is to teach men, not that one can make a booke, but to put them out of doubt, that hee cannot make it. A president of the law, in a place where I was, vanted himselfe, to have hudled up together two hundred and od strange places in a presidentiall law-case of his: In publishing of which, he defaced the glory, which others gave him for it. A weake, childish and absurd boasting in my opinion, for such a subject and for such a man. I doe cleane contrary; and amongst so many borrowings, am indeed glad to fish some one, disguising & altering the same to some new service. On hazard, to let men say, that it is for lacke of understanding it's naturall use, I give it some particular address of mine own hand, to the end it may be so much lesse meereley strange. Whereas these put their larcenies to publicke view and garish shew. So have they more credit in the lawes, then I. We other naturalists suppose, that there is a great and incomparable preference, betwene the honour of invention and that of allegation. Would I have spoken according to learning. I had spoken sooner: I had written at such times as I was neerer to my studies, when I had more wit and more memory; and should more have trusted the vigor of that age, then the imperfection of this, had I beene willing to professe writing of bookes. And what if this gracious favour, which fortune hath not long since offered me by the intermission of this worke, could have befallne me in such a season, in lieu of this, where it is equally desiræable to possesse, and ready to loose?

Two of mine acquaintance (both notable men in this faculty) have, in my conceit, lost much becau'te they refused to publish themselves at forty yeares of age, to stay untill they were three score. *Maturity hath her defects, as well as greenenesse, and worse.* And as incummodious or unfit is old age unto this kinde of worke, as to any other. Whosoever put's his decrepitude under the presse, committeth folly, if therby he hopes to wring out humors, that shall not taste of dotage, of foppery, or of drowsinesse. Our spirit becommeth costive and thickens in growing old. Of ignorance I speake sumptuously and plentifully, and of learning meagerly and pitiously: This accessorially and accidentally: That expressely and principally. And purposely I treat of nothing, but of nothing: nor of any one science but of un-science. I have chosen the time, where the life I have to set forth, is all before me, the rest holds more of death. And of my death onely should I finde it babling, as others doe, I would willingly, in dislodging, give the World advise. *Socrates* hath beene a perfect patternne in all great qualities, I am vexed, that ever he met with so unhanfome and crabbed a body, as



they say he had, and so dissonant from the beauty of his minde. Himselfe so amorous and so besotted on beauty. Nature did him wrong. There is nothing more truly-terrible, as the conformity or relation betweene the body and the minde. *Ipsi animi, magni referunt, quali in corpore locati sint: multa enim e corpore existunt, quae acuant mentem: multa, quae obviunt.* It is of great import in what body the minde is bestowed: for many things arise of the body to sharpen the minde, and many things to dull and rebate it. This man speakes of an unnaturall ill-favourdnesse, and membrall deformity: but we call ill favourdnesse a kinde of unseemlinesse at the first sight, which chiefly lodgeth in the face; and by the colour worketh a dislike in us; A freckle, a blemish a rude countenance, a fower looke, proceeding often of some inexplicable cause, may be in well ordered, comely and compleate limmes. The foulness of face, which invested a beateous minde in my deare friend *La Boetie*, was of this predicament. This superficial ill-favourdnesse, which is notwithstanding to the most imperious, is of lesse prejudice unto the state of the minde: and hath small certainty in mens opinion. The other, by a more proper name called a more substantiall deformity, beareth commonly a deeper inward stroke. *Not every shooe of smooth-shining leather, but every well-shapen and handsome-made shooe, sheweth the inward and right shape of the foote.* As *Socrates* said of his, that it justly accused so much in his mind had he not corrected the same by institution. But in so saying, I suppose, that according to his wonted ute, he did but jest: & so excellent a mind, did never frame it selfe. I cannot often enough repeate, how much I esteeme beauty, so powerfull and advantageous a quality is she. He named it, *a short tyranny*: And *Plato* the privilege of Nature. We have none that exceeds it incredit. She possesseth the chiefe ranke in the commerce of society of men: She presents it selfe forward: she seduceth and preoccupates our judgement, with great authority and wonderfull impression. *Phryne* had lost her plea, though in the hands of an excellent lawyer, if with opening her garments, by the sodaine flashing of hir beauty, she had not corrupted her judges. And I finde, that *Cyrus*, *Alexander* and *Cesar* those three Masters of the World, have not forgotten or neglected the same in achieving their great affaires. So hath not the first *Scipio*. One same word in Greeke importeth faire and good. And even the Holy Ghost calleth often those good, which he meaneth faire. I should willingly maintaine the ranke of the goods, as imployed the song, which *Plato* saith to have beene triviall, taken from some ancient Poet; *Health, beauty and riches*. *Aristotle* saith, that the right of commanding, doth of duty belong to such as are faire; and if haply any be found, whose beauty approached to that of the Gods images, that veneration is equally due unto them. To one that asked him, why the fairest were both longer time and oftner frequented? *This question* (quoth he) *ought not to be moved but by a blinde man*. Most, and the greatest Philosphers, paide for their schooling and attained unto Wisedome, by the intermission of their beauty, and favour their comelines. Not onely in men that serve me, but in beasts also, I consider the same within two inches of goodnesse. Yet me thinkes, that the same feature and manner of the face and those lineaments, by which some argue certaine inward complexions, and our future fortunes, is a thing that doth not directly nor simply lodge under the Chapter of beauty and ill favourdnesse; no more than all good favours, or cleerenesse of aire, doe not alwayes promise health: nor all fogges and stinkes, infection, in times of the plague. Such accuse Ladies to contradict the beauty, by their manners, guesse not alwayes at the truth. For, *In ill favourd and ill composed face, may sometimes harbour some aire of probity, and trust*. As on the contrary, I have sometimes read between two faire eyes, the threats of a maligne and dangerous-ill-boding nature. There are some favourable Physiognomies; For in a throng of victorions enemies, you shall presently ammidest a multitude of unknowne faces, make choise of one man more than of others, to yeeld your selfe unto, and trust your life; and not properly by the consideration of beauty. A mans looke or aire of his face, is but a weake warrant; notwithstanding it is of some consideration. And were I to whipe them, I would more rudely scourge such it maliciously belay & betray the promises, which Nature had charactred in their front. And more severely would I punish malicious craft in a debonaire apparence and in a mild promising countenance. It seemeth there be some lucky and well boding faces, and other some unlucky and ill presaging: And I thinke, there is some Art to distinguish gently-milde faces, from nyas and simple, the severe from the rude; the malicious from the froward; the disdainfull from the melancholike and other neighbouring qualities. There are some beauties



beauties, not onely fierce-looking, but also sharpe-working, some others pleasing-sweet & yet wallowisly tastelesse. To prognosticate future successses of them, be matters I leave undecided. I have (as elsewhere I noted) taken for my regard this ancient precept, very rawly and simply: That *We cannot erre in following Nature*: and that the soveraigne document is, for a man to conforme himselfe to her. I have not (as *Socrates*) by the power and vertue of reason, corrected my natural complexions, nor by Art hindered mine inclination. Looke how I came into the World, so I goe on: I strive with nothing. My two Mistris parts, live of their owne kindnesse in peace and good agreement; but my nurses milke, hath (thanks be to God) been indifferently wholesome and temperate. Shall I say thus much by the way? That I see a certaine image of bookish or scholasticall *prend'hômie*, onely which is in a maner in use amongst us, held and reputed in greater esteeme than it deserveth, and which is but a servant unto precepts, brought under by hope, and constrained by feare? I love it such as lawes and religions make not, but over-make and authorize; that they may be perceived to have wherewith to uphold her selfe without other aide: sprung up in us of her owne proper roots, by and from the seed of universall reason, imprinted in every man that is not unnaturall. The same reason, that reformeth *Socrates* from his vicious habire, yeelds him obedient both to Gods and men, that rule and command his City: couragious in his death; not because his soule is immortall, but because he is mortall. A ruinous instruction to all common-weales, and much more harmefull, than ingenious and subtile, is that which perswadech men that onely religious believe, and without manners, sufficeth to content and satisfie divine justice. Custome makes us see an enormous distinction betweene devotion and conscience. I have a favourable apparence, both in forme and in interpretation.

*Quid dixi habere me? Imò habui Chreme:*

*Hæc tantùm attriti corporis ossa vides.*

I have; what did I say?

I had what's now a way.

Alas, you onely now behold

Bones of a body worne and old.

And which makes a contrary shew to that of *Socrates*. It hath often betided me, that by the simple credit of my presence and aspect, some that had no knowledge of me, have greatly trusted unto it, were it about their owne affaires or mine. And even in forraine countries, I have thereby reaped singular and rare favours. These two experiments, are haply worthy to be particularly related. A *quidam* gallant, determined upon a time to surprize both my house and my selfe. His plot was, to come riding alone to my gate, and instantly to urge entrance. I knew him by name, and had some reason to trust him, being my neighbour and somewhat alide unto me. I presently caused my gates to be opened, as I do to all men. He comes in all afrighted, his horse out of breath; both much harassed. He entertaines me with this fable, that within halfe a league of my house he was sodainely set-upon by an enemy of his, whom I knew well and had heard of their quarrell: that his foe had wondrously put him to his spurs; that being surprized unarmed, & having fewer in his company then the other, he was glad to runne away, and for safety had made haste to come to my house, as to his sanctuary: That he was much perplexed for his men, all which he supposed to be either taken or slaine. I endeavoured friendly to comfort and sincerely to warrant and refresh him. Within a while came galloping foure or five of his Souldiers, amazed, as if they had beene out of their wits, hasting to be let in: Shortly after came others, and others, all proper men, well mounted, better armed, to the number of thirty or thereabouts, all seeming distracted for feare, as if the enemy that pursued them had beene at their heeles. This mystery beganne to summon my suspicion. I was not ignorant of the age wherein I lived, nor how much my house might be envied: and had fundry examples of others of my acquaintance, that had beene spoiled, beset and surprized thus and thus. So it is, that perceiving with my selfe, there was nothing to be gotten, though I had begunne to use them kindly, if I continued not, and being unable to rid my selfe of them and cleare my house without danger & spoiling all; as I ever doe, I tooke the plainest and naturall well meaning way, and commanded they should be let in and bid welcome. And to say truth, I am by nature little suspicious or mistrustfull, I am easily drawn to admit excuses and incline to mild interpretations. I take men according to common order, and suppose every one to meane as I doe, &

believe

*Ter. Heau a l'a  
scène.*



believe these perverse & trecherous inclinations, except I be compelled by some authentical testimony, no more then monsters or miracles. Besides, I am a man, that willingly commit my selfe unto fortune, and carelesly cast my selfe into her armes: Whereof hitherto I have more just cause to commend my selfe, then to complaine. And have found her more circumspect and friendly carefull of my affaires, then I am my selfe. There are certaine actions in my life, the conduct of which may justly be termed difficult, or if any be so disposed, prudent. And of those, suppose the third part of them to be mine owne; truly the other two are richly hers. We are to blame, and in my conceit we erre, that we doe not sufficiently and so much as we ought, trust the heavens with our selves. And pretend more in our owne conduct, then of right appertaines unto us. Therefore doe our desseignes so often miscarry, and our intents so seldome sort to wished effect. The heavens are angry, and I may say envious of the extension and large priviledge we ascribe unto the right of humane wisdom, to the prejudice of theirs: and abridge them so much the more unto us, by how much more we endeavour to amplifie them. But to come to my former discourse. These gallants kept still on horsebacke in my court, and would not alight: their Captaine with me in my hall, who would never have his horse set-up, still saying that he would not stay, but must necessarily withdraw himselfe, so soone as he had newes of his followers. He saw himselfe master of his enterprise; and nothing was wanting but the execution. He hath since reported very often, (for he was no whit scrupulous or afraid to tell this story) that my undaunted lookes, my undismayde countenance, and my liberty of speech, made him reject all manner of treasonable intents or trecherous desseignes. What shall I say more? He bids me farewell, calleth for his horse, gets up, and offreth to be gone, his people having continually their eyes fixed upon him, to observe his lookes and see what signe he should make unto them: much amazed to see him be gone, and wondring to see him omit and forsake such an advantage. An other time, trusting to a certaine truce or cessation of armes, that lately had beene published through our campes in France, as one suspecting no harme, I undertooke a journey from home, through a dangerous and very ticklish countrey; I had not rid far, but I was discovered, and behold three or foure troupes of horsemen, all severall wayes, made after me, with purpose to entrap me: One of which overtooke mee the third day; where I was round betet and charged by fiftene or twenty Gentlemen, who had all vizards and cases, followed a loofe off by a band of Argoletiers. I was charged, I yeelded, I was taken and immediatly drawne into the bosome of a thicke Wood, that was not far-off; there puld from my horse, stripped with all speed, my trunks and cloke-bags rifled, my box taken; my horses, my equipage and such things as I had, dispersed and shared amongst them. We continued a good while amongst those thorny bushes, contesting and striving about my ranfome which they racked so high, that it appeared well I was not much knowne of them. They had long contestation among themselves for my life. And to say truth: there were many circumstances, threatned me of the danger I was in.

*Ving. Enl. 6.*

*Tunc animis opus: Anea, tunc pectore firmo.*

Of courage then indeed,

Then of stout brest is need.

I ever stood upon the title and priviledge of the truce and proclamation made in the Kings name, but that availed not: I was content to quit them what ever they had taken from me, which was not to be despised, without promising other ranfome. After we had debated the matter to and fro, the space of two or three houres, and that no excuses could serve, they set me upon a lame jade, which they knew could never escape them, and committed the particular keeping of my person to fiftene or twenty harque-busiers, and dispersed my people to others of their crew, commanding we should all divers wayes be carried prisoners; and my selfe being gone two or threescore paces from them,

*Catulel. 4. 65.*

*Iam prece Pollucis, jam Castoris implorata.*

*Pollux and Castors aide,*

When I had humbly praide,

behold a sodain & unexpected alteration took them. I saw their Captaine comming towards me, with a cheerful countenance & much milder speeches then before: carefully trudging up and down through all the troupes, to find out my goods againe, which as he found all scattered he forced every man to restore them unto me; and even my boxe came to my hands againe.

To



To conclude, the most precious jewell they presented me, was in liberty; as for my other things, I cared not greatly at that time. What the true cause of so unlookt-for a change and so sodaine an alteration was, without any apparent impulsion, and of so wonderfull repentance, at such a time, in such an opportunity and such an enterprise, fore-meditated, consulted and effected without controlement, and which through custome and the impiety of times was now become lawfull, (for at the first brunt I plainly confessed, and genuinely told them what side I was of, where my way lay, & whither I was riding) I verily know not yet, nor can I give any reason for it. The chiefeft amongst them unmasked himselfe, told me his name & repeated divers times unto me, that I should acknowledge my deliverance to my countenance, to my boldnesse and constancy of speech, and be beholding to them for it, inasmuch as they made me unworthy of such a misfortune; and demanded assurance of me for the like curtesie. It may be, that the inscrutable goodnesse of God would use this vaine instrument for my preservation: For, the next morrow it also shielded me from worse mischiefes or amboscadoes, whereof themselves gently forewarned me. The last is yet living, able to report the whole successe himselfe; the other was slaine not long since. If my countenance had not answered for me, if the ingenuity of mine inward intent might not plainly have been deciphered in mine eyes and voice, surely I could never have continued so long, without quarrels or offences: with this indiscreete liberty, to speake freely (be it right or wrong) what ever commeth to my minde, and rashly to judge of things. This fashion may in some sort, (and that with reason) seeme uncivill and ill accommodated in our customary manners: but outrageous or malicious, I could never meete with any, would so judge it, or that was ever distastet at my liberty if he received the same from my mouth. *Words reported againe, have as another sound, so another sense.* And to say true, I hate no body; And am so remisse to offend, or slow to wrong any, that for the service of reason it selfe, I cannot doe it. And if occasions have at any time urged me in criminall condemnations to doe as others, I have rather beene content to be amerced then to appeare. *Vt magis peccari nolim, quam satis animi, ad vindicanda peccata habeam.* So as I had rather men should not offend, then that I should have courage enough to punish their offences. Some report, that *Aristotle* being up-braided by some of his friends, that he had beene over mercifull toward a wicked man: *I have indeede* (quoth he) *been mercifull toward the man, but not toward his wickednesse.* Ordinary judgements are exasperated unto punishment by the horror of the crime. And that enmildens mee. The horror of the first murder, makes me feare a second. And the uglinessse of one cruelty, induceth me to detest all maner of imitation of it. To me, that am but a plaine fellow and see no higher then a steeple, may that concerne, which was reported of *Charillus* King of *Sparta*: *He cannot be good, since he is not bad to the wicked.* Or thus; for *Plutarke* presents it two wayes, as he doth a thousand other things diversly and contrary; *He must needs be good, since he is so to the wicked.* Even as in lawfull actions, it grieves me to take any paines about them; when it is with such as are therewith displeased. So, to say truth, in unlawfull, I make no great conscience, to employ my selfe or take paines about them, being with such as consent unto them.

## CHAP. XIII.

## Of Experience.

Here is no desire more naturall, then that of knowledge. We attempt all meanes that may bring us unto it. When reason failes us, we employ experience.

*Per varios usus artem experientia fecit,*

*Exemplo monstrante viam.*

By divers proofes experience art hath bred,

Whilst one by one the way examples led.

Which is a meane by much more, weake and vile. But truth is of so great consequence, that wee ought not disdain any induction, that may bring us unto it. *Reason hath so many shapes.*

*Manil. lib. I. est.*  
61.



shapes, that wee know not which to take hold of. Experience hath as many. The consequence we seeke to draw from the conference of events, is unsure, because they are ever dissemblable. No quality is so universall in this surface of things, as variety and diversity. The Greekes, the Latines, and wee use for the most expresse examples of similitude, that of eggs. Some have nevertheless bene found, especially one in *Delphos*, that knew markes of difference betweene egges, and never tooke one for another. And having divers hennes, could rightly judge which had laid the egge, dissimilitude doth of it selfe insinuate into our workes, no arte can come neere unto similitude. Neither *Perozet* nor any other card-maker can so industriously smoothe or whiten the backside of his cardes, but some cunning gamester will distinguish them, onely by seeing some other player handle or shuffle them. Resemblance doth not so much make one, as difference maketh another. Nature hath bound herselfe to make nothing that may not be dissemblable. Yet doth not the opinion of that man greatly please mee, that supposed by the multitude of lawes, to curbe the authority of judges, in cutting out their morsels. He perceived not, that there is as much liberty and extenſion in the interpretation of lawes, as in their fashion. And those but mocke themselves, who thinke to diminish our debates and stay them, by calling us to the expresse word of sacred Bible. Because our spirit findes not the field lesse spacious, to controule and checke the sense of others, then to represent his own: and as if there were as little courage and sharpnesse to glose as to invent. Wee see how farre hee was deceived. For we have in *France* more lawes then all the world besides; yea more then were needefull to governe all the world imagined by *Epicurus*: *Vt olim flagitiis, sic nunc legibus laboramus.* As in times past we were sicke of offences, so now are we of lawes. As we have given our judges so large a scope to moore, to opinionate, to suppose and decide, that there was never so powerfull and so licentious a liberry. What have our lawmakers gained with chusing a hundred thousand kinds of particular cases, and adde as many lawes unto them? That number hath no proportion, with the infinite diversity of humane accidents. The multiplying of our inventions shall never come to the variation of examples. Adde a hundred times as many unto them, yet shall it not follow, that of events to come, there be any one found, that in all this infinite number of selected and enregistred events, shall meete with one, to which he may so exactly joyne and match it, but some circumstance and diversity will remaine, that may require a diverse consideration of judgement. There is but little relation betweene our actions, that are in perpetuall mutation, and the fixed and unmoveable lawes. The most to be desired, are the rarest, the simplest and most generall. And yet I believe, it were better to have none at all, then so infinite a number as we have. Nature gives them ever more happy, then those we give our selves. Witnesse the image of the golden age that Poets faine; and the state wherein we see divers nations to live, which have no other. Some there are, who to decide any controversie, that may rise amongst them, will chuse for judge the first man that by chance shall travell alongest their mountaines: Others, that upon a market day will name some one amongst themselves, who in the place without more wrangling shall determine all their questions. What danger would ensue, if the wisest should so decide ours, according to occurrences & at the first sight, without being tied to examples & consequences? Let every foote have his owne shooe. *Ferdinando* King of *Spaine* sending certaine Colonies into the *Indies*, provided wisely, that no lawyers or students of the lawes should bee carried thither, for feare lest controversies, sutes or processes should people that new found world. As a Science that of her owne nature engendreth altercation and division, judging with *Plato*, that *Lawyers and Phisitions are an ill provision for any countrey.* Wherefore is it, that our common language so easie to be understood in all other matters, becommeth so obscure, so harsh and so hard to be understood in law cases, bills, contracts, indentures, citations, wils and testaments? And that hee who so plainly expresseth himselfe, what ever he spake or writ of any other subject, in law matters findes no manner or way to declare himselfe or his meaning, that admits not some doubt or contradiction: Vnlesse it be, that the Princes of this art applying themselves with a particular attention, to invent and chuse strange, choise and solemn words, and frame artificiall cunning clauses, have so plodded and poized every syllable; canvased & sifted so exquisitely every seame and quiddity, that they are now so entangled and so confounded in the infinity of figures and to severall small partitions, that they can no more come within the compasse of any order, or prescription, or certaine understanding



derstanding. *Confusum est quidquid usque in pulverem sectum est. Whatsoever is sliced into very powder is confused.*

Whosoever hath seene children, labouring to reduce a masse of quicke-silver to a certaine number, the more they presse and worke the same, and strive to force it to their will, so much more they provoke the liberty of that generous metall, which scorneth their arte, and scatteringly dispereth it selfe beyond all imagination. Even so of lawyers, who in subdividing their fittleties or quiddities, teach men to multiply doubts: and by extending and diversifying difficulties; they lengthen and amplifie, they scatter and disperse them. In sowing and retailing of questions, they make the World to fructifie and abound in uncertainty, in quarrels, in lutes and in controversies. As the ground the more it is crumbled, broken and deeply remooved or grupp'd up, becommeth so much more fertile. *Difficultatem facit doctrina. Learning breeds difficulty.* We found many doubts in *Ulpian*, we finde more in *Bartholus* and *Baldus*. The trace of this innumerable diversity of opinions should never have been used to adorne posterity, and have it put in her head, but rather have beene utterly razed out. I know not what to say to it; but this is seene by experience, that so many interpretations, dissipate and confound all truth. *Aristotle* hath written to bee understood: Which if he could not, much lesse shall another not so learned as he was; and a third, than he who treateth his owne imagination. We open the matter, and spill it in distempering it. Of one subject we make a thousand: And in multiplying and subdividing we fall againe into the infinity of *Epicurus* his Atomes. It was never seene, that two men judged alike of one samething. And it is impossible to see two opinions exactly semblable: not onely in divers men, but in any one same man, at severall houres. I commonly find something to doubt-of, where the commentary happily never deigned to touch, as deeming it so plaine. I stumble sometimes as much in an even smooth path; as some horses that I know, who oftner trip in a faire plaine way, than in a rough and stony. Who would not say, that glosses increase doubts and ignorance, since no booke is to be seene, whether divine or profane, commonly read of all men, whose interpretation dimmes or tarnisheth not the difficulty? The hundred commentary sends him to his succeder, more thorny & more crabbed, than the first found him. When agreed we amongst our selves, to say, this booke is perfect, there's now nothing to be said against it? This is best seene in our French-pedling Law. Authority of Law is given to infinite Doctors, to infinite arrests, and to as many interpretations. Finde we for all that any end of need of interpreters? Is there any advancement or progresse towards tranquillity seene therein? Have we now lesse need of Advocates and Iudges, then when this huge masse of Law was yet in hir first infancy? Cleane contrary: we obscure and bury understanding. We discover it no more but at the mercy of so many Courts, Barres, or Plea-benches. Men mis-acknowledge the naturall infirmity of their minde. She doth but quest and firret, and uncessantly goeth turning, winding, building and entangling her selfe in hir owne worke; as doe our silke-wormes, and therein stifeth hir selfe. *Mus in pice. A Mouse in pitch.* He supposeth to note a farre-off I wor not what apparence of cleerenesse and imaginary truth; but whilest he runneth unto it, so many lets and difficulties crosse his way, so many impeachments and new questings start up, that they stray loose and besot him. Not much otherwise than it fortun'd to *Æsop* Dogs, who farre-off discovering some shew of a dead body to flore upon the Sea, and being unable to approach the same, undertooke to drinke up all the Water, that so they might dric-up the passage; and were all stifeled. To which answereth that, which *Crates* said of *Heracitus* his compositions, that they needed a Reader, who should bee a cunning swimmer, lest the depth and weight of his learning should drowne and swallow him up. It is nothing but a particular weaknesse, that makes us contend with that which others or we our selves have found in this pursuite of knowledge. A more sufficient man will not be pleased therewith. There is place for a follower, yea and for our selves, and *More ways to the Wood than one.* There is no end in our inquisitions. Our end is in the other World. It is a signe his wits grow short, when he is pleased; or a signe of wearinesse. No generous spirit staves and relies upon himselfe. He ever pretendeth and goeth beyond his strength. He hath some vagaries beyond his effects. If hee advance not himselfe, presse, settle, shooke, turne, winde and front himselfe, he is but halfe alive; His pursuits are termelesse and formelesse. His nourishment is admiration, questing and ambiguity: Which *Æpollo* declared sufficiently, alwayes speaking ambiguously, obscurely and



obliquely unto us ; not feeding, but busying and ammusing us. It is an irregular uncertaine motion, perpetuall, patternelesse and without end. His inventions enflame, follow and enter-produce one another.

*Ainsi voit-on en un ruisseau coulant,  
Sans fin l'une eau, apres l'autre roulant;  
Et tout de rang, d'un eternel conduit,  
L'une suit l'autre, & l'une l'autre suit.  
Par cette-cy, celle-là est poussée,  
Et cette-cy, par l'autre est devancée:  
Toujours l'eau va dans l'eau, & toujours est ce  
Mesme ruisseau, & toujours eau diverse.  
As in a running river we behold  
How one wave after th'other still is rold,  
And all along as it doth endlesse rise,  
Th'one th'other followes, th'one from th'other flies.  
By this Wave, that is driv'n; and this againe,  
By th'other is set forward all amaine:  
Water in Water still, one river still,  
Yet divers Waters still that river fill.*

There's more adoe to enterpret interpretations, than to interpret things: and more bookes upon bookes, then upon any other subject. We doe but enter-glose our selves. All swarmeth with commentaries: Of Authors their is great penury. Is not the chiefeft and most famous knowledge of our ages, to know how to understand the wise? Is it not the common and last scope of our study? Our opinions are grafted one upon an other. The first serveth as a stocke to the second; the second to the third. Thus we ascend from steppe to steppe. Whence it followeth, that the highest-mounted hath often more honour, than merit. For, hee is got-up but one inch above the shoulders of the last save one. How often and peradventure foolishly, have I enlarged my Booke to speake of himselfe? Foolishly if it were but for this reason: That I should have remembred, that what I speake of others, they doe the like of me. That those so frequent glances on their workes, witnes their hart shivereth with their love they beare them; and that the disdainfull churlishnesse where-with they beate them, are but mignardizes and affectations of a motherly favour. Following *Aristotle*, in whom, both esteeming and disesteeming himselfe, arise often of an equall aire of arrogancy. For mine excuse; That in this I ought to have more liberty than others, forsomuch as of purpose, I write both of my selfe and of my writings, as of my other actions: that my theame doth turne into it selfe: I wot not whether every man will take it. I have seene in *Germany*, that *Luther* hath left as many divisions and altercations, concerning the doubt of his opinions, yea and more, than himselfe moveth about the *Holy Scriptures*. Our contestation is verball. I demaund what Nature voluptuousnesse, circle and substitution is? The question is of words, and with words it is answered. A stone is a body: but he that should insift and urge: And what is a body? A substance: And what a substance? And so goe-on: Should at last bring the respondent to his *Calepine* or wits end. One word is changed for another word, and often more unknowne. I know better what *Homo* is, then I know what *Animal* is, either mortall or reasonable. To answer one doubt, they give me thrice: It is *Hidraes* head. *Socrates* demanded of *Memnon* what vertue was; There is answered *Memnon*, the vertue of a Man, of a Woman, of a Magistrate, of a private Man, of a Childe, of an old Man: What vertue meane you? Yea many, this is very well, quoth *Socrates*; we were in search of one vertue, and thou bringest me a whole swarme. We propose one question, and we have a whole huddle of them made unto us againe. As no event or forme doth wholly resemble another, so doth it not altogether differ one from another. Oh ingenious mixture of Nature. If our faces were not like, we could not discern a man from a beast: If they were not unlike, we could not distinguish one man from another man. All things hold by some similitude: Every example limpeth. And the relation, which is drawne from experience, is ever defective and imperfect. Comparisons are neverthelesse joyned together by some end. So serve the Lawes, and so are they sorted and fitted to all our futes or affaires; by some wire drawen, forced and collaterall interpretation. Since the morall Lawes which,



which respect the particular duty of every man in himselfe, are so hard to be taught and observed, as we see they are: It is no wonder, if those which governe so many particulars, are more hard. Consider the forme of this Law, by which we are ruled: It is a lively testimony of humane imbecility; so much contradiction, and so many errors are therein contained. That which we thinke favour or rigour in Law (wherein is so much of either, that I wot not well whether we shall so often find indifferency in them, or crazed-infected parts and unjust members of the very body and essence of Law.) Certaine poore country-men came even now to tell me in a great haste, that but now in a forrest of mine, they have left a man wounded to death, with a hundred hurts about him, yet breathing, and who for Gods sake hath begged a little water and some helpe to raise himselfe at their hands. But that they durst not come neere him, and ran all away, for feare some officers belonging to the Law should meete and catch them; and as they doe with such as they find neere unto a murdered body, so they should bee compelled to give an account of this mischance, to their utter undooing; having neither friends nor mony to defend their innocency. What should I have said unto them? It is most certaine, that this Office of humanity had brought them to much trouble. How many innocent and guiltlesse men have we seene punished? I say without the Iudges fault; and how many more that were never discovered? This hath hapned in my time. Certaine men are condemned to death for a murther committed; the sentence, if not pronounced, at least concluded and determined. This done, The Iudges are advertised by the Officers of a subalternall Court, not farre-off, that they have certaine prisoners in hold, that have directly confessed the foresaid murther, and thereof bring most evident markes and tokens. The question and consultation is now in the former Court, whether for all this, they might interrupt, or should deferre the execution of the sentence pronounced against the first. They consider the novelty of the example and consequence thereof, and how to reconcile the judgement. They conclude, that the condemnation hath passed according unto Law, and therefore the Iudges are not subject to repentance. To be short, these miserable Wretches are consecrated to the prescriptions of the Law. *Philip*, or some other, provided for such an inconvenience, in this manner. He had by an irrevocable sentence condemned one to pay another a round summe of money for a fine. A while after, the truth being discovered, it was found, he had wrongfully condemned him. On one side was the right of the cause, on the other the right of judiciary formes. He is in some sort to satisfie both parties, suffering the sentence to stand in full power: and with his owne purse recompenced the interest of the condemned. But hee was to deale with a reparable accident, my poore slaves were hanged irreparably. How many condemnations have I seene more criminall, than the crime it selfe? All this put me in minde of those ancient opinions; That *Hee who will doe right in grosse, must needs doe wrong by retaile; and unjustly in small things, that will come to doe justice in great matters*; That humane justice is framed according to the modell of physicke, according to which, whatsoever is profitable is also just and honest: And of that the Stoickes hold, that Nature her selfe in most of her workes, proceedeth against justice: And of that which the Cyreniaques hold, that there is nothing just of it selfe: That customes and lawes frame justice. And the Theodorians, who in a wise man allow as just, all manner of theft, sacriledge and paillardise, so he thinke it profitable for him. There is no remedy: I am in that case, as *Alcibiades* was, and if I can otherwise chuse, will never put my selfe unto a man that shall determine of my head, or consent that my honour or life, shall depend on the industry or care of mine attorney, more then mine innocency. I could willingly adventure my selfe, and stand to that Law, that should as well recompence me for a good deed, as punish me for a mis-deede: and where I might have a just cause to hope, as reason to feare. *Indemnitie is no sufficient coyne for him, who doth better than not to trespassse*. Our Law presents us but one of her hands, and that is her left hand. *Whosoever goes to Law, doth in the end but lose by it*. In *China*, the policy, arts and government of which kingdome, having neither knowledge or commerce with ours; exceed our examples in divers parts of excellency; and whose Histories teach me, how much more ample and divers the World is, than eyther we or our forefathers could ever enter into. The Officers appointed by the Prince to visite the state of his Provinces, as they punish such as abuse their charge, so with great liberality they reward such as have uprightly and honestly behaved themselves in them, or have done any thing more then ordinary, and besides the necessity of their duty: There, all pre-



sent themselves, not onely to warrant themselves, but also to get something: Not simply to be paid, but liberally to be rewarded. No judge hath yet, God be thanked, spoken to me as a judge in any cause whatsoever either mine or anothers mans; criminal or civill. No prison did ever receive me, no not so much as for recreation to walke in. The very imagination of one, maketh the sight of their outside seeme irksome and loathsome to mee. I am so besotted unto liberty, that should any man forbid me the accesse unto any one corner of the Indiaes I should in some sort live much discontented. And so long as I shall finde land or open aire elsewhere, I shall never lurke in any place, where I must hide my selfe. Oh God, how hardly could I endure the miserable condition of so many men, confined and immured in some corners of this kingdome, barred from entring the chiefest Cities, from accesse into Courts; from conversing with men, and interdicted the use of common wayes, onely because they have offended our lawes. If those under which I live, should but threaten my fingers end, I would presently goe finde out some others, wheresoever it were. All my small wisedome, in these civill and tumultuous warres, wherein we now live, doth wholly employ it selfe, that they may not interrupt my liberty, to goe and come where ever I list. Lawes are now maintained in credit, not because they are essentially just, but because they are lawes. It is the mysticall foundation of their authority; they have none other: which availes them much: They are often made by fooles; more often by men, who in hatred of equality, have want of equity; But ever by men, who are vaine and irresolute Authours, There is nothing so grossely and largely offending, nor so ordinarily wronging as the Lawes. Whosoever obeyeth the because they are just, obeyes them not justly the way as he ought. Our French lawes doe in some sort, by their irregularity and deformity, lend an helping hand unto the disorder and corruption, that is seene in their dispensation and execution. Their behest is so confused, and their command so inconstant, that it in some sort excuseth, both the disobedience and the vice of the interpretation, of the administration and of the observation. Whatsoever then the fruit is we may have of Experience, the same which we draw from forraigne examples, will hardly stead our institution much; if we reape so small profit from that wee have of ourselves, which is most familiar unto us: and truely sufficient to instruct us of what we want. I study my selfe more than any other subject. It is my supernaturall Metaphisike, it is my naturall Philosophy.

Propertius. lib. 1.  
4.26.

*Qua Deus hanc mundi temperet arte domum,*

*Qua venit exorians, qua deficit, unde coactis*

*Cornibus in plenam mensura luna redit:*

*Unde salo superant venti, quid flamine capiet*

*Eurus, & in nubes unda perennis aqua.*

*Sis ventura dies mundi qua subruat arces.*

This Worlds great house by what arte God doth guide;

From whence the monethly Moone doth rising ride,

How wane, how with clos'd hornes returne to pride,

How winds on seas beare sway, what th'Easterne winde

Would have, how still in clouds we water finde;

If this worlds Towers to rase a day be signde:

*Quærite quos agitat mundi labor:*

All this doe you enquire

Whom this worlds travailes tyre.

In this uniuersality I suffer my selfe ignorantly and negligently to be menaged by the generall law or the world. I shall sufficiently know it when I shall feele it. My learning cannot make her change her course: she will not diversifie her selfe for me, it were folly to hope it: And greater folly for a man to trouble himselfe about it; since it is necessarily semblable, publicke and common. The governours capacity and goodnesse, should thoroughly discharge us of the governments care. Philosophicall inquisitions and contemplations serve but as a nourishment unto our curiosity. With great reason doe Philosophers addresse us unto natures rules: But they have nought to doe with so sublime a knowledge: They falsifie them, and present her to us with a painted face, too-high in colour and overmuch sophisticated; whence arise so many different pourtrairs of so uniforme a subject. As she hath given us feete to goe withall, so hath she endowed us with wisedome to direct our life. A wisedome



dome not so ingenious, sturdy and pompous, as that of their invention, but yet easie, quiet and salutairie. And that in him who hath the hap to know how to employ it orderly and sincerely, effecteth very well what the other saith: that is to say naturally. For a man to commit himselfe most simply unto nature, is to doe it most wisely. *Oh how soft, how gentle, and how sound a pillow is ignorance and incuriosity to rest a well composed head upon.* I had rather understand my selfe well in my selfe, then in *Cicero*. Out of the experience I have of my selfe, I finde sufficient ground to make my selfe wise, were I but a good proficient scholler. Whosoever shall commit to memory the excelsse or inconvenience of his rage or anger past, and how farre that fit transported him, may see the deformity of that passion, better then in *Aristotle*, and conceive a more just hatred against it. Whosoever calicth to minde, the dangers he hath escaped, those which have threatned him, and the light occasions that have remooved him from one to another state, doth thereby the better prepare himselfe to future alterations, and knowledge of his condition. *Cæsars* life hath no more examples for us, then our owne; Both imperiall and popular; it is ever a life that all humane accidents regard. Let us but give care unto it, we recorde all that to us, that we principally stand in neede of. He that shall call to minde how often and how severall times he hath beene deceived, and mis-accompted his owne judgement: is he not a simple gull, if he doe not for ever after ward entrust the same? When by others reason, I finde my selfe convicted of a false opinion, I learne not so much, what new thing hee hath told me; and this particular ignorance; which were but a small purchase, as in generall I learne mine owne imbecility and weakenesse, and the treason of my understanding: whence I draw the reformation of all the masse. The like I doe in all my other errors: by which rule I apprehend and feele great profit for, and unto my life. I regarde not the *species* or *individuum*, as a stone whereon I have stumbled. I learne every where to feare my going, and endeavour to order the same. To learne that another hath eyther spoken a foolish jest, or committed a sottish act, is a thing of nothing. A man must learne, that he is but a foole: A much more ample and important instruction. The false steps my memory hath so often put upon me, at what time she stood most upon her selfe, have not idly beene lost: she may sweare and warrant me long enough; I shake mine cares at her: the first opposition made in witnesse of her, makes me suspect. And I durst not trust her in a matter of consequence, nor warrant her touching others affaires. And were it not, that what I doe for want of memory, others more often doe the same for lacke of faith, I would even in a matter of fact rather take the truth from anothers mouth, then from mine own. Would every man pry into the effects and circumstances of the passions that sway him, as I have done of that whereunto I was allotted; he should see them comming, and would somewhat hinder their course and abate their impetuosity: They doe not alwayes surprise and take hold of us at the first brunt, there are certaine forebreatnings and degrees as forerunners.

*Fluctus uti primò cœpit cum albescere ponto,  
Paulatim sese tollit mare, & altius undas  
Erigit, inde imò consurgit ad æthera fundo.  
As when at sea, floods first in whitenesse rise,  
Sea surgeth softly, and then higher plies  
In waves, then from the ground mounts up to skies.*

Iudgement holds in me a presidentiall seate, at least he carefully endeavours to hold it. He suffers my appetites to keep their course, both hatred and love, yea and that I beare unto my selfe; without feeling alteration or corruption. If he can not reforme other parts according to himselfe, at least he will not be deformed by them: he keepes his court apart. That warning-lesson given to all men, *to know themselves*, must necessarily be of important effect, since that God of wisdom, knowledge and light, caused the same to be fixed on the frontispice of his temple: as containing whatsoever he was to counsell us. *Plato* saith also, that wisdom is nothing but the execution of that ordinance: And *Socrates* doth distinctly verifie the same in *Zenophon*. Difficulties and obscurity are not perceived in every science, but by such as have entrance into them: For some degree of intelligence is required, to be able to marke that one is ignorant: and wee must knocke at a gate, to know whether it bee shutte. Whence ensueth this Platonicall subtilty, that *neither those which know have no further to enquire, for so much as they know already: nor they that know not, because to enquire, it is*



Cic. Acad. que.  
lib. 1. f.

necessary they know what they enquire after. Even so in this, for a man to know himselfe: that every man is seene so resolute and satisfied, and thinks himselfe sufficiently instructed or skillfull, doth plainly signifie that no man understands any thing, as *Socrates* teacheth *Emhydemus*. My selfe, who professe nothing else, finde therein so bottomlesse a depth, and infinite variety, that my apprenticeship hath no other fruit, than to make me perceive how much more there remaineth for me to learne. To mine owne weaknesse so often acknowledged, I owe this inclination which I beare unto modesty; to the obedience of belifes prescribed unto me; to a constant coldnesse and moderation of opinions; and hatred of this importunate & quarrellous arrogancy, wholly beleeving and trusting it selfe, a capitall enemy to discipline and verity. Doe but heare them sway and talke. The first fopperies they propose, are in the stile, that Religions and Lawes are composeth in, *Nihil est turpius quam cognitioni & præceptioni, assertionem approbationemque præcurrere*. Nothing is more absurd, than that avouching and allowance should runne before knowledge and precept. *Aristarchus* saide, that in ancient times, there were scarce seven wise men found in the world: and in his time, hardly seven ignorant. Have not we more reason to say it in our dayes, than he had? Affirmation and selfe-conceit, are manifest signes of foolishnesse. Some one, who a hundred times a day hath had the canvasse and beene made a sharke coxcombe, shall notwithstanding be seene to stand upon his *Ergoes*, and as presumptuously resolute as before. You would say, he hath since some new minde and vigor of understanding infused into him. And that it betides him, as to that ancient childe of the Earth, who by his falling to the ground and touching his Mother, still gathered new strength and fresh courage.

Autent.

—cui cum tetigere parentem,  
*Iam defecta vigent renovato robore membra.*  
Whole failing limmes with strength renew'd regrow,  
When they once touch his mother Earth below.

Doth not this indocile, blocke-headed asse, thinke to reassume a new spirit, by undertaking a new disputation? It is by my experience I accuse humane ignorance, which (in mine opinion) is the surest part of the Worlds schoole. Those that will not conclude it in themselves, by so vaine an example as mine, or theirs, let them acknowledge it by *Socrates*, the Maister of Maisters. For the Philosopher *Antisthenes*, was wont to say to his Disciples: Come on my Maisters, let you and me goe to heare *Socrates*. There shall I be a fellow Disciple with you. And upholding this Doctrine of the Stoickes Sect, that only vertue sufficed to make a life absolutely happy, and having no need of any thing, but of *Socrates* his force and resolution, he added moroeover: This long attention I employ in considering my selfe, enableth me also to judge indifferently of others: And there are few things whereof I speake more happily and excusably. It often fortuneth me to see and distinguish more exactly the conditions of my friends, than themselves do. I have astonied some by the pertinency of mine own description, and have warned him of himselfe. Because I have from mine infancy enured my selfe to view mine owne life in others lives; I have thereby acquired a studious complexion therein. And when I thinke on it, I suffer few things to escape about me, that may in any sort fit the same; whether countenances, humour or discourses. I studiously consider all I am to eschew and all I ought to follow. So by my friends productions I discover their inward inclinations, Not to marshall or range this infinit variety of so divers and so distracted actions to certaine Genders or Chapters, and distinctly to distribute my parcels and divisions into formes and knowne regions.

Virg. Georg. lib.  
1. 103.

*Sed neque quàm multa species, & nomina que sint.*  
*Est numerus.*  
But not how many kinds, nor what their names:  
There is a number of them (and their frames.)

The wiser sort speake and declare their fantasies more specially and distinctly: But I, who have no further insight then I get from common use, without rule or methode, generally present mine owne, but gropingly. As in this: I pronounce my sentence by articles, loose and disloyured: it is a thing cannot be spoken at once and at full. Relation and conformity are not easily found in such base and common minds as ours. Wisdome is a solide and compleate frame; every severall piece whereof keepeth his due place and beareth his marke. *Sola sapientia in se tota conversa est*. Onely wisdome is wholly turned into it selfe. I leave it to Ar-  
cists,



tists, and I wot not whether in a matter so confused, so severall and so casuall, they shall come to an end, to range into sides this infinit diverlity of visages; and settle our inconstancy and place it in order. I doe not onely find it difficult to combine our actions one unto another, but take every one apart, it is hard, by any principall quality to desseigne the same properly: so double, so ambiguous and party-coloured are they to divers lusters. Which in *Perseus* the *Madonian* King was noted for a rare matter, that his spirit fastning it selfe to no kinde of condition; went wandring through every kinde of life: and reprelenting so new-fangled and gadding manners, that he was neyther knowne of himselfe nor of others, what kinde of man he was: me thinkes may well nigh agree and sute with all the world. And above all, I have seene some other of his coate or humour, to whom (as I suppose) this conclusion might also more properly be applied. No state of mediocrity being ever transported from one extreame to another, by indivinable occasions: no maner of course without crosse, and strange contrarieties: no faculty simple: so that the likeliest a man may one day conclude of him, shall be, that he afflicted and laboured to make himselfe knowne by being not to bee knowne. *A man had neede of long tough eares, to heare himselfe freely judged.* And because there be few that can endure to heare it without tingling: those which adventure to undertake it with us, shew us a singular effect of true friendship. For, *that is a truly perfect love, which to profit and doe good, feareth not to hurt or offend,* I deeme it absurd, to censure him, in whom bad qualities exceede good conditions. *Plato* requireth three parts in him that will examine anothers minde: *Learning, goodwill, and boldnesse.* I was once demanded, what I would have thought my selfe fit for, had any beene disposed to make use of me, when my yeares would have fitted service:

*Dum melior vires sanguis dabat, emulane dum  
Temporibus geminis canebar sparsa senectus.*

*Virg. Aen. lib. 5.  
415.*

While better blood gave strength, nor envious old yeares  
Ore-laid with wrinkled temples grew to hoary haire.

I answered, for nothing. And I willingly excuse my selfe that I can doe nothing which may enthrall me to others. But had my fortune made me a servant, I would have told my maister all truths; and, had he so wild it, controled his manners: Not in grosse, by scholasticall lessons, which I cannot doe: besides, I see no true reformation to ensue in such as know them: but faire and softly and with every opportunity observing them, and simply and naturally judging them distinctly by the eye. Making him directly to perceive, how and in what degree he is in the common opinion, opposing my selfe against his flatterers and sycophants. There is none of us, but would be worse then Kings, if as they are, we were continually corrupted with that rascally kinde of people. But what? if *Alexander* that mighty King and great Philosopher, could not beware of them? I should have had sufficient fidelity, judgement and liberty for that. It would be a namelesse office, otherwise it should lose both affect and grace; And is a part, which cannot indifferently belong to all. For, *truth it selfe, hath not the priviledge to be employed at all times and in every kinde:* Be her use never so noble, it hath his circumscriptions and limits. It often cometh to passe, the world standing as it doth, that truth is whispered into Princes eares, not onely without fruit, but hurtfully and therewithall unjustly. And no man shall make me beleve, but that an hallowed admonition may bee viciously applied, and abusively employed: and that the interest or the substance should not sometimes yeeld to the interest of the forme. For such a purpose and mystery I would have an unrepining man and one contented with his owne fortune,

*Quod sit, esse velit, nihilque malis:*

Willing to be as him you see,

Or rather nothing else to be:

*Mat. lib. 10.  
Epi. 47. 14.*

and borne of meane degree: For so much as on the one side, hee should not have cause to feare, lively and neerely to touch his maisters heart, thereby not to lose the course of his preferment: And on the other side, being of a low condition, he should have more easie communication with all sorts of people. Which I would have in one man alone; for, to impart the priviledge of such liberty & familiarity unto many, would beget an hurtfull irreverence. Yea, and of that man, I would above all things require trusty and assured silence. *A King is not to bee credited, when for his glory, he boasteth of his constancy, in attending his enemies encounter: if for his good amendment and profit, hee cannot endure the liberty of his friends words,*  
which



which have no other working power, then to pinch his learning: the rest of their effect remaining in his owne hands. Now, there is not any condition of men, that hath more neede of true, sincerely-free and open hearted advertisements, then Princes. They undergoe a publike life; and must applaude the opinion of so many spectators, that if they be once enured to have that concealed from them, which diverteth them from their course, they at unawares and insensibly finde themselves deeply engaged in the hatred and detestation of their subjects, many times for occasions, which had they beene forewarned, and in time gently reformed, they might no doubt have eschewed, to no interest or prejudice of their private delights. *Favorites doe commonly respect themselves more then their masters.* And surely it toucheth their free-hold, forsomuch as in good truth, the greatest part of true friendships-offices, are towards their soveraigne in a crabbed and dangerous Essay. So that, there is not onely required much affection and liberty, but also an undanted courage. To conclude, all this galimatry which I huddle-up here, is but a register of my lives-Essayes: which in regard of the internall health are sufficiently exemplary to take the instruction against the haire. But concerning bodily health, no man is able to bring more profitable experience, then my selfe; who present the same pure, sincere, and in no sort corrupted or altered, either by art or selfe-will'd opinion. Experience in her owne precinct, may justly be compared to Physicke, unto which, reason giveth place. *Tiberius* was wont to say, that *whosoever had lived twenty yeares, should be able to answer himselfe of all such things as were either wholesome or hurtfull for him, and know how to live and order his body without Physicke.* Which he peradventure had learned of *Socrates*; who industriously advising his disciples (as a study of chiefe consequence) to study their health, told them moreover, that it was very hard, if a man of understanding, heedfully observing his exercises, his eating and drinking, should not better then any Physitian discern and distinguish such things as were either good or bad or indifferent for him. Yet doth Physicke make open profession alwayes to have experience for the touch-stone of her operation. And *Plato* had reason to say, that *to be a good Physitian, it were requisite, that he who should undertake that profession, had past through all such diseases as hee will adventure to cure, and knowne or felt all the accidents and circumstances he is to judge of.* It is reason, themselves should first have the pox, if they will know how to cure them in others. I should surely trust such a one better then any else. Others but guide us, as one who sitting in his chaire paints seas, rockes, shelves and havens upon a board, and makes the modell of a tall ship, to saile in all safety: But put him to it in earnest, he knowes not what to doe, nor where to begin. They make even such a description of our infirmities as doth a towne-crier, who crieth a lost horse, or dog, and describeth his haire, his stature, his eares, with other markes & tokens, but bring either unto him, he knowes him not. Oh God, that physicke would one day afford me some good and preceptible helpe, how earnestly would I exclaime,

*Tandem efficaci de manus scientia,*

I yeeld, I yeeld at length,

To knowledge of chiefe strength.

The Arts that promise to keepe our body and minde in good health, promise much unto us; but therewith there is none performeth lesse what they promise. And in our dayes, such as make profession of these Arts amongst us, doe lesse then all others shew their effects. The most may be said of them, is, that they sell medicinable drugs; but that they are Physitians, no man can truly say it. I have lived long enough, to yeeld an account of the usage that hath brought mee to this day. If any bee disposed to taste of it, as his taster I have given him an assay. Loe here some articles, digested as memory shall store me with them. I have no fashion, but hath varied according to accidents: I onely register those I have most beene acquainted with; and hitherto possesse me most. My forme of life is ever alike, both in sicknesse and in health: one same bed, the same houres, the same meate, the same drinke doth serve me. I adde nothing to them but the moderation of more or lesse, according to my strength or appetite. My health is to keepe my accustomed state free from care and trouble. I see that sicknesse doth on the one side in some sort divert me from it, and if I beleve Physitians, they on the other side will turne me from it: So that both by fortune and by art I am cleane out of my right bias, I beleve nothing more certainly then this, that I cannot be offended by the use of things, which I have so long accustomed. *It is in the hands of custome to give our life what forme it pleaseth:* in that it can do all in all. It is the drinke



drinke of *Circes*, diversifieth our nature as she thinkes good. How many nations neere bordering upon us imagine the feare of the serene or night-calm to be but a jest, which so apparently doth blast and hurt us? and whereof our Mariners our watermen, and our country men make but a laughing-stocke? You make a Germane sicke, if you lay him upon a matteras, as you distemper an Italian upon a feather bed, and a French man to lay him in a bed without curtaines, or lodge him in a chamber without a fire. A Spaniard can not well brooke to feede after our fashion, nor we endure to drinke as the Swizzers. A Germane pleased me well at *Augusta* to raile against the commodity of our chimnies, using the same reasons or arguments, that wee ordinarily impley in condemning their stoves. For, to say truth, the same close-smothered heate, and the smell of that oft-heated matter, whereof they are composed, fumeth in the heads of such as are not accustomed unto them; not so with me. But on the other side, that heate being equally dispersed, constant and universall, without flame or blazing, without smoake, and without that wind which the tonnells of our chimnies bring us, may many wayes be compared unto ours. Why doe we not imitate the Romanes architecture?

It is reported that in ancient times they made no fire in their houses, but without and at the foote of them: Whence by tunnel, which were convaide through their thickest wals, and contrived neere and about all such places as they would have warmed; so that the heat was convaide into every part of the house. Which I have seene manifestly described in some place of *Seneca*, though I can not well remember where. This Germane, hearing me commend the beauties and commodities of this City (which truly deserveth great commendation) beganne to pity mee, because I was shortly to goe from it. And the first inconvenience he urged me withall, was the heaviness in the head, which Chimnies in other places would cause me. He had heard some other body complaine of it, and therefore alladged the same against me, being wont by custome to perceive it in such as came to him. All heat coming from fire doth weaken and dull me: Yet said *Evemus*, that fire was the best sauce of life. I rather allow and embrace any other manner or way to escape cold. Wee feare our Wines when they are low; whereas in *Portugall*, the fume of it is counted delicious, and is the drinke of Princes. To conclude, each severall Nation hath divers customes, fashions & usages; which, to some others, are not onely unknowne and strange, but savage, barbarous and wondrous. What shall we doe unto that people, that admit no witnesse, except printed; that will not believe men, if not printed in Bookes, nor credit truth, unlesse it be of competent age? We dignifie our fopperies, when we put them to the presse. It is another manner of weight for him, to say, I have seene it, then if you say, I have heard it reported. But I, who mis-believe no more the mouth, than the hand of men; and know that men write as indiscreetly as they speake unadvisedly; and esteeme of this present age, as of another past; alludge as willingly a friend of mine as *Aulus Gellius* or *Macrobius*, & what my selfe have seene, as that they have writtē. And as they accompt vertue to be nothing greater by being longer, so deeme I truth to be nothing wiser by being more aged. I often say it is meere folly that makes us runne after strange and scholasticall examples. The fertility of them is now equall unto that of *Homer* and *Platoes* times. But is it not, that we rather seeke the honour of allegations, than the truth of discourses? As if it were more to borrow our proofes from out the shop of *Vasosan* or *Plantin*, then from that we dayly see in our village. Or verily that wee have not the wit to blanch, sift out or make that to prevaile, which passeth before vs, & forcibly judge of it, to draw the same into example. For, if we say, that authority failes us, to adde credit unto our testimony, we speake from the purpose. For so much as in my conceit, could we but finde out their true light, Natures greatest miracles and the most wonderfull examples, namely upon the subject of humane actions, may be drawne and formed from most ordinary, most common and most knowne things. Now concerning my subject, omitting the examples I know by booke; And that which *Aristotle* speaketh of *Andron* of *Argos*, that he would travell all over the scorching sands of *Lybia*, without drinking: A Gentleman, who hath worthily acquitted himselfe of many honourable charges, reported where I was, that in the parching heate of Summer, hee had travelled from *Madriill* to *Lisbone*, without ever drinking. His age respected, he is in very good and healthy plight, and hath nothing extraordinary in the course or custome of his life, saving (as him selfe hath told me,) that he can very well continue two or three moneths, yea a whole yeere, without any manner



manner of beverage. He sometimes finds himselfe thirsty, but let's it passe; & holds, that it is an appetit, which will easily and of it selfe languish away: and if he drinke at any time, it is more for a caprice or humor, than for any need or pleasure. Loe here one of another key. It is not long since, that I found one of the wisest men of France, (among those of so meane fortune) studying hard in the corner of a great Hall, which for that purpose was hung about with tapistry, and round about him a disordered rable of his servants, groomes and lackeis; prating, playing and hoyting: who told me (as Seneca in a manner saith of himselfe) that he learn'd and profited much by that hurly-burly or tintimare, as it beaten with that confused noyse, he did so much the better recall and close himselfe into himselfe for serious contemplation; and that the said tempestuous rumours did strike and repercusse his thoughts inward. Whilst he was a scholler in Padua, his study was ever placed so neere the jangling of bells, the rattling, of coaches & rumbling tumults of the market place, that for the service of his study, he was faine, not onely to frame & enure himselfe to contemne, but to make good use of that turbulent noise. *Socrates* answered *Alcibiades*, who wondered how he could endure the continuall rattle-tattle & uncessant scoulding of his Wife: even as those who are accustomed to heare the ordinery creaking of the squeaking wheelles of wells. My selfe am cleane contrary, for I have a tender braine, and easie to take snuffe in the nose, or to be transported: If my minde be busie alone, the least stirring, yea the buzzing of a flie doth trouble and distemper the same. *Seneca* in his youth, having earnestly undertaken to follow the example of *Sextius*, to feed on nothing that were taken dead: could with pleasure (as himselfe avereth) live so a whole yeere. And left it, onely because he would not be suspected to borrow this rule from some new religions, that instituted the same. He therewithall followed some precepts of *Attalus*, not to lie upon any kinde of carpets or bedding that would yeeld under one; and untill he grew very aged, he never used but such as were very hard and unyeelding to the body. What the custome of his dayes makes him accompt rudenesse, ours makes us esteeme wantonnesse. Behold the difference betweene my varlets life and mine: The Indians have nothing further from my forme and strength. Well I wot, that I have heretofore taken boyes from begging, and that went roaguing up and downe, to serve me; hoping to doe some good upon them, who have within a litle while after left me, my fare and my livery; onely that they might without controule or checke follow their former idle loytring life. One of which I found not long since gathering of muskles in a common sincke, for his dinner; whom (doe what I could) I was never able, neyther with entreaty to reclaime, nor by threatening to withdraw, from the sweetnesse he found in want, and delight he felt in roaguing lazinesse. Even vagabondine roagues; as well as rich men, have their magnificences and voluptuousnesse, and (as some say) their dignities, preheminences & politike orders. They are effects of custome and use: and what is bred in the bone, will never out of the flesh. Both which have power to enure and fashion us, not onely to what forme they please (therefore, say the wise, ought we to be addressed to the best, and it will immediately seeme easie unto us) but also to change and variation: Which is the noblest and most profitable of their apprentisages. The best of my corporall complexions, is, that I am flexible and little opiniative. I have certaine inclinations, more proper and ordinary, and more pleasing than others. But with small adoe and without compulsion, I can easily leave them and embrace the contrary. A yong man should trouble his rules, to stirre up his vigor; and take heed he suffer not the same to grow faint, sluggish or teasty: For, there is no course of life so weake and sottish, as that which is mannaged by Order, Methode and Discipline.

*Inuen. Sat. 6.*  
477.

*Ad primum lapidem vestari cum places, hora  
Sumitur ex libro, si prurit frictus ocelli  
Augnibus, inspecta genesi collyria queris.  
List he to ride in coach but to Mile-end,  
By th' Almanacke he doth the houre attend:  
If his eye-corner itch, the remedy,  
He fets from calculation of nativity.*

If he beleeeve me, he shall often give himselfe unto all manner of excesse: otherwise the least disorder wil utterly overthrow him; and so make him unfit and unwelcome in all conversations



versations. The most contrary quality in an honest man, is nice-delicatenesse, and to bee tied to one certaine particular fashion. It is particular, if it be not supple and pliable. It is a kinde of reproch, through impuissance not to doe or not to dare, what one seeth his other companions doe or dare. Let such men keepe their kitchen. It is undecent in all other men, but vicious and intolerable in one professing Armes: who (as *Philopæmen* said) should fashion himselfe to all manner of inequality and diversity of life. Although I have (as much as might bee) beene inured to liberty, and fashioned to indifferency; yet in growing aged, I have through carelesnesse relied more upon certaine forms (my age is now exempted from institution, & hath not any thing else to looke unto, but to maintaine it selfe) which custome hath already, without thinking on it, in certaine things so wel imprinted her character in me, that I deeme it a kinde of excellence to leave them. And without long practise, I can neither sleepe by day; nor eate betweene meales; nor breake my fast; nor goe to bed without some intermission; (as of three houres after supper) nor get children, but before I fall asleepe, and that never standing; nor beare mine owne sweate; nor quench my thirst, either with cleere water or wine alone; nor continue long bare-headed; nor have mine haire cut after dinner. And I could as hardly spare my gloves as my shirt: or forbear washing of my hands, both in the morning and rising from the table; or lye in a bed without a testerne and curtaines about is, as of most necessary things: I could dine without a table-cloth, but hardly without a cleane napkin, as Germans commonly doe. I foule and sully them more than either they or the Italians: and I seldome use eyther spoone or forke. I am sory we follow not a custome, which according to the example of Kings I have seene begunne by some; that upon every course or change of dish, as we have shift of cleane trenchers, so we might have change of cleane napkins. We read that that laborious souldier *Marinus*, growing olde, grew more nicely delicate in his drinking, and would taste no drinke, except in a peculiar cuppe of his. As for me, I observe a kinde of like methode in glasses, and of one certaine forme, and drinke not willingly in a common-glasse, no more than of one ordinary hand: I mislike all manner of metall in regard of a bright transparent matter: let mine eyes also have taste of what I drinke according to their capacity. I am beholding to custome for many such niceneses and singularities. Nature hath also on the other side bestowed this upon me, that I can not wel brooke two full meales in one day, without surcharging my stomacker; nor the meere abstinence of one, without filling my selfe with winde, drying my mouth and dulling my appetite: And I doe finde great offence by a long serene or night-calme. For some yeeres since, in the out-roides or night-services that happen in times of warres, which many times continue all night, five or sixe houres after my stomacke beginnes to qualme, my head feeleth a violent aking, so that I can hardly hold-out till morning without vomiting. When others goe to breakefast, I goe to sleepe: and within a while after I shall be as fresh and jolly as before. I ever thought that the serene never fell, but in the shutting in of night, but having in these latter yeeres long time frequented very familiarly the conversation of a Gentleman, possessed with this opinion, that it is more sharpe and dangerous about the declination of the Sunne, an houre or two before it set, which he carefully escheweth, and dispiseth that which falls at night: hee hath gone about to perswade and imprint into me, not onely his discourse, but also his conceit. What if the very doubt and inquisition, woundeth our imagination and chanceth us? Such as altogether yelde to these bendings, draw the whole ruine upon themselves. And I bewaile divers Gentlemen, who being young and in perfect health, have by the ignorant foolishnes of their Physitians brought themselves into consumptions and other lingering diseases; and as it were in Physicks fetters. Were it not much better to be troubled with a rheume, than for ever through discustome, in an action of so great use and consequence, lose the commerce and conversation of common life? Oh yrkesome learning! Oh Science full of molestation; that wasteth us the sweetest houres of the day. Let us extend our possession unto the utmost meanes. A man shall at last, in opinionating himselfe, harden and enure himselfe for it, and so correct his complexion: as did *Cæsars* the falling sicknesse, with contemning and corrupting the same. A man should apply himselfe to the best rules, but not subject himselfe unto them: except to such (if any there be) that duty and thialdone unto them, be profitable. Both Kings and Philosophers obey nature, and goe to the stooles; and so doe Ladies: Publike lives are due unto ceremony: mine which is obscure and private, enjoyeth all naturall dispensations, To be a Souldier and a *Gascoyne*, are qualities to be  
what



Sen. epist. 92.

what subject to inditcretion. And I am both. Therefore will I say thus much of this action; that it is requisite we should remit the same unto certaine prescribed night-houres; and by custome (as I have done) force and subject our selves unto it: But not (as I have done) growing in yeeres, strictly tie himselfe to the care of a particular convenient place, and of a commodious *Aiex* or easie close-stoole for that purpose: and make it troublesome with long sitting and nice observation. Nevertheless in homeliest matters and fowlest offices, is it not in some sort excusable, to require more care and cleanlinesse? *Natura homo mundum & elegans animal est. By nature man is a cleanly and neate creature.*

Of all naturall actions, there is none wherein I am more loath to be troubled or interrupted, when I am at it. I have scene divers great men and souldiers, much troubled and vexed with their bellies untune and disorder, when at untimely houres it calleth upon them: whilst mine and my selfe never misse to call one upon another at our appointment: which is, as soone as I get out of my bed, except some urgent business or violent sicknesse trouble me. Therefore as (I saide) I judge no place where sicke men may better seate themselves in security, then quietly and wisht to hold themselves in that course of life, wherein they have been brought up & habituated. Any change or variation soever, astonieth and distempereth. Willl any beleve that Chestnurttes can hurt a *Perigordin* or a *Lugnois*, or that milke or whitemeates are hurtfull unto a mountaine dwelling people? whom if one seeke to divert from their naturall diet, he shall not onely prescribe them a new, but a contrary forme of life: A change which healthy man can hardly endure. Appoint a *Breston* of threescore yeeres of age to drinke water; put a Sea-man or Mariner into a Stove; forbid a lackey of Baske to walke: you bring them out of their element, you deprive them of all motion, and in the end, of aire, of light and life.

Cor. Gal. el. 1.

55.

— an vivere tanti est?

Doe we reckon it so deare,  
Onely living to be here?

*Cogimur à suctis animum suspendere rebus;**Atque ut vivamus, vivere desinimus:*

From things eist us'd we must suspend our minde;

We leave to live that we may live by kinde:

*Flos superesse reor quibus & spirabilis aer,**Et lux quia regimur, redditur ipsa gravis.*

Doe I thinke they live longer, whom doth grieve

Both aire they breathe, and light whereby they live?

If they doe no other good, at least they doe this, that betimes they prepare their patientes unto death, by little undermining and cutting-off the use of life. Both in health and in sicknesse, I have willingly seconded and given my selfe over to those appetites that pressed me. I allow great authority to my desires and propensions. I love not to cure one evill by another mischief. I hate those remedies, that importune more then sicknesse. To be subject to the chollike, and to be tied to abstaine from the pleasure I have in eating of oysters, are two mischiefs for one. The disease pincheth us on the one side, the rule on the other. Since we are ever in danger to misdoo, let us rather hazard our selves to follow pleasure. Most men doe contrary and thinke nothing profitable, that is not painefull: Facility is by them suspected. Mine appetite hath in divers things very happily accommodated and ranged it selfe to the health of my stomake. Being yong, acrimony and tartnesse in sawces did greatly delight me; but my stomacke being since g'utted therewith; my taste hath likewise seconded the same. Wine hurts the sicke; it is the first thing that with an invincible distaste, brings my mouth out of taste. Whatsoever I receive unwillingly or distastefully hurts me, whereas nothing doth it whereon I feed with hunger and relish. I never received harme by any action that was very pleasing unto me. And yet I have made all medicinall conclusions, largely to yeeld to my pleasures. And when I was yong

Cath. el. 4. 131.

*Quem circumcursans huc atque huc saepe Cupido**Fulgebat crocina splendidus in tunica.*About whom *Cupid* running here and there,

Shinde in the saffron coate which he did wear.

I have as licentioufly &amp; inconsiderately as any other, furthred al such desires as possessed me;



*Et militavi non sine gloria.*

A Souldier of loves hoast,  
I was not without boast.

*Hor. car. l. 3. od.  
36. 2.*

More notwithstanding in continuation and holding out, then by snatches or by stealth.

*Sex me vix memini sustinuisse vices.*

I scarce remember past  
Six courses I could last.

It is surely a wonder accompanied with unhappinesse, to confesse how young and weake I was brought under it's subjection. Nay, shall I not blush to tell it? It was long before the age of choise or yeeres of discretion: I was so young, as I remember nothing before. And fitly may my fortune bee compared to that of *Quartilla*, who remembred not her mayden-head.

*Inde tragus celeresq; pili, mirandaq; matri  
Barba mea.*

Thence goatishnesse, haire soon a beard  
To make my mother wonder, and afear'd.

Physicians commonly enfold and joyne their rules unto profit, according to the violence of sharpe desires or earnest longings, that incidently follow the sicke, No longing desire can be imagined so strange and vicious, but nature will apply herselfe unto it. And then how easie is it to content ones fantasie? In mine opinion, this part importeth all in all; at least more and beyond all other. The most grievous and ordinary evils are those, which fancy chargeth us withall. That Spanish saying doth every way please me: *Deffienda me Dios de my, God defend me from my selfe.* Being sicke, I am sory I have not some desire may give me the contentment to satiate and cloy the same: Scarcely would a medicine divert me from it. So doe I when I am in health: I hardly see any thing left to be hoped or wished-for. It is pittie a man should bee so weakned and enlanguished, that he hath nothing left him but wishing. The art of Physicke is not so resolute, that whatsoever wee doe, we shall be void of all authority to doe it. Shee changeth and she varieth according to climats; according to the Moones; according to *Feruelius*; and according to *Scala*. If your Physician thinke it not good that you sleepe, that you drinke wine, or eat such and such meates: Care not you for that; I will finde you another that shall not be of his opinion. The diversity of physicall arguments and medicinall opinions, embraceth all manner of formes. I saw a miserable sicke man, for the infinite desire he had to recover, ready to burst, yea and to die with thirst; whom not long since another Physician mocked, utterly condemning the others counsell, as hurtfull for him. Had not hee bestowed his labour well? A man of that coate is lately dead of the stone, who during the time of his sicknesse used extreame abstinence to withstand his evil; his fellowes affirme that contrary, his long fasting had withered and dried him up, and so concocted the gravell in his kidnies. I have found, that in my hurts and other sickneses, earnest talking distempers and hurts me as much as any disorder I commit. My voice costs me deare, and wearie me; for I have it lowd, shrill and forced: So that, when I have had occasion to entertaine the eares of great men, about weighty affaires, I have often troubled them with care how to moderate my voice, This story deserveth to be remembred and to divert me. A certaine man, in one of the Greeke schooles spake very lowde, as I doe; the maister of the ceremonies sent him word, he should speake lower; let him (quoth he) send me the tune or key in which he would have me speake. The other replied, that he should take his tune from his eares to whom he spake. It was well said, so he understood himselfe: Speake according as you have to doe with your auditory. For if one say, let it suffice that he heareth you, or governe your selfe by him: I do not thinke he had reason to say so. The tune or motion of the voyce, hath some expression or signification of my meaning: It is in me to direct the same, that so I may the better represent my selfe. There is a voyce to instruct one to flatter, and another to chide. I will not onely have my voyce come to him, but peradventure to wound and pierce him. When I brawle and rate my lackey, with a sharpe and piercing tune; were it fit he should come to me and say, Master, speake softly, I understand and heare you very well? *Est quaedam vox ad auditum accommodata non magnitudine sed proprietate.* There is a kinde of voyce well applied to the hearing, not by the greatnesse of it, but by the propriety. The word is halfe his that speaketh, and halfe his that harkeneth unto it. The hea-



rer ought to prepare himselfe to the motion or bound it taketh. As betweene those that play at tennis, he who keeps the hazard, doth prepare, stand, stirre and march, according as he perceives him who stands at the house, to looke, stand, remoove and strike the ball, and according to the stroake. Experience hath also taught me this, that we lose our selves with impatience. *Evils have their life, their limits; their diseases and their health.* The constitution of diseases is framed by the patterne of the constitution of living creatures. They have their fortune limited even at their birth, and their dayes allotted them. He that shall impatiently goe about, or by compulsion (contrary to their courses) to abridge them, doth lengthen and multiply them; and in stead of appeasing, doth harrell and wring them. I am of *Crantor's* opinion, that a man must neither obstinately nor frantickly oppose himselfe against evils; nor through demission of courage faintly yeeld unto them, but according to their condition and ours, naturally incline to them. A man must give sicknesses their passage: And I finde that they stay least with me, because I allow them their swinge, and let them doe what they list. And contrary to common received rules, I have without ayde or art ridde my selfe of some, that are deemed the most obstinately lingring, & unremoovably obstinate. *Let nature worke:* Let hir have hir will: She knoweth what she hath to doe, and understands hir selfe better then we do. But such a one died of it, wil you say; so shal you doubtlesse, if not of that, yet of some other disease. And how many have we seene die when they have had a whole Colledge of Physitians round a bout their bed, & looking in their excrements? *Example is a bright looking-glasse, universall and for all shapcs to looke into.* If it be a luscious or taste-pleasing potion, take it hardly; it is ever so much present ease. So it be delicious and sweetly tasting, I will never stand much upon the name or colour of it. *Pleasure is one of the chiefe kinds of profit.* I have suffered rheumes, gowty defluxions, relaxions, pantings of the heart, megreimes and other such-like accidents, to grow old in me, and die their naturall death; all which have left me, when I halfe enured and framed my selfe to foster them. They are better conjured by curtesie, then by bragging or threats. *We must gently obey and endure the lawes of our condition:* We are subject to grow aged, to become weake and to fall sicke, in spite of all physicke. It is the first lesson the Mexicans give their children; When they come out of their mothers wombes, they thus salute them: *My child, thou art come into the world to suffer; Therefore suffer and hold thy peace.* It is injustice for one to grieve, that any thing hath befallen to any one; which may happen to all men. *Indignare si quid in te inique propriè constitutum est.* Then take it ill, if any thing be decreed unjustly against thee alone. Look on an aged man, who sueth unto God to maintaine him in perfect, full and vigorous health, that is to say, he will be pleased to make him yong againe:

*Sicula quid hac frustra votis puerilibus optas?*

Foole, why dost thou in vaine desire,

With childish prayers thus aspire?

Is it not folly? his condition will not beare it. The gowt: the stone, the gravell and indigestion are symptomes or effects of long continued yeares; as heats, raines and winds, are incident to long voyages. *Plato* cannot beleieve, that *Esculapius* troubled himselfe with good rules and diet to provide for the preservation of life, in a weake, wasted and corrupted body: being unprofitable for his country, inconvenient for his vocation, and unfit to get sound and sturdy Children: and deeme not that care inconvenient unto divine justice and heavenly Wisedome, which is to direct all things unto profit. My good sir, the matter is at an end: You cannot be recovered; for the most, you can be but tampered withall, and somewhat under propt, and for some houres have your misery prolonged.

*Non secus instantem cupiens fulcire ruinam*

*Diversis contrà nititur obicibus,*

*Donec certa dies omni compage soluta*

*Ipsam cum rebus subruat auxilium.*

So he that would an instant ruine stay

With divers props strives it underlay,

Till all the frame dissolv'd a certaine day,

The props with th'edifice doth overstay.

*A man must learne to endure that patiently, which he cannot avoyde conveniently.* Our life is composed, as is the harmony of the World, of contrary things; so of divers tunes, some pleasant,

*Ovid. Trist. l. 3.  
pl. 8. 11.*

*corn. Galen.  
173.*



sant, some harsh, some sharpe, some flat, some low and some high: What would that Musition say, that should love but some one of them? He ought to know how to use them severally and how to entermingle them. So should we both of goods and evils, which are consubstantiall to our life. Our being cannot subsist without this commixture, whereto one side is no lesse necessary than the other. To goe about to kicke against natural necessity, were to represent the folly of *Ctesiphon*, who undertooke to strike or wince with his mule. I consult but little about the alterations which I feele: For these kinde of men are advantagious, when they hold you at their mercy. They glut your eares with their Prognostications, and surprising me heretofore, when by my sicknesse I was brought very low and weake, they have injuriously handled me with their Doctrines, positions, prescriptions, magistrall fopperies and prosopopeyall gravity; sometimes threatening me with great paine and smart, and other times menacing me with neere and unavoydable death: All which did indeede move, stirre and touch me neere, but could not dismay, or remoove me from my place or resolution: If my judgement be thereby neither changed nor troubled, it was at least hindred: It is ever in agitation and combating. Now I entreate my imagination as gently as I can, and were it in my power I would cleane discharge it of all paine and contestation. A man must further, help, flatter and (if he can) cozen and deceive it. My spirit is fit for that office. There is no want of apparances every where. Did he periwade, as he preacheth, hee should successe fully ayde me. Shall I give you an example? He tels me, it is for my good, that I am troubled with the gravell: That the compositions of my age, must naturally suffer some leake or flaw: It is time they begin to relent and gaine say themselves: It is a common necessity: And it had beene no new wonder for me. That way I pay the reward due unto age, and I could have no better reckoning of it. That such company ought to comfort me, being fallen into the most ordinary accident incident to men of my dayes. I every where see some afflicted with the same kinde of evill; whose society is honourable unto mee, forsomuch as it commonly possesse the better sort of men: and whose essence hath a certaine nobility and dignity connexed unto it: That of men tormented therewith, few are better cheape quit of it: and yet, it costs them the paine of a troublesome dyet, tedious regiment, and daily leathsome taking of medicinall drugges and physicall potions: Whereas I meerey owe it to my good fortune. For, some ordinary broths made of *Eringos* or *Sea-Holme*, and *Buristwort*, which twice or thrice I have swallowed downe, at the request of some Ladies, who more kindly then my disease is unkind, offered me the moiety of theirs, have equally seemed unto me as easie to take, as unprofitable in operation. They must pay a thousand vowes unto *Esculapius*, and as many crownes to their Physitian, for an easie profluvion or abundant running of gravell, which I often receive by the benefit of Nature. Let mee be in any company, the decency of my countenance is thereby nothing troubled: and I can hold my water full tenn hours, and if neede be, as long as any man that is in perfect health: The feare of this evill (saith he) did heretofore affright thee, when yet it was unknowne to thee. The cries and despaire of those, who through their impatience exasperate the same; bred a horror of it in thee. It is an evill that comes and fells into those limmes, by, and with which thou hast most offended: Thou art a man of conscience:

*Qua venit indignè pena, dolenda venit.*

The paine that comes without desert,

Comes to us with more griefe and smart.

*Ovid. Epist. 5.*

Consider but how milde the punishment is, in respect of others, and how favourable. Consider his slownesse in comming: hee onely incommodeth that state and encombreth that season of thy life, which (all things considered) is now become barren and lost, having as it were by way of composition given place unto the sensuall licentiousnesse and wanton pleasures of thy youth. The feare and pittie, men have of this evill, may serve thee as a cause of glory. A quality, whereof, if thy judgement be purified and thy discourse perfectly sound, thy friends doe notwithstanding discover some sparkes in thy complexion. It is some pleasure for a man to heare others say of him: *Loe there a patterne of true fortitude: loe there a mirror of matchlesse patience.* Thou art seene to sweate with labour, to grow pale and wanne, to wax red, to quake and tremble, to cast and vomit blood, to endure strange contractions, to brooke convulsions, to trill downe brackish and great teares, to make thicke, muddy blacke, bloody and fearefull urine, or to have it stopp'd by some sharpe or rugged stone, which



pricketh and cruelly wringeth the necke of the yarde : entertaining in the meane while the by-standers with an ordinary and undanted countenance, by pawses jesting and by intermissions dallying with thy servants : keeping a part in a continued discourse, with words now and then excusing thy griefe, and abating thy painefull sufferance. Dost thou remember those men of former ages, who to keep their vertue in breath and exercise, did with such greedinesse seeke after evils ? Suppose Nature driveth and brings thee unto that glorious Schoole, into which thou hadst never come of thine owne accord and free will. If thou tell me, it is a dangerous and mortall evil, : what others are not so ? For, it is a kinde of physicall coulenage, to except any, and so they goe directly unto death : what matter it is, whether they goe by accident unto it ; and easily slide on either hand, toward the way that leadeth us thereunto ? But thou diest not because thou art sicke ; thou diest because thou art living. Death is able to kill thee without the helpe of any sicknesse. Sicknesse have to some prolonged their death ; who have lived the longer, in asmuch as they imagined they were still dying. Seeing it is of wounds, as of diseases, that some are medicinall and wholesome. The chollike is often no lesse long-lived than you. Many are scene, in whom it hath continued even from their infancy unto their extreamest age, who had they not forsaken her company ; she was like to have assisted them further. You oftner kill her, than she doth you. And if she did present thee with the image of neer-imminent death, were it not a kinde office for a man of that age, to reduce it unto the cogitations of his end ? And which is worse, thou hast no longer cause to be cured : Thus and howsoever, common necessity calls for thee against the first day, Consider but how artificially and how mildely she brings thee in distaste with life, and out of liking with the world ; not forcing thee with a tyrannicall subjection, as infinit other diseases doe, wherewith thou seest old men possessed, which continually hold them fettered and ensnared, and without release of weakenesse nor intermission of paines but by advertisements and instructions, reprised by intervalles : entermixing certaine pawses of rest, as if it were, to give thee meane, at thy ease, to mediate and repeate her lesson : To give thee leasure and ability to judge soundly, and like a man of a courage to take a resolution, she presents thee with the state of thy condition perfect, both in good and evill, and in one same day, sometimes a most pleasing, sometimes a most intolerable life. *If thou embrace not death, at least thou shakest her by the hand once a moneth.* Whereby thou hast more cause to hope, that she will one day surprise thee without threatning. And that being so often brought into the haven ; supposing to be still in thy accustomed state, one morning at unawares, both thy selfe and thy confidence shall be transported over. A man hath no reason to complaine against those diseases, which so equally divide time with health. I am beholding to Fortune, that she so often assailes mee with one same kinde of weapon : she by long use doth fashion and enure mee unto it, harden and habituate me thereunto : I now know within a little which way and how I shall be quit. For want of naturall memory I frame some of paper. And when some new symptome or accident commeth to my evill, I set it downe in writing : whence it proceedeth, that having now (in a manner) passed over and through all sorts of examples, if any astonishment threaten me ; running and turning over these my loose memorialles (as *Sibyllaes leaves*) I misse no more to finde to comfort me with some favourable prognostication in my former past experience. Custome doth also serve mee, to hope the better hereafter. For, the conduct of this distribution, having so long beene constituted, it is to be supposed that Nature will not change this course, and no other worse accident shall follow, then that I feele. Moreover, the condition of this disease is not ill seeming to my ready and sodaine complexion. When it but faintly assailes mee, it makes mee afraid, because it is like to continue long : But naturally it hath certaine vigorous and violent excesses. It doth violently shake me for one or two dayes. My reines have continued a whole age without alteration, an other is now well-nigh come, that they have changed state. *Evils as well as goods have their periods :* this accident is happily come to his last. Age weakneth the heat of my stomacke : his digestion being thereby lesse perfect, hee sendeth this crude matter to my reines. Why may not, at a certaine revolution, the heat of my reines be likewise intebled : so that they may no longer purifie my fleagme ; and Nature addresse her selfe to finde some other course of purgation ? Yeares have evidently mademe drie up certaine rheumes : And why not these excrements, that minister matter to the stone or gravell ? But is there any thing so pleasant, in respect of this sodaine change,

when



when by an extreame paine, I come by the voyding of my stone, to recover, as from a lightning, the faire Sunne-shine of health; so free and full, as it happeneth in our sodaine and most violent cholliks? Is there any thing in this paine suffered that may be counter poised to the sweet pleasure of so ready an amendment? By how much more health seemeth fairer unto me after sicknesse, so neere and so contiguous, that I may know them in presence one of another, in their richest ornaments; wherein they attyre themselves avy, as it were confront and counterchecke one another: Even as the Stoickes say, that *Vices were profitably brought in; to give esteeme and make head unto vertue*; So may we with better reason and bold conjecture, affirme, that Nature hath lent us griefe and paine, for the honour of pleasure and service of indolency. When *Socrates* (after he had his yrons or fetters taken from him) felt the pleasure or tickling of that itching, which their weight and rubbing had caused in his legges; he rejoyced, to consider the neere affinity that was between paine & pleasure; how they combined together by a necessary bond; so that at turnes they enter-engender and succeed one another: And cry out to good *Aescop*, that he should from that consideration have taken a proper body unto a quaint fable. The worst I see in other diseases, is, that they are not so grievous in their effect, as in their illue. A man is a whole yeare to recover himselfe; ever full of weakenesse, alwayes full of feare.

There is so much hazard and so many degrees before one can be brought to safety, that hee is never at an end. Before you can leave off your coverchefe and then your night-cap; before you can brooke the ayre againe, or have leave to drinke Wine, or lye with your Wife, or eate melons, it is much, if you fall not into some relapse or new misery. The gravell hath this priviledge, that it is cleane carried away: Whereas other diseases, leave ever some impression and alteration, which leaveth the body susceptible or undertaking of some new infirmity; and they lend one another their hands. Such are to be excused, as are contented with the possession they have over us, without extending the same, and without introducing their sequell: But curious, kind and gracious are those, whose passage brings us some profitable consequence. Since I have had the stone chollike, I finde my selfe discharged of other accidents: more (as me thinks) then I was before, and never had ague since. I argue, that the extreame and frequent vomits I endure, purge mee; and on the other side, the distastes and strange abstinences I tolerate, digest my offending humours: and Nature voydeth in these stones and gravell, whatsoever is superfluous and hurtfull in her. Let no man tell me, that it is a medicine too deere sold. For, what availe so many loathsome pills, stincking potions, cauterizings, incisions, sweatings, setons, dyets and so divers fashions of curing, which, because we are not able to undergoe their violence and brooke their importunity, doe often bring us unto our graves? And therefore, when I am surprised, I take it as physicke: and when I am free, I take it as a constant and full deliverance. Lo here an other particular favour of my disease, which is, that he in a manner, keepes his play a-part, and let's me keepe mine owne; or else I want but courage to doe it: In his greatest emotion, I have held out tenne houres on Horse-backe with him. Doe but endure, you neede no other rule or regiment: Play, dally, dyne, runne, be gamefome, doe this, and if you can, doe the other thing, your disorder and debauching will rather availe than hurt it. Say thus much to one that hath the pox, or to one that hath the gowt, or to one that is belly broken or cod-burst. Other infirmities have more universall bonds, torment farre otherwise our actions, pervert all our order, and engage all the state of mans life unto their consideration: Whereas this doth only twitch and pinch the skin, it neyther medleth with your understanding, nor with your will, tongue, feete nor hands, but leaves them all in your disposition; it rather rouzeth and awaketh you, then deterre and drouzy you. The mind is wounded by the burning of a fever, suppressed by an Epilepsie, confounded by a migraine, and in conclusion, astonished and dismayed by all the diseases that touch or wound the whole masse of his body, and it's noblest parts: This never medleth with it. If therefore it go ill with it, his be the blame: she bewrayeth, she forsaketh and she displaceth her selfe. None but fools will be perswaded, that this hard, gretty and massie body, which is concocted and petrified in our kidneis, may be dissolved by drinks. And therefore after it is stirred, there is no way, but to give it patience; For if you doe not, he will take it himselfe. This other peculiar commodity I observe, that it is an infirmity, wherein we have but little to divine. We are dispensed from the trouble, whereinto other maladies cast us, by the uncertainty of their causes, conditions & progresses.



gresses. A trouble infinitely painfull. We have no need of doctorall consultations, or collegiall interpretations. Our senses tell us where it is, and what it is. By, & with such arguments, forcible or weake (as *Cicero* doth the infirmity of his old age) I endeavour to lull asleepe, and study to amuse my imagination, and supple or annoint her sores. If they grow worle to morrow; to morrow we shall provide for new remedies or escapes. That this is true: loe afterward againe, haply the lightest motion wrings pure blood out of my reines. And what of that? I omit not to stirre as before, and with a youthfull and insolent heare ride after my hound. And find that I have great reason of so important an accident, which costs me but a deafe heavinesse and dombe alteration in that part. It is some great stone that wasteth and consumeth the substance of my kidneis and my life, which I avoyde by little and little: Not without some naturall pleasure, as an excrement now superfluous and troublesome. And heele I something to shake? Except not that I amuse my selfe to feele my pulse, or looke into my urine, thereby to finde or take some tedious prevention. I shall come time enough to feele the smart, without lengthening the same with the paine of feare. *Who feareth to suffer, suffereth already, because he feareth.*

Seeing the doubt and ignorance of those, who will and do meddle with expounding the drifts and shifts of nature, with her internall progresse; and so many false prognostications of their arte should make us understand her meanes infinitely unknowne. There is great uncertainty, variety and obscurity, in that shee promisseth and menaceth us. Except old age, which is an undoubted signe of deaths approaching: of all other accidents, I see few signes of future things, whereon we may ground our divination. I onely judge my selfe by true-feeling sense, and not by discourse: To what end? since I will adde nothing thereunto except attention and patience. Will you know what I gaine by it? Behold those who doe otherwise, and who depend on so many diverse perswasions and counsels; how oft imagination presseth them without the body. I have divers times being in safety and free from all dangerous accidents, taken pleasure to communicate them unto Physicians, as but then comming upon me. I endured the arrest or doome of their horrible conclusions, and remained so much the more bounden unto God for his grace, and better instructed of the vanity of this arte. *Nothing ought so much be recommended unto youth, as activity and vigilancy.* Our life is nothing but motion, I am hardly shaken, and am slow in all things, be it to rise, to goe to bed, or to my meales. Seaven of the clocke in the morning is to me an early houre: And where I may command, I neither dine before eleven, nor sup till after six. I have heretofore imputed the cause of agues or maladies, whereinto I have fallen, to the lumpish heavinesse or drowzy dulnesse, which my long sleeping had caused me. And ever repented mee to fall asleepe againe in the morning. *Plato* condemnes more the excelsse of sleeping, then the surfeit of drinking. I love to lie hard and alone, yea and without a woman by me: after the kingly manner: somewhat well and warme covered. I never have my bed warmed; but since I came to be an old man, if need require, I have clothes given me to warme my & feele my stomacke. Great *Scipio* was taxed to bee a sluggard or heavy sleeper (in my conceit) for no other cause, but that men were offended, hee onely should bee the man, in whom no fault might justly bee found. If there be any curiosity in my behaviour or manner of life, it is rather about my going to bed, then any thing else; but if neede bee, I generally yeeld and accommodate my selfe unto necessity, as well and as quietly, and any other whosoever. Sleeping hath possessed a great part of my life: and as old as I am, I can sleepe eight or nine houres together. I doe with profit withdraw my selfe from this sluggish propension, and evidently finde my selfe better by it. Indeepe I somewhat feele the stroke of alteration, but in three dayes it is past. And I see few that live with lesse (when need is) and that more constantly exercise themselves, nor whom toying and labour offend lesse. My body is capable of a firme agitation, so it be not vehement and sodaine. I avoide violent exercises, and which induce mee to sweate: my limbs will sooner be wearied, then beated. I can stand a whole day long, and am seldome weary with walking. Since my first age, I ever loved rather to ride then walke upon paved streets. Going a foote, I shall dirty my selfe up to the waste: and little men, going alongst our streets, are subject (for want of presentiall apparence) to be jostled or elbowed. I love to take my rest, be it sitting or lying along, with my legs as high or higher then my seate. No profession or occupation is more pleasing then the military: A profession or exercise, both noble in execution (for the strongest, most generous and prom-



best of all vertues, is true valour) and noble in it's cause. No utility, either more just or universall then the protection of the repose, or defence of the greatnesse of ones country. The company and dayly conversation of so many noble, young and active men, cannot but bee well-pleasing to you: the dayly and ordinary sight of so divers tragicall spectacles: the liberty and uncontroled freedome of that artefull and unaffected conversation, masculine and ceremonious maner of life: the hourely variety of a thousand ever changing and differing actions: the couragious and minde stirring harmony of warlike musicke, which at once enterteineth with delight and enflameth with longing, both your eares and your minde: the imminent and matchlesse honour of that exercise: yea the very sharpnesse and difficulty of it, which *Plato* esteemeth so little, that in his imaginary commonwealth, he imparteth the same both to women and to children. As a voluntary Souldier, or adventurous Knight you enter the lists, the bands or particular hazards, according as your selfe judge of their successe or importance: and you see when your life may therein be excusably employed.

*Pulchrūque mori succurrit in armis.*

And nobly it doth come in minde,  
To die in armes may honor finde.

*Civ. A. lib. 3.  
317.*

Basely to feare common dangers, that concerne so numberlesse a multitude, and not to dare, what so many sorts of men dare, yea whole nations together, is onely incident to base, craven and milke-sop hearts. Company and good fellowship doth barten and encourage children. If some chance to exceed and outgoe you in knowledge, in experience, in grace, in strength, in fortune, you have third and collaterall causes to blame and take hold of; but to yeeld to them in constancy of minde, and resolution of courage, you have none but your selfe to find fault with. Death is much more abject, languishing, grisly & painefull in a downe-bed, then in a field-combats; and agues, catarrhes or apoplexies, as painefull and mortall, as an *harquebusado*. He that should be made undantedly to beare the accidents of common life, should not need to bum-bast his courage, to become a man at armes. *Vivere, mi Lucilla, militare est. Friend mine, to live is to goe on warre-fare.* I cannot remember that ever I was scabbed: yet is itching one of nature's sweetest gratifications, and as ready at hand. But repentance doth over-impotunately attend on it. I exercise the same in mine eares (and by fits) which within doe often itch. I was borne with al my senses sound, almost in perfection. My stomacke is commodiously good; and so is my head: both which, together with my winde, maintaine themselves athwart my agues. I have outlived that age, to which some nations have not without some reason preferibed for a just end unto life, that they allowed not a man to exceede the same. I have notwithstanding some remyses or intermissions yet: though unconstant and short, so sound and neate, that there is little difference between them and the health and indolency of my youth. I speake not of youthly vigor and chearefull blithnesse; there is no reason they should follow me beyond their limits:

*Sen. epist. 96. f.*

*Non hac amplius est liminis, aut aque*

*Cœlestis, patiens latus.*

These sides cannot still sustaine

Lying without doores, shrowring raine:

*Hor. car. lib. 3.  
od. 16. 15.*

My visage and eyes doe presently discover me. Thence begin all my changes, and some what sharper then they are in effect. I often move my friends to pittie, ere I feeble the cause of it. My looking glasse doth not amaze me: for even in my youth it hath divers times befallen me, to put-on a dusky looke, a wan colour, a troubled behaviour and of ill presage, without any great accident; so that Physicians perceiving no inward cause to answer this outward alteration, ascribed the same to the secret minde or some concealed passion, which inwardly gnawed and consumed me. They were deceived, were my body directly by me, as is my minde, we should march a little more at our ease. I had it then, not onely exempted from all trouble, but also full of satisfaction and blithenesse, as it is most commonly, partly by it's owne complexion, and partly by it's owne desseigne:

*Nec vitiāt artus agra contagia mentis,*

Nor doth sicke mindes infection,

Pollute strong joynts complexion.

*Ovid. Trist. li. 2.  
el. 8. 25.*

I am of opinion, that this her temperature hath often raised my body from his fallings: he is often suppressed, whereas she, if not lasciviously wanton, at least in quiet and repoted



estate. I had a quartan ague which held me foure or five moneths, and had altogether dis-  
visaged and altered my countenance, yet my minde held ever out, not onely peaceably but  
pleasantly. So I feele no paine or smart; weakenesse and languishing doe not greatly perplex  
me. I see divers corporall defailances, the onely naming of which breede a kind of horror, &  
which I would feare lesse then a thousand passions and agitations of the mind, which I see in  
use. I resolve to runne no more: it sufficeth me to goe-on faire and softly; nor doe I com-  
plaine of their naturall decadence or empairing that possesseth me.

Juven. sat. 13.  
152.

*Quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?*

Who wonders a swolne throte to see,

In those about the Alpes that be?

No more, then I grieve that my continuance is not as long and sound, as that of an oake.  
I have no cause to finde fault with my imagination. I have in my life had very few thoughts  
or cares, that have so much as interrupted the course of my sleepe, except of desire to awa-  
ken without dismay or afflicting me. I seldome dreame, and when I doe, it is of extravagane  
things and chymeras; commonly produced of pleatant conceits, rather ridiculous then for-  
rowfull. And thinke it true, that dreames are the true interpreters of our inclinations: but  
great skill is required to sort and understand them.

*Res que invisa usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident.*

*Quaeque agunt vigilantes, agitantque ea sicut in somno accidunt*

*Minus mirandum est.*

It is no wonder if the things, which we

Care-for, use, thinke, doe oft, or waking see,

Vnto us sleeping represented be.

Plato saith moreover, that is the office of wisdom to draw divining instructions from  
them, against future times. Wherein I see nothing but the wonderfull experience, that So-  
crates, Xenophon and Aristotle relate of them: men of unreprouable authority. Histories  
report, that the inhabitants of the Atlantique Iles never dreame: who feed on nothing  
that hath beene slaine. Which I adde, because it is peradventure the occasion they dreame  
not. Pythagoras ordained therefore a certaine methode of feeding, that dreames might be  
sorted of some purpose. Mine are tender, and cause no agitation of body or expression of  
voice in me. I have in my dayes seene many strangely stirred with them. Theon the Philoso-  
pher walked in dreaming; and Pericles his boy, went upon the tiles and top of houses. I stand  
not much on nice choice of meates at the table: & commonly begin with the first and neere-  
st dish: and leape not willingly from one taste to another. Multitude of dishes, and variety of  
services displease me as much as any other throng. I am easily pleased with few messes and  
hate the opinion of Favorinus, that at a banquet you must have that dish whereon you feed  
hungerly taken from you, and ever have a new one set in the place: And that it is a niggard-  
ly supper, if all the guests be not glutted with pinions and rumps of divers kinds of fowle:  
and that onely the dainty bird *beccafico* or snapfig deserveth to bee eaten whole at one mor-  
sell. I feede much upon salt eates, and love to have my bread somewhat fresh: And mine  
owne Baker makes none other for my bord; against the fashion of my country. In my youth  
my overseers had much a doe to reforme the retusall I made of such meats as youth doth  
commonly love best; as sweet meates, confets and marchpanes. My Tutor was wont to finde  
great fault with my lothing of such dainties, as a kinde of squeamish delicacy. And to say  
truth, it is nothing but a difficulty of taste, where it once is applied. Whosoever remoo-  
veth from a child a certaine particular or obstinate affection to browne bread, to bakon, or to  
gailike, taketh friandise from him. There are some, that make it a labour, and thinke it a pa-  
tience to regret a good piece of pawdred beefe, or a good gemmon of bakon, amongst  
partridges. Are not they wise men in the meane time? It is the chiefe dainty of all dainties:  
It is the taste of nice effeminate fortune, that will be distasted with ordinary and usual things.  
*Per que luxuria divitiarum radio ludis.* Whereby the lavishnesse of plenty playes with tedious plea-  
sure. To forbear to make good cheare, because another doth it; for one to have care of his  
feeding, is the essence of that vice.

Hor. l. 1. Ep. 5. 2

*Si modica cenare times olus omne patella.*

If in a sorry dish to sup

You brooke not all th'hearbe pottage up.

Indeede



Indeede there is this difference, that it is better for one to tye his desires unto things easi-  
est to be gotten, yet is it a vice to tie himselfe to any strictnesse. I was heretofore wont to  
name a kinsman of mine over delicate, because, whilest hee lived in our Gallies, he had un-  
learn't and left to lie upon a bedde, and to strippe himselfe to goe to bedde. Had I any male-  
children, I should willingly wish them my fortune. That good Father, it pleased God to al-  
lot me (who hath nothing of mee but thankfulness for his goodnesse, which indeed, is as  
great as great may be) even from my cradle sent mee to be brought up in a poore village of  
his, where he kept me so long as I suckt, and somewhat longer: breeding me after the mea-  
nest and simplest-common fashio: *Magna pars libertatis est bene moratus ventor. A man- Sen. Epist. 123.*  
*nerly belly is a great part of a mans liberty.* Never take unto your selfe, and much lesse never  
give your wives the charge of your childrens breeding or education. Let fortune frame them  
under the popular and naturall Lawes: Let custome enure them to frugality, and breed them  
to hardnesse: That they may rather descend from sharpenesse, than ascend unto it. His  
conceit aymed also at another end; To acquaint and re-aly me with that people and con-  
dition of men that have most need of us: And thought I was rather bound to respect those  
which extend their armes unto me, than such as turne their backe toward me. And that was  
the reason he chose no other gossip to hold me at the font, than men of abject and base for-  
tune, that so I might the more be bound and tied unto them. His purpose hath not altoge-  
ther succeeded ill. I willingly give and accost my selfe unto the meaner sort; whether it be  
because there is more glory gotten by them, or through some naturall compassion, which in  
me is infinitely powerfull. The faction which I condemne in our civill warres, I shall more  
sharply condemne when it prospers and flourisheth. I shall in some sort be reconciled un-  
to it, when I see it miserably-depressed and overwhelmed. Oh how willingly doe I remem-  
ber that worthy humour of *Chelonis*, daughter and wife to King of *Sparta*. Whilest *Cle-  
ombrotus* her husband, in the tumultuous disorders of his City, had the upper hand of *Leo-  
nidus* her father, she played the part of a good daughter: allying her selfe with her father,  
in his exile and in his misery, mainly opposing hir selfe against the Conquerour: Did for-  
tune turne? So changed she hir minde, courageously taking hir husbands part: Whom she  
never forsooke, whither-soever his ruine or distresse caried him. Having (in my seeming)  
no other choise, than to follow that side, where she might doe most good, where she was  
most wanted, and where she might shew her selfe most truly pittifull. I doe more naturall  
encline toward the example of *Flaminius*, who more and rather yeilded to such as had need  
of him, than to those who might doe him good: than I bend unto that of *Pyrrhus*, who was  
ever wont, demissely to stoope and yeeld to the mighty, and insolently to grow proud over  
the weake. Long sitting at meales doth much weary and distemper me: for, be it for want  
of better countenance and entertainment, or that I used my selfe unto it when I was a child,  
I feede as long as I sit at the table. And therefore, being in mine owne house, though my  
board be but short, and that wee use not to sit long, I doe not commonly sit downe with the  
first, but a pretty while after others: According to the forme of *Augustus*: yet I imitate  
him not in his rising before others. Contrary, I love to sit a great while after, and to heare  
some discourse or table-talk. Alwayes provided I beare not a part my selfe; for, if my belly  
bee full, I shall soone bee weary, and hurt my selfe with talking: and I finde the exercise of  
lowde-speaking and contesting before meate very pleasant and wholesome. The anci-  
ent Grecians and Romanes had better reason than wee, allotting unto feeding, which is a  
principall action of mans life (if any other extraordinary businesse did not let or divert them  
from it) divers houres, and the best part of the night: eating and drinking more leisurely than  
we doe, who passe and runne over all our actions in post-haste: and extending this naturall  
pleasure unto more leisure and use: entermixing therewith divers profitable and mind-plea-  
sing offices of civill conversation. Such as have care of me, may easily scale from me what  
soever they imagine may be hurtfull for me: in asmuch as about my feeding, I never desire or  
find fault with that I see not: That Proverb is verified in me; *What eye seeth not, the heart  
rueeth not.* But if a dish or any thing else be once set before me, they lose their labour, that goe  
about to tell me of abstinence: so that, when I am disposed to fast I must be sequestred from  
eaters, and have no more set before me, than may serve for a stinted and regular collation: for  
if I but sit downe at a set table, I forget my resolution. If I chance to bidde my cooke  
change the dressing of some kinde of meate or dish, all my men know, I inferre my appeti-



is wallowish and my stomacke out of order, and I shall hardly touch it. I love all manner of flesh or fowle but greene roasted and raw sodden, namely, such as may beare it without danger; and love to have them thoroughly mortified; and in divers of them the very alteration of their smell. Onely hardnesse or toughnesse of meate doth generally molest me (of all other qualities, I am as carelesse, and can as well brooke them, as any man that ever I knew) so that (contrary to received opinion) even amongst fishes, I shall finde some, both too new and over-hard and firme, It is not the fault or want of teeth, which I ever had as perfectly-sound and compleate as any other man: and which but now, being so olde, beginne to threaten me. I have from my infancy learn'd to rubbe them with my napkin, both in the morning when I rise, and sitting down and rising from the table. God doth them a grace, from whom by little and little he doth substract their life. It is the onely benefit of old age. Their last death shall be so much the lesse full, languishing and painefull: it shall then kill but one halfe or a quarter of a man. Even now I lost one of my teeth, which of it selfe fell out, without strugling or paine: it was the naturall terme of it's continuance. That part of my being, with divers others, are already dead and mortified in mee, others of the most active, halfe dead, and which, during the vigor of my age held the first ranke. Thus I sinke and scape from my selfe. What foolishnes will it be in my understanding, to feele the start of that fall, already so advanced, as it were perfectly whole? I hope it not; verely I receive a speciall comfort in thinking on my death, and that it shall be of the most just and naturall: and cannot now require or hope other favor of destiny, concerning that, then unlawfull. Men perswade themselves, that as heretofore they have had a higher stature, so their lives were longer; But they are deceived: for *Solon*, of those ancient times, though he were of an exceeding high stature, his life continued but 70. yeeres. Shall I, that have so much & so universally adored, that *aesov mērov*, a meane is best, of former times: and have overtaken a meane measure for the most perfect, therefore pretend a most prodigious and unmeasurable life? whatsoever commeth contrary to Natures course, may be combersome, but what comes according to her, should ever please. *Omnia quae secundum naturam sunt, sunt habenda in bonis.* All things are to be accompted good, that are done according to nature. And therefore (saith *Plato*) is that death violent, which is caused either by wounds or sicknesses; but that of all others the easiest and in some sort delicious, which surpriseth us by meanes of age. *Vitam adolescentibus vis auferit, senibus maturitas.* A forcible violence takes their life from the young, but a ripe maturity from the old. Death entermedleth, and every where confounds it selfe with our life: declination doth preoccupate her houre, and insinuate it selfe in the very course of our advancement: I have pictures of mine owne, that were drawne when I, was five and twenty, and others being thirty yeeres of age, which I often compare with such as were made by me, as I am now at this instant. How many times doe I say, I am no more my selfe; how much is my present image further from those, then from that of my deccale? It is an over-great abuse unto nature to dragge and hurry her so farre, that she must be forced to give us over; and abandon our conduct, our eyes, our teeth, our legges and the rest, to the mercy of a forraine help and begged assistance: and to put our selves into the hands of art, weary to follow us. I am not overmuch or greedily desirous of sallets or of fruits, except melons. My father hated all manner of sawces; I love them all. Overmuch eating doth hurt and distemper me: but for the quality I have yet no certaine knowledge that any meate offends me: I never observe either a full or waned Moone, nor make a difference betweene the Spring time or Autumne. There are certaine inconstant and unknowne motions in us. For (by way of example) I have heretofore found redish. rootes to be very good for mee, then very hurtfull, and now againe very well agreeing with my stomacke. In divers other things, I feele my appetit to change, and my stomacke to diversifie from time to time. I have altered my course of drinking, sometimes from white to claret wine, and then from claret to white againe.

I am very friand and gluttonous of fish; and keepe my shroving dayes upon fish dayes; and my feasts upon fasting-dayes. I believe as some others doe, that fish is of lighter digestion than flesh. As I make it a conscience to eat flesh upon a fish day, so doth my taste to eat fish and flesh together. The diversity betweene them, seemes to mee over-distant. Even from my youth I was wont now and then to steale some repast, either that I might sharpen my stomake against the next day; for, (as *Epicurus* was wont to fast, and made but sparing meales



meales, thereby to accustom his voluptuousnesse, to neglect plenty: I, contrary to him to enure my sensuality to speede the better, and more merrily to make use of plenty) or else I fasted, the better to maintaine my vigor for the service or performance of some bodily or mentall action: for both are strangely dulled and idled in me, through over-much fulnesse and repleatenesse. (And above all, I hate that foolish combination, of so sound and bucksome a Goddesse, with that indigested and belching God all puffed with the fume of his liquor) or to recover my crazed stomake, or because I wanted some good company. And I say as *Epicurus* said, that *A man should not so much respect what he eateth, as with whom he eateth.* And commend *Chilon*; that he would not promise, to come to *Perianders* feast, before he knew certainly who were the other bidden guests. *No viands are so sweetly pleasing, no sauce so tastefull, as that which is drawne from conversable and mutuell society.* I thinke it wholesome to eat more leisurely, and lesse in quality, and to feede oftner: But I will have appetit and hunger to be endeared: I should finde no pleasure, after a phisicall maner, to swallow three or foure forced and spare meales a day. Who can assure me, if I have a good taste or stomacke in the morning, that I shall have it againe at supper? Let us old men; let us, I say, take the first convenient time that commeth: Let us leave hopes and prognostikes unto Almanack-makers. The extreame fruit of my health, is pleasure: Let us hold fast on the present, and to us knowne. I eschew constancy in these Lawes of fasting. Who so will have a forme to serve him, let him avoyd continuance of it: but we harden our selves unto it, and thereunto wholly apply our forces: sixe moneths after, you shall finde your stomacke so enured unto it, that you shall have gotten nothing but this, to have lost the liberty to use it otherwile without damage. I use to goe with my legges and thighs no more covered in Sommer than in Winter; for I never weare but one paire of single filke stockins. For the easing of my rhume and helpe of my chollike, I have of late used to keepe my head and belly warme. My infirmities did in few dayes habituate themselves thereunto, and disdained my ordinary provisions: From a single night-cappe, I came to a double coverchef, and from a bonnet, to a lined and quilted hat. The bumbasting of my doublet, serves me now for no more use then a stomacher: it is a thing of nothing, unlesse I adde a hare or a vultures skin to it; and some warme wrapping about my head. Follow this gradation and you shall goe a faire pace, I will do no such thing. If I durst I could find in my hart to revoke the beginning I have given unto it. Fall you into any new inconvenience? This reformation will no longer avails you. You are so accustomed unto it, that you are driuen to seeke some new one. So are they overthrowne, that suffer themselves with forced formalities or strict rules, to be intrangled, and do superstitiously constrain themselves unto them: they have need of more, and of more after that: they never come to an end. It is much more commodious both for our businesse and for our pleasure (as did our forefathers) to lose our dinner, and deferre making of good cheere, unto the houre of withdrawing and of rest, without interrupting the day: So was I wont to doe heretofore. I have for my health found out since by experience, that on the contrary, it is better to dine, and that one shall digest better being awake. Whether I be in health or in sicknesse, I am not much subject to be thirsty: indeede my mouth is somewhat dry, but without thirst. And commonly I use not to drinke, but when with eating I am forced to desire it, and that is when I have eaten well. For a man of an ordinary stature I drinke indifferent much. In Sommer, and at an hungry meale, I not onely exceede the limits of *Augustus*, who drunke but precisely three times: but, not to offend the rule of *Democritus*, who forbade us to stay at foure, as an unlucky number; if need be, I come to five: Three demisextiers, or thereabouts. I like little glasses best; and I love to empty my glasse: which some others dislike, as a thing unseemely. Sometimes, and that very often, I temper my wine one halfe, and many times three parts with water. And when I am in mine owne house, from an antient custome, which my fathers Physitian ordained both for him, and himselfe, looke what quantity of Wine is thought will serve mee a meale, the same is commonly tempered two or three houres before it be served in, and so kept in the cellar. It is reported that *Cranus* King of the Athenians, was the first, that invented the mingling of Wine with Water. Whether it were profitable or no, I will not now dispute or stand upon. I thinke it more decent and more wholesome, that children should drinke no Wine, untill they be past the age of sixteene or eightene yeares. *The most usuall and common forme of life, is the best:* Each particularity, doth in mine opinion impugne it. And I should as much de-

test



rest a Germane, that should put Water in his Wine, as a French-man, that should drinke it pure, Publike custome giveth Law unto such things. I feare a foggy and thicke ayre, and shunne smoke more than death; (the first thing I began to repaire when I came to be maister of mine owne house, was the chimnies and privies, which, in most of our buildings, is a generall and intollerable fault) and mischiefes and difficulties attending on Warre, there is none I haue more, than in hot-sweltring wether, to ride up and downe all the day long in smoky dust, as many times our Souldiers are faine to doe. I haue a free and easie respiration, and doe most commonly passeover my mures and colds without offence to my lungs, or without coughing. The foultry heate of sommer is more offensive to me, than the sharpnesse of Winter: for, Besides the incommodity of heat, which is lesse to bee remedied, than the inconvenience of cold; and besides the force of the Sunnes beames, which strike into the head, mine eyes are much offended with any kinde of glittering or sparkling light; so that I cannot well sit at dinner over against a cleare-burning fire. To allay or dim the whitenesse of paper, when I was most given to reading, I was wont to lay a piece of greene glasse upon my booke, and was thereby much eased. Hitherto I never used spectacles, nor know not what they meane; and can yet see as farre as ever I could, and as any other man; true it is, that when night comes, I begin to perceive a dimnes and weakenesse in reading; the continuall exercise whereof, and specially by night, was ever somewhat troublesome unto mine eyes. Loe here a steppe-backe, and that very sensible. I shall recoyle no more, from a second to a third, and from a third to a fourth, so gently, that before I feeble the declination and age of my sight, I must be starke blinde. So artificiall doe the Fates untwist our lives-threede. Yet am I in doubt, that my hearing is about to be come thicke: and you shall see, that I shall have lost it halfe, when yet I shall finde fault with their voyces that speake unto me. The minde must be strained to a high pitch, to make it perceive how it declineth. My going is yet very nimble, quicke and stout; and I wot not which of the two I can more hardly stay at one instant, eyther my minde or my body. I must like that preacher well, that can tie mine attention to a whole sermon. In places of ceremonies, where every man doth so nicely stand upon countenance, where I have scene Ladies hold their eyes so steady, I could never so hold out, but some part of mine would ever be gadding: although I be sitting there, I am not well settled. As *Chrysippus* the Phylosophers chamber-maide, saide of hir Master, that he was never drunke but in his legges; for whersoever he sate, he was ever accustomed to be wagging with them: and this she saide at what time store of Wine had made his companions cuppe-shotten, and yet he felt no alteration but continued sober in minde. It might likewise have beene said of me, that even from mine infancy, I had either folly or quicke-silver in my feete, so much stirring and naturall inconstancy have I in them, where ever I place them. It is unmannerlinesse, and prejudiciall unto health, yea and to pleasure also, to feede grosely and greedily, as I doe. I shall sometimes through haste bite my tongue and fingers ends. *Diogenes* meeting with a childe, that did eate so, gave his tutor a whirret on the eare. There were men in *Rome*, that as others teach youth to go with a good grace, so they taught men to chew, with decency, I doe sometimes lose the leisure to speake, which is so pleasing an entertainment at the table, provided they be discourses short, witty and pleasant. There is a kinde of jelousie and envy betweene our pleasures, and they often shooke and hinder one another. *Alcibiades*, a man very exquisitely-skilfull in making good cheere, inhibited all manner of musicke at tables, because it should not hinder the delight of discourses, for the reason which *Plato* affords him: that it is a custome of popular or base men to call for minstrels or singers at feasts, and an argument, they want witty or good discourses, and pleasing entertainment, wherewith men of conceipt and understanding know how to entertaine themselves. *Varro* requireth this at a banquet: an assembly of persons, faire, goodly and handsome of presence, affable and delightfull in conversation, which must not be dumbe nor dull, sullaine nor slovenly: cleanlinessse and neatnesse in meates: and faire wether. A good minde-pleasing table-entertainment, is not a little voluptuous feast, nor a meanly artificiall banquet. Neither great or sterne commanders in Warres, nor famous or strict Philosophers have disdained the use or knowledge of it. My imagination hath bequeathed three of them to the keeping of my memory, onely which, fortune did at severall times, yeeld exceedingly delightfome unto me. My present state doth now exclude me from them. For, every one, according to the good temper of body or mind, wherein he finds himselfe, addeth



addeth either principall grace or taste vnto them. My selfe who but grovell on the ground, hate that kinde of humane Wisedome, which would make vs disdainfull and enemies of the bodies reformation. I deeme it an equall iniustice, either to take naturall sensualities against the hart, or to take them too neere the hart. *Xerxes* was a ninny-hammer, who enwrapped and giuen to all humane voluptuousnesse, proposed rewards for those, that should devise such as he had never heard of. And hee is not much behinde him in foolishnesse that goes about to abridge those, which nature hath devised for him. One should neither follow nor avoyd them: but receive them. I receive them somewhat more amply and graciously, and rather am contented to follow naturall inclination. We need not exaggerate their inanity: it will sufficiently be felt, and doth sufficiently produce it selfe. Godamercy our weake crazed and ioy-diminishing spirit, which makes vs distaste both them and himselfe. Hee reareth both himselfe and whatsoever hee receiveth sometimes forward and other times backward, according as himselfe is either insatiate, vagabond, new fanged or variable.

*Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumq; in fundis accedit.*  
In no sweete vessell all you poure,  
In such a vessell soone will sowre,

*Hor. l. i. epistle. 2*  
54.

My selfe, who brag so curiously to embrace and particularly to allow the commodities of life; whensoever I looke precisely into it I finde nothing therein but winde. But what? we are nothing but winde. And the very winde also, more wisely then we loveth to bluster and to be in agitation: And is pleased with his owne offices, without desiring stability or solidity; qualities that be not his owne. The meere pleasures of imagination, as well as dis-pleasure (say some) are the greatest: as the ballance of *Crisolus* did expresse. It is no wonder, she compositeth them at her pleasure, and cuts them out of the whole cloath. I see dayly some notable presidents of it, and peradventure to be desired. But I, that am of a commixt condition, homely and plaine, cannot so thoroughly bite on that onely and so simple object: but shall grossely and carelessly give my selfe over to the present delights, of the generall and humane law, intellectuallly sensible, and sensibly-intellectuall. The *Cirenaique* Philosophers are of opinion, that as griefes, so corporall pleasures are more powerfull; and as double, so, more iust. There are some (as *Aristotle* saith) who with a savage kinde of stupidity, will seeme distastefull or squemish of them. Some others I know, that doe it out of ambition. Why renounce they not also breathing? why live they not of their own, & refuse light, because it cometh of gratuity: and costs them neither inuention nor vigor? That *Mars*, or *Pallas*, or *Mercurius*, should nourish them to see, instead of *Ceres*, *Venus*, or *Bacchus*? Will they not seeke for the quadrature of the circle, even vpon their wives? I hate that we should be commanded to have our minds in the clouds, whilst our bodies are sitting at the table; yet would I not have the minde to be fastned thereunto, nor wallow upon it, nor lie along thereon, but to apply it selfe and sit at it. *Aristippus* defended but the body, as if wee had no soule: *Zeno* embraced but the soule, as if we had no body: Both viciously, *Pythagoras* (say they) hath followed a Philosophie, all in contemplation: *Socrates* altogether in manners and in action: *Plato* hath found a mediocrity between both, But they say so by way of discourse. For, the true temperature is found in *Socrates*, & *Plato*, is more *Socratical* then *Pythagorical*, and it becomes him best. When I dance, I dance; and when I sleepe, I sleepe. And when I am solitarie walking in a faire orchard, if my thoughts have a while entertained themselves, with strange occurrences, I doe another while bring them to walke with mee in the orchard, and to be partakers of the pleasure of that solitarinesse and of my selfe. Nature hath like a kinde mother observed this, that such actions as shee for our necessities hath enioyned vnto vs, should also be voluptuous vnto vs. And doth not onely by reason but also by appetite en-vice us vnto them: it were iniustice to corrupt her rules. When I behold *Cesar* and *Alexander* in the thickest of their wondrous great labours, so absolutely to enjoy humane and corporall pleasures, I say nor, that they release thereby their minde, but rather strengthen the same; submitting by vigor of courage their violent occupation, and laborious thoughts to the customary vie of ordinary life. Wile had they beene, had they beleevied, that that was their ordinary vocation, and this their extraordinary. What egregious fooles are we? Hee

H h h

hath



hath past his life in idlenesse, say we; alas I have done nothing this day. What? haue you not lived? It is not onely the fundamentall, but the noblest of your occupation. Had I beene placed or thought fit for the managing of great affaires, I would have shewed what I could have performed. *Have you knowen how to meditate and mannage your life? you have accomplished the greatesst worke of all.* For a man to shew and exploit himselfe, nature hath no neede of fortune, she equally shewes herselfe vpon all grounds, in all sutes, before and behinde, as it were without curteines, welt or gard. *Have you knowne how to compose your manners? you have done more then he who hath composed bookes.* Have you knowne how to take rest, you have done more then he, who hath taken Empires and Citties. *The glorious masterpeice of man, is, to live to the repulse.* All other things, as to raigne, to governe, to hoard vp treasure, to thrive and to build, are for the most part but appendixes and supports therunto. It is to thee a great pleasure, to see a Generall of an armie at thefoote of a breach, which ere long intendeth, to charge or enter, all whole, vndistracted and carelesly to prepare himselfe, whilst he sits at dinner with his friends about him, to talke of any matter. And I am delighted to see *Brunus*, having both heaven and earth conspired against him and the libetty of *Rome*, by stealth to take some houres of the night from his other cares, and walking of the round, in al security to reade, to note and to abbreviate *Polibius*. It is for base and petty minds, dulled and overwhelmed with the weight of affaires, to be ignorant how to leave them, and not to know how to free themselves from them; nor how to leave and take them againe.

Hor. cas. l. i. od  
7.30.

*O fortes peioraque passi,  
Mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas,  
Cras ingens iterabimus agnor.*

Valiant compeeres, who oft have worse endured  
With me, let now with wine your cares be cured:  
To morrow we againe  
Will launch into the maine.

Whether it, be in iest or earnest, that the *Sorbonicall* or theologicall wine, and their feasts or gaudy daye are now come to bee proverbially iested at: I thinke there is some reason, that by how much more profitably and seriously they have bestowed the morning in the exercise of their schooles, so much more commodiously and pleasantly should they dine at noone. A cleare conscience to have well employed and industriously spent the other houres is a perfect seasoning and savory condiment of tables. So have wise men lived. And that inimitable contention unto vertue, which so amazeth vs. in both *Catoes*, their so strictly-severe humor, even vnto importunity, hath thus mildly submitted my selfe, and taken pleasure in the lawes of humane condition, and in *Venus* and *Bacchus*. According to their Sects-precepts, which require a perfectly wise man, to be fully expert and skillfull in the true vie of sensualities, as in all other duties or deuoires belonging to life. *Cui cor sapiat, ei & sapiat palat.* *Let his palate be savoury, whose heart is savoury.* Easy-yielding and facility doth, in my conceir, greatly honour and is best befitting a magnanimos and noble minde. *Epaminondas* thought it no scorne, to thrust himselfe among st the boyes of his citie, and dance with them yea and to sing and play, and with attention busie himielfe, were it in things that might derogate from the honor and reputation of his glorious victories, and from the perfect reformation of manners, that was in him. And amongst so infinite admirable actions of *Scipio* the grand father, a man worthy to be esteemed of heavenly race, nothing addeth so much grace vnto him, as to see him carelesly to dallie and childishly to trifle in gathering and chusing of cockle-shels, and play at cost castle along the sea-shoare with his friend *Laelius*. And it it were fowle weather, amusing and solacing himselfe, to represent in writing and comedies the most popular and base actions of men. And having his head continually busied with that wonderfull enterprise against *Hanibal* and *Affricke*, yet hee still visited the schooles in *Cicily*, and frequented the lectures of Philosophy, arming his enemies teeth at *Rome* with envy and spight. Nor any thing more remakeable, in *Socrates*, then, when being old and crazed, hee would spare so much time as to be instructed in the art of dancing and playing vpon

Cic. fin. lib. 2.



vpon instruments: and thought the time well bestowed. Who notwithstanding hath been  
 seen to continue a whole day and night in an extasie or trance, yea ever standing on his feet  
 in presence of all the Greeke armie, as it were surprised and ravished by some deep and  
 minde-distracting thought. He hath beene noted to be the first, amongst so infinite valiant  
 men in the army, headlong to rush out, to helpe and bring-off *Alcibiades*, engaged and en-  
 thronged by his enemies: to cover him with his body, and by maine force of armes and cou-  
 rage, bring him off from the rout: And in the *Deliane* battell, to save and disingage *Xeno-  
 phon*, who was beaten from his horse. And in the midst of all the Athenian people, wound-  
 ded, as it were with so vnworthy a spectacle, headlong present himselfe to the first man, to re-  
 cover *Theramenes*, from out the hands of the officers and saretites, of the thirty tyrants of  
*Athens*, who were leading him to his death; and never desisted from his bold attempt, vntil  
 hee met with *Theramenes* himselfe, though hee were followed and assisted with two more.  
 He hath beene seene (provoked thereunto by a matchlesse beauty, wherewith he was richly  
 endowed by nature) at any time of neede to maintaine severe continency. Hee hath conti-  
 nually beene noted to march to the warres on foote; to breake the ice with his bare feete; to  
 weare one same garment in summer and winter, to exceed all his companions in patience of  
 any labour or travell; to eate no more, or otherwise at any banquet, then at his ordinary: He  
 hath beene seene seven and twenty yeares together with one same vndismaid countenance,  
 patiently to beare and endure hunger, poverty, the indocility and stubbornesse of his chil-  
 dren, the frowardnes and scratchings of his wife; and in the end malicious detraction, tyrany,  
 enprysonment, shakels and poyson. But was that man envited to drinke to him by duty  
 of civility? he was also the man of the army, to whom the advantage thereof remained? And  
 yet he refused not, nor disdained to play for nuts with children, nor to run with them vpon  
 a hobby-horse, wherin he had a very good grace: *For all actions (saith Philosophy) doe e-  
 qually besecme well, and honour a wise man.* Wee have good ground and reason, and should ne-  
 ver be weary to present the image of this incomparable man, vnto al patternes and formes of  
 perfections. There are very few examples of life, absolutely full and pure. And our instruction  
 is greatly wronged, in that it hath certaine weak, defective and vnperfect formes proposed  
 vnto it, scarcely good for any good vse, which divert and draw vs backe; and may rather be  
 termed corrupters then correcters. *Man is easily deceived.* One may more easily goe by the  
 sides, where extremity serveth as bound, as a stay and as a guide, then by the mid-way,  
 which is open and wide: and more according vnto art, then according vnto nature, but  
 therewithall lesse nobly and with lesse commendation. *The greatnesse of the minde is not so  
 much, to drawe up and hale forward, as to know how to range direct and circumscribe it selfe.* It  
 holdeth for great whatsoever is sufficient. And sheweth her height, in loving meane things  
 better then eminent. *There is nothing so goodly, so faire and so lawfull as to play the man well and  
 duely: Nor Science so hard and difficult, as to know how to live this life well.* And of all the in-  
 firmities we have, the most savage, is to despise our being. Who so well sequester or distract  
 his minde, let him hardily doe it, if he can, at what time his body is not well at ease, thereby  
 to discharge it from that contagion: And elsewhere contrary: that thee may assist and fa-  
 vour him, and not refuse to be partaker of his naturall pleasures, and coniugally be pleased  
 with them: adding therevnto, if thee be the wiser, moderation, lest through indiscretion;  
 they might be confounded with pleasure. *Intemperance is the plague of sensuality: and tem-  
 perance is not her scourge, but rather her seasoning.* *Eudoxus*, who thereon established his  
 chiefe felicity: and his companions, that raised the same to so high a pitch, by meanes of  
 temperance, which in them was very singular and exemplar, favoured the same in her most  
 gracious sweetnesse. I enioyne my mind, with a looke equally regular, to behold both sor-  
 row and voluptuousnesse: *Eodem enim vitio est effusio animi in letitia, quo indolore contractio.* *Cic. Tusc. q. 1. 4*  
*As fault is the enlarging of the minde in mirth, as the contracting it in griefe:* and equally con-  
 stant: But the one merrily and the other severely: And according to that thee may bring  
 vnto it, to be as carefull to extinguish the one, as diligent to quench the other. *To have a  
 perfect insight into a good, drawes with it an absolute insight into evil.* And sorrow hath in her ten-  
 der beginning something that is vnavoidable: and voluptuousnesse in her excessive end,  
 something that is evitable. *Plato* coupleth them together, and would have it to bee the e-



quall office of fortitude, to combat against sorrowes, and fight against the immoderate and charming blandishments of sensuality. They are two fountaines, at which whoſo draweth, whence, when and as much as he needeth, be it a city, be it a man, bee it a beast, he is very happy. The first must be taken for physicke and necessity, and more sparingly: The second for thirst but not unto drunkennesse. *Paine, voluptuousnesse, love and hate, are the first passions achilde feeleth: if reason approach, and they apply themselves unto it; that is vertue.* I have a Dictionary severally and wholly to my selfe: I passe the time when it is foule and incommodious: when it is faire and good I will not passe it: I runne it over againe, and take hold of it. *A man should runne the badde, and settle himselfe in the good.* This vulgar phraſe of passe time, and to passe the time, represents the custome of those wise men, who thinke to have no better account of their life, then to passe it over and escape it: to passe it over and bawke it, and so much as in them lyeth, to ignore and avoyd it, as a thing of an yrkesome, redious, and to bee disdained quality. But I know it to bee otherwise; and finde it to be both praisable and commodious, yea in her last declination; where I hold it. And Nature hath put the same into our hands, furnished with such and so favourable circumstances, that if it presse & molest vs, or if vnprofitably it escape vs, we must blame our selves. *Sæuli vita ingrata est, trepida est, tota in futurum fertur.* *A foolles life is all pleasant, all fearefull, all sond of the future.* I therefore prepare and compose my selfe, to forgoe and lose it without grudging; but a thing that is loseable and transitory by it's owne condition: not as troublesome and importunate. Nor beſeemes it a man to bee grieved when he dieth, except they be such as please themselves to live still. There is a kinde of husbandry in knowing how to enioy it. I enioy it double to others. For *the measure in ioyssance dependeth more or lesse on the application we tend it.* Especially at this instant, that I perceive mine to be short in time, I wil extend it in weight: I wil stay the readines of her flight, by the promptitude of my holdfast by it: and by the vigor of custome, recompence the haste of her fleeting. According as the possession of life is more short, I must endeavour to make it more profound and full. Other men feele the sweetnesse and contentment and prosperity. I feele it as well as they; but it is not in passing and gliding: yet should it be studied, tasted and ruminated, thereby to yeeld it condigne thanks, that it pleased to grant the same vnto vs. They enioy other pleasures, as that of sleepe, without knowing them. To the end that sleepe should not dully and vnfeelingly escape me, and that I might better taste and be acquainted with it, I have heretofore found it good, to bee troubled and interrupted in the same. I have a kinde of contentment to consult wih my selfe: which consultation I doe superficially runne over, but considerately sound the same, and apply my reason to entertaine and receive it, which is now become froward, peevish and distasted. Doe I finde my selfe in some quiet moode? is there any sensuality that tickles me? I doe not suffer the same to tickle it selfe or dally about fences, but associate my mind unto it: Not to engage or plunge it selfe therein, but therein to take delight: not to lose, but therein to finde it selfe. And for her part I employ her, to view herselfe in that prosperous state, to ponder and esteeme the good fortune she hath, and to amplifie the same. She measureth how much she is beholding vnto God, for that she is at rest with her conscience, and free from other testine passions, & hath in her body her natural disposition: orderly & competently enioying certaine flattering and effeminate functions, with which it pleaseth him of his grace to recompence the griefes, wherewith his iustice at his pleasure smiteth vs. Oh how availfull is it unto her to be so seated, that whatever she casteth her eyes, the heavens are calme round about her; and no desire, no feare or doubt troubleth the ayre before here: here is no difficulty, either past, or present, or to come, over which her imagination passeth nor without offence. This consideration takes a great lustre from the comparison of different conditions. Thus doe I in a thousand shapes propose vnto my selfe those to whom either fortune, or their owne error doth transport and torment. And these nearer, who so slackly and incuriously receive their good fortune. They are men which indeed passe their time: they overpasse the present and that which they possesse, thereby to serve their hopes with shadowes and vaine images, which fancy sets before them.

Sen. epist. 15.

Virg. Aen. 10.  
648.*Mors obliuio quales fama est velle are figuræ  
Aut qua sopites delinunt somnia sensus.*

Such



Such walking shapes we say, when men are dead,  
Dreames, whereby sleeping senses are misse-led.

Which hasten and prolong their flight, according as they are followed. The fruit and scope  
of their pursuir, is to pursue: As *Alexander* said, that *The end of his Travell, was to travell.*

*Nil altum credens cum quid superesset agendum.*

*Lucan. l. 2. 656.*

Who thought that nought was done,  
When ought remain'd undone.

As for me then, I love my selfe and cherish it, such as it hath pleased God to graunt it  
vs. I desire not hee should speake of the necessity of eating and drinking. And I would  
thinke to offend no lesse excusably, in desiring it should haue it double. *Sapiens diuitia-*  
*rum naturalium questor acerrimus.* A wise man is a most eager and earnest searcher of those  
things that are naturall. Nor that we should sustaine our selves by only putting a little of that  
drugge into our mouth, wherewith *Epimenedes* was wont to alay hunger, and yet main-  
tained himselfe. Nor that wee should intensibly produce children at our fingers endes or  
at our heeles, but rather (speaking with reverence) that wee might with pleasure and vo-  
luptuousnesse produce them both at our heeles and fingers endes. Nor that the body  
should be voyde of desire, and without tickling delight. They are ungratefull and impi-  
ous complaints. I cheerefully and thankefully, and with a good heart, accept what nature  
hath created for me; and am there with well pleased, and am proud of it. Great wrong is  
offered vnto that grear and all-puissant Giver, to refuse his gift, which is so absolutely good;  
and disanull or disfigure the same, since hee made perfectly good. *Omnia quæ secundum na-*  
*turam sunt, estimatione digna sunt.* All things that are according to nature, are worthy to bee e-  
steemed. Of Philosophies opinions, I more willingly embrace those, which are the most  
solide, and that is to say, such as are most humane and most ours: My discourtes are sutable  
to my manners: low and humble. She then brings forth a childe well pleasing me, when  
she betakes herselfe to her *Quiddities* and *Ergoes*, to perswade vs, that it is a barbarous ali-  
ance, to marry what is diuine with that which is terrestriall: wedde reasonable with vnrea-  
sonable; combine severe with indulgent, and couple honest with vn honest: that voluptu-  
ousnesse is a brutall quality, vnworthy the taste of a wiseman. The onely pleasure he drawes  
from the enioying of a faire young bride, is the delight of his conscience, by performing an  
action according unto order; As to put on his bootes for a profitable riding. Oh that his fol-  
lowers had no more right, or sinewes, or pith, or iuyce, at the dismaydening of their wives,  
than they have in his Lelion. It is not that, which *Socrates*, both his and our Master, teach;  
Hee valueth rightly as hee ought corporall voluptuousnesse: but he preferreth that of the  
minde, as having more force, more constancy, facility, variety and dignity. This according  
to him, goeth nothing alone, he not so phantastickall; but onely first. For him, temperance  
is a moderatrix, and not an adversary of sensualities. *Nature is a gentle guide:* Yet not more  
gentle, then prudent and iust. *Intrandum est in rerum naturam, & penitus quid ea postulet,*  
*pervidendum.* Wee must enter into the nature of things, and thoroughly see what shee inwardly requi-  
ers. I quelt after her track; we have confounded her with artificiall traces. And that *Ac-*  
*ademicall* and *Peripatericall* *summum bonum* or soveraigne felicity, which is, to live according  
to her rules: by this reason becommeth difficult to be limited, and hard to bee expounded.  
And that of the *Stoicks*, cousin germane to the other, which is, to yeeld vnto nature. Is it  
not an error, to esteeme some actions lesse worthy, for so much as they are necessary? Yet  
shall they never remove out of my head, that it is not a most convenient marriage, to wedde  
Pleasure vnto Necessity. With which (saith an antient Writer) the Gods doe ever complor  
and consent.

*S. n. epist. 119.*

*Cic. fin. bond 3.*

*Ibid. 5.*

To what end doe wee by a divorce dismember a frame contexted with so mutuall, cohe-  
rent and brotherly correspondency Contrariwise, let vs repaire and renew the same by en-  
terchangeable offices: that the spirit may awake and quicken the dul heaviness of the body,  
and the body stay the lightnesse of the spirit, and settle and fixe the same. *Qui venit sum-*  
*mmum bonum, laudat animæ naturam, & tanquam malum, naturam carnis accusat, profectò & ani-*  
*mam carnaliter appetit, & carne incarnaliter fruor, quoniam id vanitate sentit humana, non verita-*

*Aug. verb. ap-  
stol. ser. 13. c. 6.*



te divina. Ho that praiseth the nature of the soule, as his principall good, & accuseth nature of the flesh as euill, assuredly he both carnally affecteth the soule, and carnally escheweth the flesh since he is of this mind not by diuine verity, but humane vanity. There is no part or parcell vnworthy of our care in that present, which God hath bestowed vpon vs: We are accountable even for the least haire of it. And it is no commission for fashions sake for any man, to direct man according to his condition: it is expresse, naturall and principall: And the Creator hath testionally and severely given the same vnto vs. Onely authority is of force with men of common reach and vnderstanding; and is of more weight in a strange language. But here let us charge againe. *Stultitia proprium quis non dixeris, ignare & consummaciter facere qua faciendia sunt: & alio corpus impellere, alio animum, distrahere inter diuersissimos motus?* Who will we call it a property of folly to doe sloathfully and frowardly what is to be done, and one way to drive the body, and another way the minde, and himselfe to bee distracted into most diuers motions? Which, the better to see, let such a man one day tell you the ammuements and imaginations, which he puts into his owne head, and for which he diverteth his thoughts for a good repast, and bewaileth the houre, he employeth in feeding himselfe: you shall finde there is nothing so wallowish in all the messes of your table, as is that goodly entertainment of his minde. (It were often better for vs to be sound a sleepe, than awake vnto that we doe) and you shall finde, that his discourtes and intentions are not worth your meanest disli. Suppose they were the entrancings of *Archimedes* himselfe: and what of that? I here touch not, nor doe I blend with that rabble or raskality of men, as wee are, nor with that vanity of desires and cogitations, which diuert vs, onely those venerable mindes, which through a seruency of devotion and earnestnesse of religion, elevated to a constant and consciencious meditation of heavenly diuine things, and which by the violence of a lively, and vertue of a vehement hope, preoccupied the vse of eternall soule-saving nourishment; the finall end, only stay and last scope of Christian desires; the onely constant delight and incorruptible pleasure; disdain to rely on our necessitous, fleeting and ambiguous commodities: and easily resigne, the care and vse of sensuall and temporall feeding vnto the body. It is a privileged study. Super-celestiall opinions, and vnder-terrestriall manners, are things, that amongst vs, I have ever seene to bee of singular accord. *A* scope that famous man, saw his Master pisse as he was walking: What (said hee) must we not &c. when we are running? *Let vs husband time as well as wee can. Yet shall we employ much of it, both idly and ill.* As if our minde had not other houres enough to doe hir businesse, without disassociating hir selfe from the body in that little space which shee needeth for her necessity. They will be exempted from them and escape nian. It is meere folly, instead of transforming themselves into Angels, they transchange themselves into beastes: in lieu of advancing, they abase themselves. Such transcending humours affright me as much, as sleepey, high and inaccessible places. And I finde nothing so hard to be digested in *Socrates* his life, as his extasies and communication with *Damones*. Nothing so humane in *Plato*, as that which they say, hee is called diuine. And of our sciences those which are raised and extolled for the highest, seeme to me, the most basest and terrestriall. I finde nothing so humble and mortall in *Alexanders* life, as his concepts about his immortalization. *Philotas* by his answer quipped at him very pleasantly and wittily. Hee had by a letter congratulated with him, and reioyced that the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon* had placed him amongst the Gods; to whom he answered, that in respect and consideration of him, he was very glad; but yet there was some cause those men should be pitied, that were to live with a man and obey him, who outwent others, and would not bee contented with the state and condition of mortall man.

*Hor. ew. l. 3. od.*

— *Dixi te minorem quod geris, imperas.*

Since thou lesse then the Gods

Bear'st thee, thou rul'st with ods.

The quaint inscription, wherewith the Athenians honored the comming of *Pompey* into their City, agreeth well, and is conformable to my meaning.

*Plat. vis. Pomp*

*D'autant en es Dieu, comme*

*Tu te reconnais homme.*

So farre a God thou maifest accompted be

As thou a man doest reacknowledge thee.



*It is an absolute perfection, and as it were divine for a man to know how to enjoy his being loyally. We seeke for other conditions because we understand not the use of ours: and goe out of our selves, forsomuch as we know not what abiding there is. Wee may long enough get upon stilts, for be wee upon them, yet must we goe with our owne legges. And sit we upon the highest throne of the World, yet sit we upon our owne easle. The best and most commendable lives, and best pleasing men are (in my conceit) those which with order are fitted, and with decorum are ranged to the common mould and humane model: but without wonder or extravagancy. Now hath old age need to be handled more tenderly. Let vs recommend it unto that God, who is the protector of health, and fountaine of all wisedome: but blithe and sociall:*

*Frui paratis & valido mihi  
Latæ dones & precor integra  
Cum mente, nec turpem senectam,  
Degere, nec cythara carentem,  
Apollo graunt, enjoy health I may  
That I have got, and with sound minde, I pray:  
Nor that I may with shame spend my old yeares,  
Nor wanting musicke to delight mine cares.*

*Mor. car. l. i. ad.  
31. 17.*

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The end of the third and last Booke.

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